ACTA IRANICA

TROISIÈME SÉRIE

VOLUME IX

ACTA IRANICA

ENCYCLOPÉDIE PERMANENTE DES ÉTUDES IRANIENNES
PUBLIÉE POUR UN COMITÉ INTERNATIONAL DE SAVANTS
PAR LA CHAIRE D'ÉTUDES INDO-IRANIENNES
DE L'UNIVERSITÉ DE LIÈGE

TROISIÈME SÉRIE

TEXTES ET MÉMOIRES

Acta Iranica 19

DIFFUSION
E.J. BRILL
LEIDEN

TEXTES ET MÉMOIRES

VOLUME IX

THE KING AND KINGSHIP IN ACHAEMENID ART

Essays on the Creation of an
Iconography of Empire

BY

MARGARET COOL ROOT

1979

DIFFUSION
E.J. BRILL
LEIDEN

COMITÉ INTERNATIONAL

Prof. Sir Harold BAILEY (Grande-Bretagne); Prof. George CAMERON (E.-U.); S. Exc. Prof. Enrico CERULLI (Italie); † S. Exc. Dr TARA CHAND (Inde); Prof. † Henry CORBIN (France); Prof. Jacques DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN (Belgique); Prof. Namio EGAMI (Japon); Prof. Dr. Wilhem EILERS (Allemagne); Prof. S. Ednan ERZI (Turquie); Prof. Richard ETTINGHAUSEN (E.-U.); † Acad. B.G. GAFUROV (U.R.S.S.); Prof. Roman GHIRSHMAN (France); S. Exc. Prof. Garcia GÔMEZ (Espagne); Prof. János HARMATTA (Hongrie); Prof. Dr. Walther HINZ (Allemagne); Prof. Yahya AL-KHASHAB (Egypte); S. Em. Card. Dr. Franz KÖNIG (Autriche); † Prof. Georg MORGENSTIERNE (Norvège); † Prof. Henrik S. NYBERG (Suède); Pir Husamuddin RASHDI (Pakistan).

RÉDACTION

J. DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN, professeur ordinaire à l'Université de Liège.
Pierre LECOQ, docteur en histoire et littératures orientales, assistant à l'Université de Liège.
Jean KELLENS, docteur en histoire et littératures orientales, assistant à l'Université Johannes Gutenberg, Mayence.
Université de Liège. Place du 20 août 16, B 4000 Liège.

ISBN 9004 03902 3
9004 05836 2

© 1979 by Université de Liège

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced or translated in any form, by print, photoprint, microfilm, microfiche or any other means without written permission from the publisher

PRINTED IN BELGIUM

For My Parents
Robert and Louise Cool

CONTENTS

Preface IX
List of Abbreviations XI
I. Introduction 1
II. The Catalogue 43
  Palace R (the Gatehouse), Pasargadae 46
  Palace P (the "Residential Palace"), Pasargadae . . 49
  The Behistun Relief of Darius I 58
  The Canal Stelae of Darius I 61
  The Statue of Darius from Susa 68
  The Tombs of Darius and his Successors: Naqsh-i Rustam/Persepolis 72
  The Palace of Darius (the "Tačara"), Persepolis . . 76
  The Apadana, Persepolis 86
  The Central Building (Tripylon), Persepolis 95
  The Palaces of Darius' Successors 100
  Statue Fragments from Susa 110
  The "Royal Head" from Hamadan 114
  Achaemenid Coins 116
  "Official" Achaemenid Seals 118
  Religious Monuments in Egypt 123
  Addendum: Texts Referring to Royal Achaemenid Sculpture 129
III. Hierarchical Order: The King on High 131
IV. The King before Ahuramazda and the Fire Altar . . . 162
V. Behistun: The King Victorious 182
VI. The Tribute Procession 227
VII. The King Appearing in State 285
VIII. Mythical Visions of Kingship and Power 300
IX. Pax Persiana: An Imperial Cosmos 309

Cited Literature 312
List of Plates 335
List of Figures 340
Index 341

PREFACE

This monograph is an expanded and revised version of my doctoral dissertation, which was presented to the Department of Classical and Near Eastern Archaeology of Bryn Mawr College in 1976. Much of the research for this dissertation was carried out with the generous support of a fellowship from the Mrs. Giles Whiting Foundation. Travel grants from Bryn Mawr College enabled me to tour archaeological sites and museums in Turkey and Iran, to do extensive work at Persepolis, and later to examine important related material in Berlin, Paris and London. This acknowledgment of Bryn Mawr's tangible assistance to my work cannot begin to suggest the depth of the College's intangible support—which has really made this book possible. I am, furthermore, indebted to the American Council of Learned Societies for their award of a Grant-in-Aid for Recent Recipients of the Ph. D. which defrayed the costs of preparation of the final manuscript and its illustrations.

Research conducted away from Bryn Mawr College was made possible through the kind auspices of Dr. Firouz Bagherzadeh (Director of the Iranian Center for Archaeological Research in Iran), Ann Britt Tilia and Giuseppe Tilia (collaborator and Director, respectively, of the Persepolis restoration team of the Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente), Pierre Amiet (Conservateur-en-Chef des Antiquités Orientales au Louvre), Edmond Sollberger (Keeper of the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities of the British Museum), and John A. Brinkman (Director of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago).

It is a pleasant task to thank the friends and colleagues who must share the credit for anything that is decent or useful in this book—but who can take no blame at all for anything that is incorrect or ill-conceived. First, let me say that I feel awesomely indebted to all the many scholars whose publications are cited in the course of this study. But more immediate and personal thanks must go to Mark Ciccarello, Charles Dempsey, Jacques Duchesne-Guillemin, Richard Ellis, Richard Hallock, Machteld Mellink, Arnaldo Momigliano, Carl Nylander, Kyle Phillips, Edith Porada, Brunilde Ridgway and Lawrence Root—who have all read and commented upon my work at one stage or another. Their suggestions and insights have been invaluable.

To Carl Nylander, friend as well as mentor, I offer special thanks for introducing me to the Achaemenids in the first place, and then for allowing me to graze freely on the green pastures of his inspiration. And to Larry Root, my husband, I extend heartfelt thanks for his help, his wisdom and his humor in good times and bad.

One final note: In revising my dissertation I have made an effort to incorporate scholarship which appeared between the spring of 1976 and the spring of 1977 (when the new manuscript was completed). But, inevitably, a few studies which had in fact been published by that time did not become available to me until it was too late to include them here. My apologies to those whose contributions have thus gone unmentioned in the pages which follow.

Margaret Cool Root.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS
Journals and Series

AA = *Archäologische Anzeiger*
AAA = *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*
ADOG = *Abhandlungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*
Afo = *Archiv für Orientforschung*
AJA = *American Journal of Archaeology*
AJSL = *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*
AMI = *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*
AOAT = Alter Orient und altes Testament
AOS = American Oriental Series
ASAE = *Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte*
BagMitt = *Baghdader Mitteilungen*
BAIIAA = *Bulletin of the American Institute for Iranian Art and Archaeology*
BASOR = *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research*
BIFAO = *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale*
BMMA = *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*
BSOAS = *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
CAH = *Cambridge Ancient History*
Cahiers de la DAFI = *Cahiers de la délégation archéologique française en Iran*
CRRAI = *Compte rendu de la rencontre assyriologique internationale*
EW = *East and West*
FuF = *Forschungen und Fortschritte*
HSCP = *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
IsMEO = Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente
JA = *Journal asiatique*
JANES = *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University*
JAOS = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JDAI = *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*
JEA = *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
JEOL = *Journal ex Oriente Lux*
JESHO = *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*
JHS = *Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JNES = *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
MAAR = Memoirs of The American Academy in Rome
MDAIK = *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts Kairo*
MDOG = *Mitteilungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*
MDP = Mémoires de la délégation en Perse
MIFAO = *Mémoires publiées par les membres de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire*
MonPiot = *Monuments et mémoires publ. par l'académie des inscriptions et belles lettres, Fondation Piot*

MVAG = *Mitteilungen der vorderasiatischen-aegyptischen Gesellschaft*
NC = *Numismatic Chronicle*
NNM = *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*
OIP = Oriental Institute Publications
OrSu = *Orientalia Suecana*
PMMA = Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art
RAssyr = *Revue d'assyriologie*
REgypt = *Revue d'égyptologie*
StIr = *Studia Iranica*
WVDOG = *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*
ZA = *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*
ZÄS = *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*
ZDMG = *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*

I

INTRODUCTION

On the Nature of Achaemenid Art.

"Achaemenid art" is the art of kings. It is the official art of the Achaemenid Dynasty, which arose from the Achaemenid clan of the Persian people eventually to rule the Near East from 550 until the coming of Alexander in 331 B.C.[1] Just as the Achaemenid Empire was consciously created and its bureaucratic structures formalized by the early kings of the dynasty, so the art which speaks for that empire was, in every meaningful sense, a product of *their* creative effort—brilliantly conceived and consciously evocative. It was commissioned in the service of kingship, designed by high-level officials who were in all probability directly responsible to the king himself; and it was planned as an imperial programme which was intended to project, in a variety of representational contexts, a specific set of consistently imposed images of power and hierarchical order.

The official art of the Achaemenids thus reflects the ideals and attitudes of the king and his most trusted advisors—and not least in representations involving the figure of the king himself. This is not to say that the attitudes so reflected necessarily mirror objective historical reality. But there is another realm of history which does find reflection here even if it diverges from objective fact: this is the realm of subjective historical self-perception. Lying somewhere on a continuum between verism and fantasy, the image of the patron and his empire which is presented in his commissioned art must reflect the image of kingship which he himself wished to be surrounded by and to identify with, as well as the image with which he wished to be identified by others. In the case of the Achaemenids, the artistic reflection is of this subjective realm of historical reality[2].

---

[1] It is imperative to treat as a distinct phenomenon this "Achaemenid art"—as the *official* art of the empire. Art which, on the other hand, was simply produced within the sphere of the Persian political domain during the Achaemenid Period, but which was not official art, presents special problems of definition which overlap but do not totally coincide with those of Achaemenid art *per se*. On the complexities of such terminological distinctions, as also on other problems to be discussed in this chapter, O. J. Brendel's work provides an indispensible theoretical framework: *Prologomena to a Book on Roman Art*, MAAR, XXI (Rome: American Academy in Rome, 1953). Other works which have influenced my approach include G. Hermerén, *Representation and Meaning in the Visual Arts; A Study in the Methodology of Iconography and Iconology* (Stockholm: Läromedelsforlaget, 1969), E. Panovsky, *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1955), and P. G. Hamberg, *Studies in Roman Imperial Art with Special Reference to the State Reliefs of the Second Century* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1945).

The Persian kings waged brutal wars, exacted heavy taxes from reluctant subjects, and harbored fears of palace revolutions spawned by ambitious courtiers. But, for the imperial art with which they hoped to impress the world (and with which they themselves apparently wished to identify), we shall see that the Achaemenids commissioned the creation of a consistently idealized vision of kingship and empire—a vision which stressed images of piety, control, and harmonious order.

Rulers before and after the Achaemenids have developed artistic programmes—setting distinctive trends in art as a response to their perceptions of the particular political/historical demands of their reigns, and reflective of their particular aspirations and visions of power covenants. Well documented examples (and examples which for various reasons are of particular pertinence to our discussion) include the art produced under the patronage of Akhenaten, Augustus, Charlemagne, and the Mughal emperor Akbar[3]. Although each of these cases is unique and not strictly analogous to any other, nevertheless one may discern useful patterns of similarity by a comparative analysis of scholarly approaches to the study of these artistic programmes emerging from a variety of historical contexts. Achaemenid art fits neatly into the broad conceptual framework suggested by studies of generally acknowledged imperial programmes.

---

[2] In this sense the official representations of the king offer a similar type of source material as is offered to the historian by autobiography. For theoretical analysis the discussions of historians of autobiography are particularly helpful. See, for instance, G. Misch, *A History of Autobiography in Antiquity*, trans. E.W. Dickes (London: Routledge and Paul, 1950); R. Pascal, *Design and Truth in Autobiography* (London: Routledge and Paul, 1960); K.J. Weintraub, "Autobiography and Historical Consciousness", *Critical Inquiry* 1, 1975, 821-848. The remarks of G. Weckman are particularly appropriate here, I think: "Believing myth as myth does not mean a return to a primal naivete, which I doubt ever existed anyway and is part of modern man's misguided apprehension of the 'primitive' world. ... We need only broaden the world of our data, have a fuller notion of what makes up reality, and include the uniquely human and psychic elements of life in our notion of the factual. Then the old polarities of myth and fact, religion and science, relevation and rationality disappear". See "Believing Myth as Myth" in *Myth and the Crisis of Historical Consciousness*, ed. L.W. Gibbs and W.T. Stevenson (Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1975), 106.

[3] See below.

And in fact, within the ancient Near Eastern cultural sphere it has the potential for being a particularly instructive case study in imperial programming. But the representational art of the Achaemenid Dynasty has never been analyzed as a programme, as an art with a coherent and intentional vision behind it which may possibly be read and interpreted[4].

The ultimate aim of this study is to show the validity of viewing Achaemenid art as such a programme. This involves an attempt to understand *the nature of the process of creation* of Achaemenid imperial iconography, first on a theoretical level and then subsequently on a particular level. On the theoretical level I shall demonstrate the need to view the process of creation of this imperial art as a complex cultural system of influences—not simply as a mechanistic "event" of execution[5]. This preliminary theoretical exploration is a necessary preamble to the second level of inquiry—the particular level—because it will show the richness of the cultural fabric we are dealing with in the Achaemenid Period and it will show the need to see the Achaemenids themselves as the central and commanding figures of their own cultural history.

On the particular level, I shall present a catalogue of the known official imperial monuments, coin types and seals which include in their sculptural programme or figural decoration a representation of the king or kingship. This catalogue will be followed by a series of iconographical essays on those representational types portraying the king and kingship in official Achaemenid art.

Finally, I shall draw together the information gleaned from the iconographical essays in order to suggest a plausible understanding of the total vision of kingship and empire which was intended consistently to be projected through Achaemenid iconography.

---

[4] This is not to say that others have not seen the potential for such analysis. Note, for instance, the suggestive comments threaded through the work of E. Porada in *The Art of Ancient Iran* (New York : Crown Publishers, Inc., 1965), and C. Nylander in *Ionians in Pasargadae*, Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Civilization, I (Uppsala : Almqvist & Wiksell, 1970).

[5] What Göran Hermerén calls the "artistic field" in his important theoretical study, *Influence in Art and Literature* (Princeton : Princeton University Press, 1975). I am in effect proposing what might be called a "Marxist" approach to Achaemenid art—following the discussion of M. Schapiro, "Style", in *Anthropology Today*, ed. S. Tax (Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1962), esp. 301 f.

Reflections on a Process of Creation.

The imperial iconography of Achaemenid art is closely related to the arts of the civilizations indigenous to the Near East. To be sure, certain technical and stylistic characteristics of Achaemenid sculpture have been traced ultimately to Greek origins. And in the course of this work this aspect of Achaemenid art will be discussed and evaluated whenever style becomes a crucial factor in the analysis of iconography. But the iconographical studies presented here will focus on Iran in the Near Eastern context simply because this is the sphere to which the material itself leads us.

Our attempt to understand the process of creation of Achaemenid art forces us to examine the *nature* of the Achaemenid relationship to the cultures which find reflection in Achaemenid art. We must ask, for instance, in what ways, and to what depth of understanding, were the Persians exposed to the art and culture of Babylon, Assyria, Egypt, Elam, and Urartu? When we see reflections of these civilizations in the iconography of the Achaemenid kings, to what extent are they the result of a gradual assimilation of ideas and forms by the Persians before their empire was ever formed? To what extent are they the result of random eclecticism or the whim of foreign artisans? And to what extent do they suggest a deliberate and informed search for images drawn out of the traditions of ancient Near Eastern civilizations? When, furthermore, we see such foreign and antique models *transformed* in Achaemenid art, to what extent do these transformations simply reflect ignorance of the originally intended meaning of their models? To what extent are they the reflection of an elusive Persian cultural tradition and aesthetic allowed (perhaps quite unconsciously) to shine through the superposition of borrowed forms? And to what extent might these transformations rather reflect the very deliberate adaptation of models for specific reasons?

Within the total aspect of what I have chosen to call a process of creation, it will be seen that the impact of foreign artisans in formulating Achaemenid iconography was limited. On the other hand, the impact of the king and his court was of great significance. But even the ultimate dictates of the king and his image-makers in programmatic planning must be understood to have issued from a complex synthesis of tangible and intangible influences and considerations. With respect to the art of the Achaemenids, reflections of deep-seated Indo-Iranian traditions may be difficult or impossible to isolate or to identify; but the possibility of their existence and influence must always be borne in mind when discussing Achaemenid art. Furthermore, cultural heritage and cultural predispositions must certainly have had an impact in determining the Achaemenids' response to the contemporary and antique foreign ideas and forms which they clearly drew upon in the creation of their imperial programme. And historical circumstances played a major role in determining the Persians' exposure to and interest in those ideas and forms which served as sources for Achaemenid imperial art.

In Fig. 1 I have attempted to suggest visually the nature of the system of influences involved in the process of creation of Achaemenid art.

Let us now take a closer look at the three factors shown in Fig. 1 whose relative importance in the process of creation we are attempting to evaluate on a theoretical level: the impact of artisans, the impact of the patron and his selected planners, and the impact of long-term cultural/historical influences.

The Role of the Artisan: A Reassessment.

Scholarly discussions which have formed the core of literature dealing with the creation of Achaemenid art have emphasized the national origin of the artisans who executed the art as the primary factor determining its nature and essence. Viewed within the context of the history of Achaemenid studies, this emphasis upon the supreme importance of foreign (and especially *Greek*) artisans is understandable.

Speculation about how Achaemenid art originated began in the nineteenth century, when the reports of travelers to Persepolis, followed by excavations at the great Assyrian cities and finally also at Susa, had created lively interest in the Near East. Though certain similarities between Achaemenid sculpture and Assyrian sculpture were obvious, several prominent investigators (among them Marcel Dieulafoy) saw Greek influence as the primary factor determining the nature of Achaemenid art[6]. In particular, the way the ubiquitous Persian robe is rendered in Achaemenid sculpture was recognized as

---

[6] M. Dieulafoy, *L'art antique de la Perse: Achéménides, Parthes, Sassanides* (Paris: Librairie centrale d'architecture, etc., 1884-1885). See Nylander, *Ionians*, 13-16, for a more detailed account of the history of scholarship on Achaemenid sculpture.

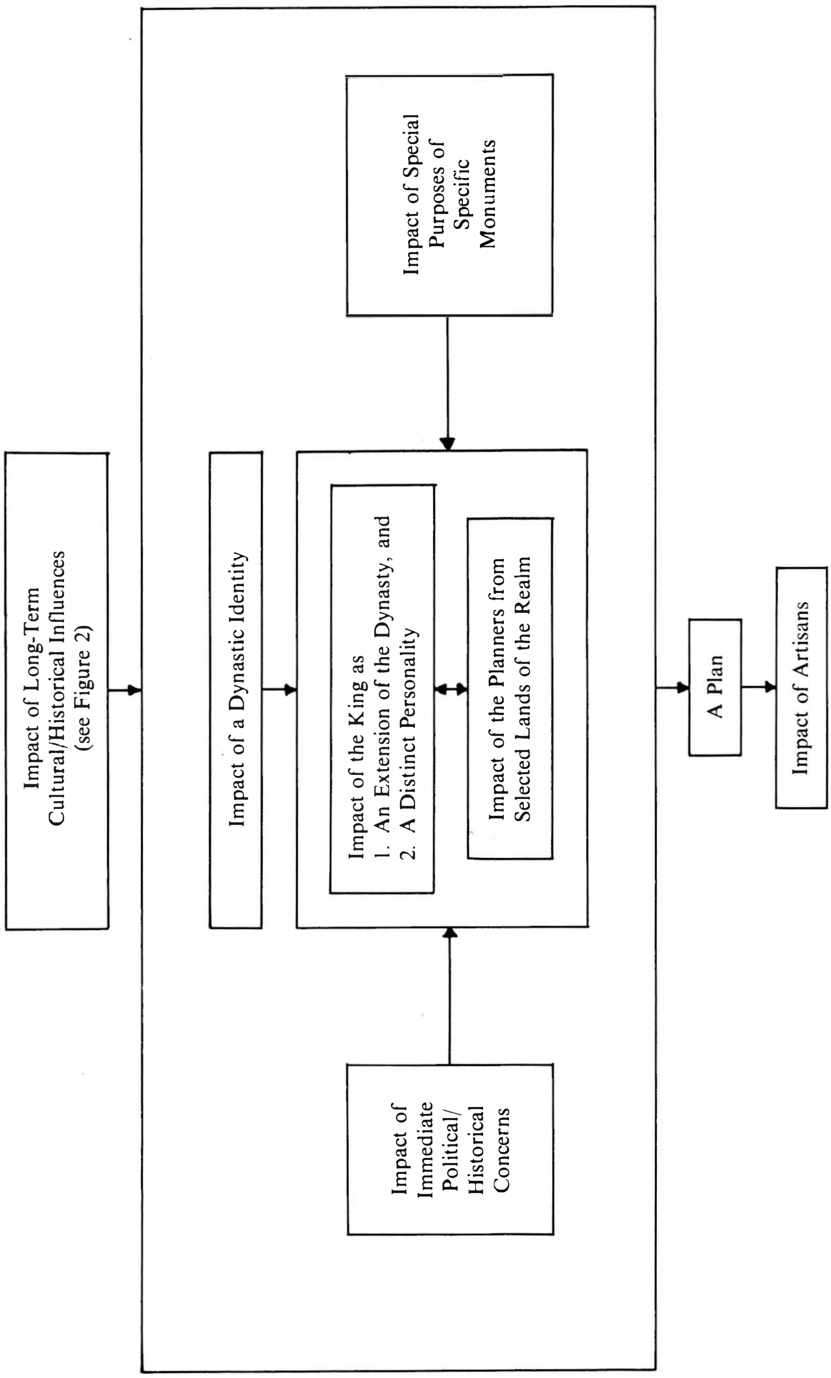

Impact of Long-Term
Cultural/Historical Influences
(see Figure 2)
Impact of a Dynastic Identity
Impact of Special
Purposes of
Specific
Monuments
Impact of the King as
1. An Extension of the Dynasty, and
2. A Distinct Personality
Impact of the Planners from
Selected Lands of the Realm
Impact of
Immediate
Political/
Historical
Concerns
A Plan
Impact of Artisans

Fig. 1. — Achaemenid Imperial Art : A Systemic Process of Creation.

a Greek patternization. Indeed, a certain formal similarity is easy to see between Achaemenid and archaic Greek drapery: a vertical pleat with edges terminating in a double zig-zag pattern resembling the form of the Greek letter "Omega"; and diagonal folds radiating out from this vertical pleat [e.g., Pls. 5 and 20-21].

The situation became polarized, as knowledge of Iran increased in the early years of this century. Ernst Herzfeld led the Orientalists in maintaining that Achaemenid art was an outgrowth of purely Near Eastern, and largely indigenous Iranian, traditions. He suggested, furthermore, that if anything, the direction of influence between Greece and Iran was from East to West[7].

Then in 1929 a fantastic discovery made at Susa was reported to the world. Associated with the debris of Darius' palace there, the French team had uncovered many copies of a foundation charter which, in Babylonian, Elamite and Old Persian cuneiform, described the construction of the palace: how the foundations were laid, whence construction materials were brought, and even the nationalities of the artists and workers involved in the specific aspects of the project. In part, the Old Persian text has been translated as follows:

> The silver and the ebony were brought from Egypt. The ornamentation with which the wall was adorned that from Ionia was brought. The ivory which was wrought here, was brought from Ethiopia and from Sind and from Arachosia.
>
> The stone columns which were here wrought, a village by name Abiradu, in Elam—from there were brought. The stone-cutters who wrought the stone, those were Ionians and Sardians.
>
> The goldsmiths who wrought the gold, those were Medes and Egyptians. The men who wrought the wood, those were Sardians and Egyptians. The men who wrought the baked brick, those were Babylonians. The men who adorned the wall, those were Medes and Egyptians[8].

Imagine the excitement generated by this discovery: to have an excavated and dated text, written in the name of Darius himself, telling us exactly what we wanted to know! With the publication of the Susa foundation charter (Dsf) the stage was set for scholarly energies to focus upon the further clarification of the impact of these Ionian artists who (as we now *knew*) had "wrought the stone" at Susa.

---

[7] See, for instance, E. Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1941).

[8] R.G. Kent, *Old Persian: Grammar, Texts, Lexicon*, AOS, XXXIII (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1953), 142-144 (Dsf). On the discovery of the text, and on the other versions, see V. Scheil, *Inscriptions des Achéménides à Suse*, MDP, XXI (Paris: Ernst Leroux, 1929); W. Hinz, "The Elamite Version of the Record of Darius' Palace at Susa", *JNES* 9, 1950, 1-7. For recent discussion and inclusion of new fragments found at Susa see M.-J. Steve, "Inscriptions des Achéménides à Suse", *St Ir* 3, 1974, 135-161; and W. Hinz, *Neue Wege im Altpersischen*, Göttingen Orientforschungen, III (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1973).

Looking back from the vantage point of the 1970's, we can see that the excitement of the discovery of the charter made it easy to overlook its problematical aspects. For one thing, this document follows a time-honored tradition in the ancient Near East, whereby royal inscriptions of this type were not necessarily factual accounts in the strictest sense of the word. Rather, they were statements of the extent of imperial domain—statements which were merely couched in the genre of straightforward enumeration of tasks allotted to the subject peoples and raw materials brought from their lands[9]. The Dsf text was meant to be read. It was not part of a foundation deposit buried under the palace for the perusal only of Ahuramazda. Quite the contrary, the excavators found fragments of *many* copies of all three language versions on clay tablets, marble tablets, and on the glazed tiles of the frieze of the great hall of the palace[10]. Furthermore, a recently discovered Elamite copy of Dsf is preserved well enough to determine that the marble tablet was inscribed only on four faces. The two parallel lateral faces were left uninscribed and were perforated by holes for a rod—thus enabling the heavy tablet to be rotated and read easily on all inscribed surfaces[11].

Another sure indication of the propagandistic nature of the Susa text lies in the fact that it makes absolutely no mention of Persians playing any part in the building project.

Even if the text were reliable as fact, difficulties in the reading of the three versions make it impossible to understand the intended significance of key words. The Ionians who worked the stone are mentioned in conjunction with stone brought for columns. Thus we might suppose that the text refers here to the working of stone foundations and columns rather than to the carving of reliefs. And since there apparently was not any stone relief decorating Darius' palace at Susa, this interpretation would seem probable. There is also a question about the meaning of the "ornamentation with which the walls were adorned" which was brought from Ionia. In the context of the passage, this would suggest ornamentation in a precious material. The discussion is made more complicated by the subsequent mention of "the men who adorned the walls" being *Medes* and *Egyptians* (who are also grouped together as goldsmiths). Clearly the text is ambiguous—and would remain so even if readings of all the words in the three versions could be agreed upon completely[12].

---

[9] Cf. a similar text of Gudea : G. A. Barton, *The Royal Inscriptions of Sumer and Akkad* (New Haven : Yale University Press, 1929), 219.

[10] Kent, *Old Persian*, 110.

[11] F. Vallat, "Deux inscriptions élamites de Darius I^er^", *St Ir* 1, 1972, 5.

But in the almost half-century since the discovery of the Susa charter, scholarship on Greek artists and their role in the creation of Achaemenid art has paid little attention to such difficulties.

In 1946 Gisela Richter published a seminal article entitled "Greeks in Persia"[13]. By this time, preliminary excavations had been carried out at Pasargadae, and the Oriental Institute had excavated Persepolis. Also, the chronology of Greek sculpture had been greatly refined—not least through the work of Richter herself. Richter's aim was to demonstrate that Greek artists "created" Achaemenid art.

Turning to the sculpture, she saw renditions of eyes, hair and drapery in Achaemenid sculpture as proof of Greek workmanship and Greek "creation". The drapery argument has gained the most attention from later scholars (and is the only strong point of the three, in any event) so we shall concentrate on that here[14]. Within the parameters of the "absolute" chronology for archaic Greek style developed by Richter herself, Richter was able to show in 1946 the likelihood that the canonical Achaemenid drapery rendition—as found first at Pasargadae on the figure of Cyrus from Palace P—was the result of Greek influence. In archaic Greece, she demonstrated, one could trace the gradual development of drapery patternization from parallel zig-zag folds stacked in one direction to symmetrically paired zig-zags forming an omega-shaped hemline. The omega hemline had been formulated in Greece by the time of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi (sometime *before* 525 B.C.). Thus it was possible to suppose that Greek artists at Pasargadae had introduced to Iran the omega pattern in its full-blown form at the very end of Cyrus' reign—not long before 529.

---

[12] See commentaries to the Dsf text published in the works cited in n. 8 *supra*.

[13] G.M.A. Richter, "Greeks in Persia", *AJA* 50, 1946, 16-30.

[14] For the stylistic treatment of eye and hair there are close parallels also in neo-Assyrian art (closer, I believe, and more likely to have had an impact on Achaemenid art than Richter's Greek parallel). For eyes, compare Pls. 20-21 here with Pl. 55b. This same comparison will suffice to show that the snail curl in conjunction with finely striated lines was well within the technical repertoire of Near Eastern sculptors. What Richter is really discussing is coiffure similarity rather than stylistic and technical similarity. On Achaemenid reliefs, the stock stylistic devices used for hair renditions (fine grooves, snail curls placed in various ways) were used in various combinations to achieve the effects of different coiffures of different nationalities. It is perhaps significant that the comparison she finds most useful for her argument is between an Achaemenid representation of a *Lydian* tribute bearer and a Greek representation of a Greek (her figs. 19 and 20). Similarly with her remarks on the similarity of drapery rendition with crinkly undergarment. The comparison is there simply because the type of foreign garment rendered on the Achaemenid relief (Syrian tribute group) is somewhat similar to the garments of the seated goddess on the Siphnian Treasury frieze (her figs. 17 and 18). That Assyrian sculptors also knew how to render crinkly drapery is shown by Pl. 44a here.

In order to prove that Greek artists were actually responsible for carving the Achaemenid reliefs, Richter invoked the Susa charter; and she added another bit of evidence—this time to establish the presence of Greek artists specifically at Persepolis. This was a shoe of Darius which had been removed clandestinely from one of the reliefs in his palace at Persepolis and later acquired by The Metropolitan Museum of Art. On this shoe were engraved the idle doodlings of an undoubtedly Greek hand—presumably of a Greek artist at the Persian court who, in Richter's words, "gave vent to a sudden desire to work in his own manner, untrammeled by the restrictions imposed upon him[15]. Comparing the style of one of the faces inscribed on the shoe to the face of Antaios on a crater by Euphronios illustrated by Richter we too can appreciate the similarity, and suppose that sometime after about 510 or 500 our Greek artist left his mark.

We can now add to this external evidence attesting to the presence of Greek artists or stone workers at Persepolis. A Greek inscription on a rock face in the quarry hard by the terrace says "πυθαρχοειμι"—or "I belong to Pytharchos". The script suggests a date between the end of the sixth century and the beginning of the fifth. The presence of this "speaking inscription" in the quarry suggests that perhaps Pytharchos was a Greek contractor or quarryman who wrote this in order to reserve the cliff face for himself. There are a few other simple Greek name graffiti in the quarry as well[16].

But there are obvious differences between Achaemenid drapery and Greek drapery of the late sixth/early fifth centuries. The Achaemenid type (even in the "action" context of the royal hero motif) is quiet, unmoving. Its purpose is not to suggest the subtle contours of the body beneath it, nor is it designed to express movement or to capture forever an artistic impression of a fleeting moment's disarray. These qualities seem typical of Greek sculpture of this period, but foreign to the Persian idiom[17]. Richter explains these differences as due to the fact that the Greek artists working in Iran were forced to work under what she calls "new conditions". The implication being that, produced in the shadow of barbarian tyranny, the free spirit of Greek art gave way to the frozen forms of servitude. In her widely read handbook on archaic Greek art, Richter has taken this idea a step further—devoting a special section to Achaemenid art as peripheral Greek art, "where a certain foreign element is noticeable"[18].

---

[15] Richter, "Greeks in Persia", 28.

[16] G. Carratelli, "Greek Inscriptions of the Middle East", *EW* 16, 1966, 31-34.

Now, there can be no question that Greek workmen (alongside others) played a role in the construction and decoration of the palaces at Pasargadae, Susa, and Persepolis. The great influence of Ionian techniques at Pasargadae shortly after 546 has been clearly demonstrated by Nylander[19]. And we have noted the evidence of Greeks at Persepolis. As for Susa, although we cannot take the foundation charter (Dsf) as a literal description of the labor force there, nevertheless, the *essential* message of the document is certainly accurate. Darius did indeed command a labor force from all over his realm, including workers from Ionia.

But does this make Achaemenid sculpture *Greek*? One might suppose that if the Persian king had wanted his images carved with the soft drapery of Ionian sculpture he would have demanded and received just that—no matter how depressed by tyranny were his imported artists. And if we admit that Achaemenid drapery must look "frozen" because the patron wanted it to look just that way, then to call it Greek is to define its essence inappropriately. Nevertheless Richter's view has been taken up by others subsequently and carried to unwarranted extremes. J.M. Cook for instance has called Telephanes of Ionian Phocea the "grand master of the Persepolis friezes"[20]. If Telephanes, whom we know of only through a few lines of Pliny, was the grand master of Persepolis, then he clearly allowed his art to be so prescribed by the court that his Greek nationality had no real significance in determining the nature of the art he supposedly executed[21]. The same criticism must be made of Heinz Luschey's attribution of the Behistun relief to Theodorus of Samos[22].

---

[17] Compare Pl. 16b here with figures from the Siphnian Treasury frieze: J. Charbonneaux, et al., *Archaic Greek Art (620-480 B.C.)*, trans. J. Emmons and R. Allen (New York: Geo. Braziller, 1971), figs. 202, 203, 205, 206.

[18] G.M.A. Richter, *Archaic Greek Art against its Historical Background* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1949).

[19] Nylander, *Ionians*.

[20] J.M. Cook, *The Greeks in Ionia and the East* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1962), 126 f.

It is instructive in this context to imagine how specific Achaemenid representational motifs might have looked if rendered by Greek artists *in Greek style*. Compare, for instance, the motif of the Iranian riding habit being presented to the king on the Apadana tribute procession relief at Persepolis [Pl. 24], with the rendition of a similar motif on the Nereid Monument [Pl. 69][23]. In the Greek relief the attitudes of the tribute bearers are compelling in their dramatic thrust forward, while the Achaemenid sculpture is meant to convey through strictly metered vertical strokes a sense of timeless solemnity. The riding habit shown on the Nereid Monument is loose and fluttery. By contrast, the Achaemenid rendition is clearly designed to articulate the fact of this specific garment, quâ specific gift—and nothing more.

Another interesting comparison is the motif painted on the shield of a Persian on the Alexander sarcophagus[24]. The painting is clearly visible with the aid of special photography. The motif of the enthroned king receiving a bowing official must have been copied from the relief seen on the jambs of the north doors of the Throne Hall at Persepolis [Pl. 29b]. But the stylistic differences are obvious. We note the elongated form of the official before the king (a form which conforms to fourth century Greek proportions), and the relaxed pose of the king himself, slouched back in his chair in a way which is antithetical to the mood of the Persepolis reliefs. These examples illustrate how deeply *unGreek* are the Achaemenid reliefs in any but superficial details.

Within the history of Achaemenid studies, Carl Nylander's *Ionians in Pasargadae* represents a turning point. As the title suggests, this work deals with the impact of Ionian craftsmen and stoneworking techniques upon the earliest Achaemenid architecture and sculpture. To this extent it emerges from the traditional set of problems previously established as definitive. But, without even treating here the importance of the data and analysis which form the core of this study, Nylander's introductory and concluding discussions eloquently lay a theoretical groundwork for assessing the Greek contribution *within the context of a positively asserted, essentially Achaemenid programmatic vision.* This rounding of the bend frees Achaemenid studies from its subjection to a rather mechanistic analytical framework and stimulates exploration along new lines. It allows us to see, for instance, the Greekness of the masonry style of the Pasargadae platform—but it allows us then to go on from there to suppose that this style was used here because that is what the Achaemenids themselves actively wanted, not because a group of imported stoneworkers took it upon themselves to decide such a crucial matter.

---

[21] J.J. Pollitt, *The Art of Greece 1400-31 B.C. Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1965), 65 (Pliny, N.H. XXXIV, 68).

[22] H. Luschey, "Studien zu dem Darius-Relief von Bisūtun", *AMI* n.F. 1, 1968, 88.

[23] B.M., frieze block no. 895.

[24] V. Von Graeve, *Der Alexandersarkophag und seine Werkstatt*, Istanbuler Forschungen, XXVIII (Berlin: Mann, 1970), 102-109.

The fundamental issue raised by the scholarship described in the preceding pages is this: whether, *within the context of Achaemenid art*, execution constituted creation; whether the national origin of the artists who executed the art was the primary factor determining its nature and its essence; or whether these were determined, rather, by the design of the king and his officials.

I would suggest that the people who set chisel to stone at the Persian court had little to do with the *real* creation of Achaemenid sculpture. From administrative tablets excavated at Persepolis which span the years 509-458, we now know that foreign laborers from many lands of the empire—not least from Egypt, with its great tradition of stoneworking—were brought in large groups to work at that site. Among all these people Ionians are mentioned only a few times, and they are never singled out for any artistic contribution[25]. And if we can go by the rations allotted to these foreign workers in comparison to the rations given to other groups at the court, then we must suppose that in general they were treated as menials, enjoying no great status[26].

---

[25] R.T. Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, OIP, XCII (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), 2. For references in PF texts to foreign *artisans'* rations see for instance p. 304, PF 1049. Most of the groups of foreigners receiving rations in these texts are designated simply as "workers". Among the less frequent designations of *specific* employment of ethnically identified people we note Sardian blacksmiths (PF 873), Sardian *halapzi* makers [perhaps a vegetable product] (PF 1409), Babylonian scribes writing on parchment (PF 1947), and female Ionian irrigation workers (PF 1224). When "artisans" and "makers of stone" are referred to, they are not designated by nationality. E.g., PF 1580-1584, PF 1587, 1594, 1611, 1614, 1633.

[26] Even before this evidence had become known, some scholars had suggested this situation. E.g., K. Erdmann, "Griechische und achaemenidische Plastik (zum gegenwärtigen Stand der Diskussion)", *FuF* 26, 1950, 150-153; and P. Amandry, "La Grèce d'Asie et l'Anatolie du 8^{e} au 6^{e} siècle avant Jésus-Christ", *Anatolica* 2, 1968, 87-102.

Recent work by Carl Nylander and Michael Roaf on the masons' marks found on column bases and reliefs at Persepolis suggests that a great deal of the sculpture was carved by crews on a section-by-section basis. Many of the "artists" at the Persian court may have had little more relation to the finished project than does a worker in a modern assembly line[27]. Analysis of the parts left unfinished on Persepolis reliefs suggests even further that individual stone carvers must frequently have been responsible only for isolated details of a given figure—not for an *entire* figure, much less for an entire *composition* [Pl. 26a][28]. There seem to have been hair men, jewelry men, scabbard men and ear men plying their crafts at the Persian court and all working from the same or similar models to insure the stylistic homogeneity which is so striking a feature of Achaemenid art in all media[29]. Under such a system, Babylonians may have carved "typically Greek" omega hems and Greeks may have carved guardian bull colossi[30].

A good artist can, once he has mastered the specific technical difficulties involved, work in a variety of styles, successfully suppressing his own personal and cultural idiosyncrasies and assuming the vocabulary of a different style as occasion demands. Documentation of this is provided by the Petosiris tomb in Egypt. Here a painted relief dated to the end of the fourth century B.C. depicts *Egyptians* manufacturing typical *Achaemenid Persian* vessels[31]. So too at Persepolis, the nationality of those who executed the reliefs may have had very little to do with their final appearance. The crucial thing must have been the models from which the sculpture crews had to work.

---

[27] Nylander has summarized the results of work on the masons' marks in "Masons' Marks in Persepolis—A Progress Report", *Proceedings of the IInd Annual Symposium on Archaeological Research in Iran* (Tehran : Iran Centre for Archaeological Research, 1974), 216-222; and in a paper presented at the meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America in December, 1975.

[28] A.B. Tilia, "A Study on the Methods of Working and Restoring Stone and on the Parts Left Unfinished in Achaemenian Architecture and Sculpture", *EW* 18, 1968, 67-95.

[29] An unpublished sculptor's model from Persepolis, now in the Oriental Institute collection, is significant in this context. The stone model is of a single ear—two to three times life-size. See M.C. Root, *Ancient Iran : A Guidebook to the Iranian Collection of the Oriental Institute*, forthcoming.

[30] The use of Aramaic as a spoken *lingua franca* must have made it possible for workers of different nationalities to work side by side. See D. Weisberg, *Guild Structure and Political Allegiance in Early Achaemenid Mesopotamia*, Yale Near Eastern Researches, I (New Haven : Yale University Press, 1967), 5-16. Nevertheless, the PF tablets suggest that at least on the administrative lists the workers were grouped by nationality—frequently large numbers of "workers" of one nationality being transported en masse from one place to another (e.g., PF 1557—recording 547 Egyptian "workers" going to Tamukkan [from Susa]).

[31] M.G. Lefebure, *Le tombeau de Petosiris* (Cairo : Imprimerie de l'institut français, 1924), vol. III, pls. VII and IX. The significance of the Petosiris relief in this context

The most serious limitation of the "artisan-oriented" approach—whereby Achaemenid art is seen as primarily determined by the national origins of those who executed it—is that it necessarily minimizes the potential value of official Achaemenid art as a subjective historical source. For an art which is understood as, in its essence, an eclectic product of the cultural and technical backgrounds of an imported labor force, cannot simultaneously be understood as, in its essence, a reflection of the calculated imperial vision of the kings who commissioned it.

I should now like to discuss certain aspects of Achaemenid art as imperial art—as art which was planned by the court to look the way it looks, both in terms of style and iconography.

Conscious Planning and the Role of the King.

Representations of the king and kingship in Achaemenid art are potentially valuable sources of historical/cultural information—but only if we can accept the idea that they reflect the imperial image and ideas which the patron king wished to have projected. If we can accept this theoretical base, then the art acquires historical meaning no matter how "meaningless" it may appear in objective intrinsic terms. Let the following be a case in point.

In 1905 Jacques de Morgan published what may stand as the archetypal description of Achaemenid art as a haphazard pastiche of foreign and antique elements:

> L'art achéménide, si toutefois on peut qualifier d'art le ménage incohérent qui se trouvait en faveur à la cour des successeurs de Cyrus, n'était qu'un composite d'assyrien, d'égyptien, de phénicien, de grec, de lycien, de cappadocien, de phrygien, de tout enfin ce que les armées du Roi des rois avaient vu dans leurs expéditions militaires. Ces divers éléments furent, le plus souvent, associés avec le plus complet mauvais goût; rarement ils se groupèrent d'une façon agréable[32].

---

has recently been suggested also by O. Muscarella in a review of Farkas, *Achaemenid Sculpture*, in *BASOR* 223, 1976, 71-72. See H. Frankfort, "Oriental Institute Museum Notes: A Persian Goldsmith's Trial Piece", *JNES* 9, 1950, 111-112.

[32] J. de Morgan, "Découverte d'une sépulture achéménide à Suse", in MDP, VIII (Paris: Ernst Leroux, 1905), 46.

I disagree not only with de Morgan's aesthetic evaluation of Achaemenid art, but also with his concept of its eclectic nature. It is worth noting, however, that even the apparently most barbarous and ill-conceived mélange of disparate foreign elements and period styles can itself be revealing of the culture which commissioned it. The eclecticism of de Morgan's Susa could, then, be understood as a statement (however simplistic and unappealing to our eyes) of the Persian king's domination over every culture represented by borrowed elements. The King of Kings might well have wished to be reminded, as he went from place to place in his city, of the palaces and colossi of Egypt, the temples of Asia Minor, the gateways of Nineveh, the zigurrats of Babylon. This in itself would imply an intention behind the art which offers some small insight into the patron[33].

But there is a grander, more complex, scheme behind the choice of antique and foreign motifs used in Achaemenid art—a scheme which promises to offer important primary source material on Achaemenid kingship and political attitudes. Before embarking upon the particulars of this study of representations of kingship in Achaemenid art it behooves us to explore certain aspects of imperial art in general as a basis for appreciating the full potentials of Achaemenid art as an example of this genre.

The Role of the King and his Court: Historical Analogies.

From the ancient Near East we have ample evidence that kings took an active interest in the creation of the outward declarations of their imperial pursuits—whether with respect to court ritual and religious observance, royal decrees and documents, or artistic representations.

Mesopotamian traditions required that the king be directly involved with elaborate rituals in the construction of temples and palaces.

---

[33] An interesting example of this type of international quotation on a most literal level is the facade of the Gothic revival Tribune Tower in Chicago (by Hood and Howells, 1925). Stones from famous monuments all over the world are incorporated (with labels) into the masonry—obviously meant to be a statement of some sort on the institution represented by the building. Another example is the eclectic relief over the door of the Oriental Institute at The University of Chicago. J.H. Breasted (dressed as an Egyptian) "receives" the cultures of the Ancient Near East through the paraphrasing of antique sculptural motifs from many cultures into one composition. It is precisely in this combining of incongruous elements that the relief expresses its meaning.

These rituals often entailed physical labor as well as purely symbolic acts[34].

The material collected and translated by Simo Parpola relating to the reigns of the Assyrian kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal alone gives an intimate view of the concern of the Assyrian rulers with the activities of the scholars in their employ at the court[35]. We see that Assurbanipal, for instance, took intense personal interest in the accumulation of the great library of Nineveh. In one letter, he tells his archivists which types of texts he wishes to acquire[36].

In the composition of the Assyrian royal annals the distinctive literary styles current during different reigns suggest the involvement and impact of the individual kings. As Leo Oppenheim has noted,

> One thus gains the impression that these inscriptions were written for the king himself. The scribes and poets at court created for him his own image as hero and pious king; they show him in these texts as he wanted to see himself[37].

This observation could be applied with equal validity to the king's relationship with the court artists who executed his images in stone. They too must have shown him as he wanted to see himself. Among the correspondence of the Assyrian kings which has come down to us, there are letters written between the king and his court artists. These letters clearly document the great interest taken by the king in official artistic representations—and especially (though not exclusively) in representations of himself. Note this letter from the reign of Sargon:

---

[34] On royal labor see R.S. Ellis, *Foundation Deposits in Ancient Mesopotamia*, Yale Near Eastern Researches, II (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), 20-33.

[35] S. Parpola, *Letters from Assyrian Scholars to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal*, Pt. I: *Texts*, AOAT, V/1 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Butzon & Bercker Kevelaer, 1970), e.g. # 17, 19, 39.

[36] A.L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), 244 and n. 22.

[37] Ibid., 149. As this goes to press, S.M. Paley's new work on Assurnasirpal reaches my desk: *King of the World: Ashur-nasir-pal II of Assyria 883-859 B.C.* (Brooklyn: The Brooklyn Museum, 1976). I regret that I am unable to incorporate information from this book into my own study; but I am delighted to see that Paley has a similar view of the significance of the royal personality in the planning of imperial art. I should also note here that R.D. Barnett's definitive work on the sculptures of Assurbanipal was not available to me. See now, his *Sculptures from the North Palace of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh (668-627 B.C.)* (London: British Museum Publications, Ltd., 1976).

... TO THE KING

...just now...images(?) unto...we have caused to bring, an image of the king in outline I have drawn. An image of the king of another sort(?) they have prepared. May the king see (them) and whatever is pleasing before the king, we shall make instead(?). May the king give attention to the hands, the elbows(?), REV.(?) and the drapery(?). Regarding the image of the king which they are making, there is a staff fastened in front of its side. Its hands rest upon its knees. Since they are not favorable, I am not doing the work. Whenever I speak to them regarding the form, (or) regarding anything whatever, they will not hearken...[38]

From Egypt, we have the interesting example of Akhenaten—who was apparently directly involved in the formulation of the distinctive iconography and style which typifies the art of Amarna. It has been suggested that certain stylistic trends which are traditionally associated with Amarna art were already evidenced during the reign of Akhenaten's predecessor, and may thus have been part of a more evolutionary (rather than purely revolutionary) development[39]. Nevertheless, under Akhenaten the style and the peculiar iconography of Amarna art were developed into a unique synthesis which shows the effects of a consistently applied principle of programmatic planning from above[40]. We have the testimony of Akhenaten's own chief sculptor, Bak, as to the close supervision he received from the pharaoh in matters of official art. In a graffito at Aswan Bak says that he was taught by the king. And on a personal stele he describes himself as the apprentice of the king[41].

---

[38] L. Waterman, *Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1930), II, 233, #1051. Note also a letter to the Assyrian king from a court scribe: "...As regards the tiara [about which the king], our lord, wrote to me, the beads which were shown to us are very beautiful...As regards what the king, our lord, wrote to us: 'I have saved obsidian', if 'eyes' are lacking, beads should be made of it, (and) [if] a šanṭuppu (ornament) is lacking, a šanṭuppu-gem should be made of it. If it is extra, they may leave it (unused)". Parpola, *Letters*, §58. And an inscription of Sargon: "...Day and night I planned how to build that city [khorsabad]..." D.D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, II (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927), 63, #117.

[39] E.g., C.F. Nims, "The Transition from the Traditional to the New Style of Wall Relief under Amenhotep IV", *JNES* 32, 1973, 181-187.

[40] W.S. Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1958), 173-185.

[41] W.W. Hallo and W.K. Simpson, *The Ancient Near East: A History*, ed. J.M. Blum (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1971), 272; and C. Aldred, *Akhenaten* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1968), pl. 79.

From Dynasty 5 we have the revealing evidence of the tomb inscription of the chief architect of king Dedhere-Isesi. The architect quotes verbatim two letters from the king (one written by the king in his own hand). These letters concern plans for construction of an artificial lake. The king studied the plans carefully himself and then approved them[42]. Other inscriptions of royal architects at the Egyptian court also record the direct involvement of the king in the construction and decoration of imperial monuments—at least to the extent of passing ultimate judgment upon plans made by the chief of works[43]. The inspection of pharaonic projects was apparently a major activity of the court. And we may assume that if on such tours of inspection the ruler was displeased, he let his feelings be known.

A 13th Dynasty stele of king Neferhotep I clearly documents the role of this pharaoh in the planning stage of a religious monument. Neferhotep mentions that he himself went to the archives to consult the records of the Temple of Osiris in order to get information on the proper way to render a cult image of the god[44]. This is especially significant for our purposes, as it clearly suggests the plausibility of considering the deliberate search for information on antique models for a new representation as a possible means of transmission of ideas at the Achaemenid court as well[45].

Other historical analogies which may help us to appreciate various aspects of the potential role of the Achaemenid king in the planning of his official art include the art of Augustus, the art produced under the patronage of Charlemagne, and the Mughal art produced in the workshop of the Indian emperor Akbar. Each of these rulers was very conscious of the importance of developing an art which would represent his new empire. Augustus was no artist himself, but the consul Agrippa seems to have functioned as his image-maker and as the planner of his artistic programme. Similarly, Gaius Maecenas was charged with the task of formulating a literary programme[46]. In

---

[42] J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* (Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1906), I, # 268-273.

[43] E.g., Ibid., #244.

[44] Hallo and Simpson, *History*, 249; Breasted, *Ancient Records*, I, #753-765.

[45] See also E. Posner, *Archives in the Ancient World* (Cambridge : Harvard University Press, 1972), esp. 64 f.

[46] D. E. Strong, *Roman Imperial Sculpture* (London : Alec Tiranti, 1961), 14 and 21 f. See also, R. Brilliant, *Gesture and Rank in Roman Art*, Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, XIV (New Haven : Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1963), with bibliography.

Augustan art the message is everywhere the same: it is a glorification of Rome and Augustus, of peace, prosperity, and old-fashioned piety, emphasizing republican virtues but paradoxically and deliberately bespeaking the power and vision of an emperor who cloaked his absolute authority in the trappings of constitutionality. Both in style and in content Augustan art is art in the service of power in a specific historical situation. The language of Augustan art is one of calculated and subtle allusion. Power lies in the implicit rather than the explicit[47]. It will be seen at a later point that the similarities between the method of portraying power in Augustan and in Achaemenid art are quite remarkable. In this sense, the study of Augustan art affords perhaps the best historical analogy for appreciating aspects of the nature of Achaemenid art.

Other imperial programmes are of interest here for different reasons. The art produced at the court of Aachen under the patronage of Charlemagne is worth mention for what it can tell us about the process of creation of a particular programme for which we have a good deal more documentation than we have for Achaemenid art[48]. Charlemagne's art programme was directed by Einhard; and Alcuin was in charge of the planning of the literary programme. In his life of Charlemagne, Einhard remarks upon the king's personal involvement in the planning of the art programme. The primary purpose of Carolingian art was didactic, to teach Christianity in a very literal way. Artists from far away were brought to the workshops at Aachen in order that Einhard could direct the formulation of a coherent artistic conception in keeping with the specific concerns of his patron. Einhard collected antique models, consciously and methodically exploiting them as material for his new art. This process has been demonstrated convincingly by Roger Hinks in his work on the development of Carolingian art. The art of Charlemagne cannot help us to understand the nature of Achaemenid art in the same direct way that Augustan art can. But on the other hand, an appreciation of the consciousness of the process of its creation and its use of antique models for specific reasons can tell us a great deal about the issues to be sensitive to in our forthcoming iconographical analysis of Achaemenid art.

---

[47] For relevant remarks on the Augustan age and on the use of art as propaganda see M. Rostovtzeff, *Rome*, trans. J. D. Duff (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), 186-192.

[48] R. Hinks, *Carolingian Art* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1962).

I mention one additional historical analogy which is of special interest for the study of Achaemenid art. This is the art produced under the patronage of the Mughal emperor Akbar in the 16th century A.D. Like Achaemenid art, the Mughal style seemed to have appeared full-blown, without a developmental stage. For this reason, the obvious Iranian elements in Mughal style led many scholars to assume that Mughal art was essentially "imported" from Iran. And yet, the Mughal style is, in the words of Pramod Chandra, "really quite different [from Iranian art], possessing an originality, a vitality, and an inner coherence and unity that could not be explained by Iranian sources alone"[49]. Similarly, Achaemenid art is often described as having been born fully mature; and (as we have discussed) its obvious relation to the art of other cultures has been explained as being the result of the impact of an imported group of artisans. The discovery of over 200 miniatures which form part of an illuminated manuscript of the Tuti-nama has provided a new idea of the formation of Mughal style. Chandra has demonstrated that these miniatures document the step-by-step process by which artists originally trained in other styles were re-educated in a new style—the Mughal style. The conception of the style was formulated from above, and imposed upon the artists who executed the miniatures. A guiding influence in the new style was Akbar's desire to emphasize Indian traditions in the creation of a new synthesis. As Chandra notes,

> The association of [the Persian artists] Mir Sayyid Ali and Khwaja Abd al-Ṣamad with the project accounts, no doubt, for the Persian elements in the style, but the startling individuality of the new school can only be explained by the patron's desire to look to the land over which he ruled for inspiration. From what we can gather of Akbar's personality and tastes, the nature of his rule, and the details of his personal artistic and literary preferences recorded in contemporary historical literature, a rarefied foreign and imitative art of the type produced for Humayun would just not do. Rather painting, like architecture and the other arts, would have to sink its roots into the Indian soil and allow itself to be transformed by Indian artistic traditions. In this context

---

[49] P. Chandra and D. Ehnbom, *The Cleveland Tuti-nama Manuscript and the Origins of Mughal Painting*, Catalogue of the Exhibition (Chicago: The David and Alfred Smart Gallery, The University of Chicago, 1976), 11. For fuller treatment see P. Chandra, *The Tuti-nama of the Cleveland Museum of Art and the Origins of Mughal Painting* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstatt, 1976).

the carefully chosen words of Abd al-Fazl, the court chronicler, and himself a learned man and gifted connoisseur, gain a new significance. Describing the work of Abd al-Samad, he refers to the "transmuting glance of the king" as having raised that artist to a more sublime level, giving his images a greater depth of spirit. Here we have a clear indication of the part played by Akbar in the evolution of the new style. We also know from the same as well as other sources that Akbar was himself trained in painting, and this must have put him in rather effective command of the royal atelier. He is known to have personally recognized the talent of at least one artist, Dasavanta, who was recruited to the royal atelier at his insistence and trained by Khwaja Abd al-Samad, and we also know that he regularly inspected the work of his artists, distributing rewards and increases in salaries on the basis of performance. This kind of supervision must have further influenced the atelier to develop a style that conformed to its imperial patron's vision[50].

Chandra's study of the development of Mughal art gives us a clear picture of how the idiosyncrasies and native traditions of a particular artist can be subordinated successfully to the demands of a new style created at a court for specific reasons having to do with the patron's dynastic self-conception. Scholarship on Mughal art thus provides a valuable model for the formulation of certain aspects of an approach to Achaemenid art as an imperial programme.

It is unfortunate that, compared with the kings we have been discussing, the Achaemenid rulers have left us scant records upon which to base any study of how their art was planned. But we may assume that at the Persian court the Achaemenids had assembled planners who were brought from various parts of the empire to realize the visions of their patrons. The Persepolis Treasury and Fortification tablets have yielded names and titles of many high-level officials at the Persian court—some of whose duties may have included advising the king on matters of artistic programming. Unfortunately Iranian titulary is not well understood[51].

An important bit of evidence does come from Egypt, however. The Egyptian admiral Udjahorresne has left us a lengthy biographical inscription in which he describes himself as having functioned as an advisor in matters of public image-making first to Cambyses and later to Darius[52]. Interestingly, Udjahorresne's work was not confined to Egypt. His inscription mentions that he was called back to Egypt from Elam at one point.

---

[50] Chandra and Ehnbom, *Cleveland Tuti-nama*, 12 f.

[51] W. Hinz, "Achämenidische Hofverwaltung", *ZAssyr* 61, 1971, 260-311.

[52] G. Posener, *La première domination perse en Égypte*, Bibliothèque d'étude, XI (Cairo: Imprimerie de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1936), 7-26.

In this context, it is significant to note that the Persepolis Fortification tablets, being in part records of travel rations issued to court personages, show how great was the mobility during the Achaemenid Period[53]. In addition to the steady and expected flow of messengers carrying letters and documents to and from the king, there was also a surprisingly heavy traffic of high officials moving on court business and a great deal of traveling done even by the king and his family. It would be misleading to think of the Persian court as anything but a very worldly sphere where a great deal of cultural cross-fertilization was constantly taking place.

Artists and workers also traveled[54]. An Aramaic letter of the Persian satrap of Egypt, 'Aršam, records correspondence concerning his Egyptian sculptor, Ḥinzanî. 'Aršam, who seems not to have been in Egypt or Susa at the time, commissioned Ḥinzanî (who had been brought to Susa together with his household) to make a copy of a sculpture he had once made for 'Aršam. The new sculpture once finished was then to be brought to 'Aršam immediately[55]. We are entirely justified in imagining sculptors such as this Ḥinzanî being brought to the court from various lands to confer with the king on the planning of large imperial commissions. Speaking in Aramaic, the *lingua franca* of the age, such international committees could have carried out their planning work and reported their designs to their patron[56].

Conscious Selection.

In studies of imperial programmes one frequently finds that the planners have made a very systematic attempt to seek out specific types of models for adaptation in the new art for specific political/

---

[53] E.g., Hallock, *Fortification Tablets*, PF 1318, 1383, 1397 (recording trips from Susa to India and India to Susa)—esp. PF 1397: "Karabba the Indian set forth from the King (to) India...He carried a sealed document of the King"; PF 1404 (Sardis to Persepolis); PF 1332 (Susa to Kerman).

[54] Note records in the Fortification tablets of large groups of foreign workers (some perhaps being artisans) transported from one city to another: PF 1547 (30 Egyptian "workers" from Susa to Matezziš); PF 1557 (547 Egyptian "workers" from Susa to Tamukkan); PF 1575 (26 Skudrian "workers" [from (?)] to Elam); PF 1577 (108 Cappadocian "workers" [from (?)] to Elam).

[55] G.R. Driver, *Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century B.C.*, abridged and rev. ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), letter no. IX, 32 and 71-74.

[56] On the mechanics of how planners might have conveyed their conceptions to the king, note the architects' drawings on fragmentary clay tablets from Susa: G.G. Cameron, *History of Early Iran* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936), 123.

cultural reasons involving the imperial visions of the patron. It is certainly valid to suggest the possibility of Achaemenid art having been dependent upon the same consciousness of purpose. Indeed, it will be possible to demonstrate in the course of this study that Achaemenid art was planned deliberately to create a certain impression; that it was not "misunderstanding" or the decadence of a declining civilization giving way to eclecticism which led to the reworking of prototypes; and that a great deal was done with a degree of deliberateness seldom credited by modern man to his ancient counterpart[57].

The forcefulness of the discussions which will be presented in the chapters to come is clearly dependent, however, upon the plausibility of the Achaemenids' ability consciously to select and adapt specific motifs (especially foreign and antique ones) for specific reasons. It is therefore appropriate here briefly to discuss aspects of the availability of antique and foreign models in the ancient Near East generally and in the Achaemenid Period specifically. Following this discussion we shall survey the historical/cultural situation of the Achaemenids—in part to establish the plausibility of conscious planning and selection from the point of view of contextual probability[58].

Artistic motifs can be passed along from one period to another and from one culture to another in a variety of ways. In the ancient Near East one way in which motifs survived to be available for later generations was simply a result of the fact that the buildings and monuments of a city did not necessarily disappear from sight immediately after that city had been conquered, or simultaneously with the end of an historical/political era. (This is a truism which bears mentioning nonetheless). This aspect of survival is obvious in Egypt, where the great monuments of past imperial glory remained visible throughout history and where the painted tomb chapels of court officials remained open to visitors. It was common practice in Egypt for one pharaoh to copy the reliefs of a famous predecessor for use on his own monuments[59].

---

[57] On consciousness as an agency of change in ancient society, note the remarks of R. McC. Adams, "Anthropological Perspectives on Ancient Trade", *IXth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences*, August-September, 1973, 5.

[58] Cf. Hermerén, *Influence*, esp. chapter 2 ("Conditions for Influence"), for an interesting framework for dealing with such issues. Although Hermerén does not treat the special problems of self-consciously imperial art, his analyses are useful here nonetheless.

[59] See Chapter III.

There is also reason to believe that many Mesopotamian monuments (even very ancient ones) remained available, at least to some extent, even into the Achaemenid Period. For rock reliefs this is of course obvious. But archaeological evidence attesting to the probable visibility of (and even the reoccupation of) some neo-Assyrian palaces does exist as well[60]. Classical sources seem generally to agree that Nineveh was utterly destroyed, with nothing of interest being left visible there[61]. But it is interesting to note the description of Nineveh recorded by the tenth century A.D. Arab geographer, Al-Mas'ūdī :

> De nos jours, l'an 332 [Moslem calendar], ce n'est plus qu'un amas de ruines au milieu desquelles sont des villages et des terres cultivées ... On y voit encore les traces d'une enceinte et l'on y trouve des statues de pierre surmontées d'inscriptions[62].

It is, furthermore, worth noting in this context that right at Persepolis—*a site the total destruction of which was also legendary in antiquity*—much of the sculpture remained visible into the Sasanian Period and even into the twentieth century[63]. Indeed, we must accept the fact that the classical sources often lack interest in describing those very monuments in which we ourselves may have the most interest[64]. Arguments *ex silentio* on the availability of Assyrian city ruins into the Achaemenid Period thus carry little weight.

---

[60] W. Andrae, *Das wiedererstandene Assur* (Leipzig : J.C. Hinrichs, 1938), 164-171; M.E.L. Mallowan, *Nimrud and its Remains* (London : Collins, 1966), 230, 285-287, 296-299, 353; A.H. Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon* (London : J. Murray, 1897), 591 ff; G. Loud, *Khorsabad*, I, OIP, XXXVIII (Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1936), 62-64, 118; Note also H. Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*, 4th ed., rev. (Harmondsworth : Penguin, 1970), 266, n. 76; Luschey, "Darius-Relief", 85; A. Farkas, *Achaemenid Sculpture* (Leiden : Nederlands historisch-archaeologisch Instituut, 1974), 57; C.J. Gadd, *The Stones of Assyria* (London : Chatton and Windus, 1936), 2-8.

[61] A.H. Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains* (New York : G.P. Putnam, 1849), 128, for a collection of sources.

[62] Al-Mas'ūdī, *Les prairies d'or*, II, trans. C. Barbier de Meynard and P. de Courteille (Paris : Imprimerie impériale, 1863), 93.

[63] E. Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, OIP, LXVIII (Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1953), 258 and pl. 199; 223, n. 11 and pls. 157-158. G. Gropp, "Beobachtungen in Persepolis", *AMI* n.F. 4, 1971, 25-49. For the commentaries of post-Sasanian European travelers, beginning with the first visitor (Friar Odoric in c. 1325 A.D.) see G.N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question* (London : Longmans, Green and Company, 1892), vol. I, 16-17.

[64] To Pausanias, for instance, a building which had fallen into ruins was not considered "worth seeing".

The careful excavation of the statue of Darius from Susa has shown how this monument was simply left in place, with debris only slowly accumulating around it during the ensuing centuries after the end of the Achaemenid Period[65]. This was undoubtedly a common phenomenon in the Near East.

Hand in hand with the more or less incidental survival of antique monuments comes the method by which artists and scribes were trained in the ancient Near East—a tradition which did much to perpetuate the use of the images of the past. Artists and scribes learned by copying pre-existing monuments—some of which were already antiques[66]. In Egypt of the Late Period, for instance, the 18th Dynasty private tombs were in effect the school rooms for young artists[67]. And throughout the history of Egypt, old imperial monuments were blatantly copied for new ones[68].

In addition to the chance availability of old monuments we must also reckon with the deliberate preservation of antiquities in ancient times, and the deliberate preservation of the trophies of war (which were usually treasured antiques as well) brought from one country to another and set up in the new context where they would remain visible. It should also be noted that information on the monuments of foreign lands was transmitted and preserved by court artists and scribes who accompanied ancient kings on their military campaigns in order to record events and impressions of exotic places—much as they did later under Napoleon[69].

[65] M. Kervran, D. Stronach, F. Vallat, and J. Yoyotte, "Une statue de Darius découverte à Suse", *JA* 260, 1972, 239.

[66] J. Vercoutter, *L'Égypte et le monde égéen préhellénique*, Bibliothèque d'étude, XXII (Cairo: Imprimerie de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1956), 195 ff. For analogies with the training of scribes note A. Erman, ed., *The Ancient Egyptians: A Sourcebook of their Writings*, trans. A.M. Blackman (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), and B. van de Walle, *Transmission des textes littéraires* (Brussels: Fondation égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1948).

[67] See Chapter VI, *infra*.

[68] E.g., Hallo and Simpson, *History*, 245 f., 291. E.R. Russman, *The Representation of the King in the XXVth Dynasty*, Monographies Reine Élisabeth, III (Brussels: Fondation égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1974), 22 ff.

[69] T.A. Madhloom, *The Chronology of Neo-Assyrian Art* (London: Athlone Press, 1970, 119, n. 2, and M. Wäfler, *Nicht-Assyrer neuassyrischen Darstellungen*, AOAT, XXVI (Neukirchen-Vluyn, Neukirchener Verlag, 1975), 13, for suggestions that many of the city-scapes shown in Assyrian historical reliefs may have been taken from sketches done during the actual campaigns. See also J.E. Reade, "Elam and the Elamites", *AMI* 9, 1976, 97-105, and A.C. Gunter, "Representations of Urartian and Western Iranian Architecture in the Assyrian Reliefs", unpublished M.A. Thesis (Columbia University, 1975), and paper presented to the American Oriental Society (Philadelphia, March, 1976).

The code of Hammurabi (already some 500 years old when it was brought to Susa as booty) was apparently still displayed there until the destruction by Assurbanipal, about 600 years later, when it was broken, and perhaps for that reason not taken back to Assyria as a trophy[70]. Other Mesopotamian monuments on display at Susa were the great obelisk of Manishtusu and the victory stele of Naramsin[71]. Some of these Akkadian trophies may have remained visible even into the Achaemenid Period[72]. This type of thing was not limited to the looting of relatively small objects. Assurbanipal, for instance, describes (among many other monuments) the removal of guardian colossi after his destruction of Susa[73]. And three over life-size statues of Taharqa were brought all the way to Nineveh from Egypt by Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal[74]. These statues were set up in front of a gateway in the Assyrian capital for all to see.

At Persepolis itself, the Treasury functioned in part as a museum[75]. And we have interesting evidence of the continued use of an antique seal. On several Persepolis Fortification tablets impressions are preserved of a seal (used by an official on behalf of Darius) which is inscribed with the name of Cyrus I, the grandfather of Cyrus the Great[76]. The use of antique and "dynastic seals" is attested in other Near Eastern civilizations, but it adds force to our discussions now to be able to demonstrate that the Achaemenids too were conscious of their past in this way.

In the first millennium in the ancient Near East there was a great interest in antiquarianism which, especially in Babylonia, led even to the excavation of antique monuments. The antique foundation deposits discovered in such excavations would then be incorporated in the foundation deposits placed under newly constructed buildings on the same site[77]. An interesting example of this type of practice is found in the deposit of King Nabopolassar (626-605). Under the floor of the temple at Sippar was found a box containing a ninth century tablet with text and accompanying relief. This tablet, made by the order of the Babylonian king Nabuapaladdina, was already archaizing at that time—as has been noted by Henri Frankfort[78]. Then Nabopolassar had a clay impression of the antique tablet made; and this, along with the archaizing ninth century original, was piously interred[79]. An even more striking deposit of antiques has been found in the Parthian Period Gareus Temple at Warka. Four cylinder seals ranging in date from the Early Dynastic Period to the Kassite Period were found to have been carefully and deliberately placed between the pavement joints behind and beside the podium[80].

---

[70] G. Jéquier, "Fouilles de Suse 1899-1900; 1900-1901; 1901-1902", MDP, VII (Paris : Ernst Leroux, 1905), 29.

[71] Cameron, *Early Iran*, 129.

[72] P. Calmeyer, "Zur Genese altiranischer Motive [I]", *AMI* n. F. 6, 1973, 137.

[73] Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, II, 310 (#810).

[74] Hallo and Simpson, *History*, 291.

[75] E. Schmidt, *Persepolis*, II, OIP, LXIX (Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1957) 3, 56f, 66-68, 81-84.

[76] PF seal #93, on tablets #692-695 and 2033: Hallock, *Fortification Tablets*, 214-215, and 628. Seal #93 ratifies a text concerning provisions dispensed in behalf of the king in every case. See Chapter II, infra, Catalogue Entry XIII (1). Cf. P. Amiet, "La glyptique de la fin d'Élam", *Arts Asiatiques* 28, 1973, 15.

[77] Ellis, *Foundation Deposits*, 13f. Note also G. Goosens, "Les recherches historiques à l'époque néo-babylonienne", *RAssyr* 42, 1948, 149-159.

Achaemenid Art in an Historical Context.

Perhaps the greatest obstacle to the promulgation of the idea that conscious planning by the court was a major determining factor of Achaemenid art resides in the prevalence of a certain traditional historical view of pre-Empire Persian culture. The Achaemenids are generally thought of as having only just emerged from a nomadic stage in a sort of cultural vacuum when they became the rulers of the Near East in 550[81]. Underlying much analysis of Achaemenid art has been the assumption, sometimes tacit and sometimes articulated, that the Achaemenids—still very much tied to this nomadic past, and therefore knowing little about such matters themselves—had to rely upon artisans from all over the empire to envision and to plan, as well as to execute, the art of their parvenu court.

A reassessment of the material at hand suggests that, contrary to this generally accepted view, the Persians were hardly functioning in a vacuum before 550. Rather, they were part of a complex network of extensive historical and cultural relationships within the Near East. These relationships had a profound effect on the eventual formulation of the official art of the Achaemenid kings—an effect of far greater import than the cultural background of the artisans who ultimately set chisel to stone.

---

[78] Frankfort, *Art and Architecture*, 202.

[79] Ellis, *Foundation Deposits*, 105. Ellis suggests that this be termed a "pious disposal of valued antiques" rather than a "building deposit" *per se*.

[80] Ibid., 137.

[81] E.g., H. Frankfort, "Achaemenian Sculpture", *AJA* 50, 1946, 6-14; Richter, "Greeks in Persia", 15.

The discussion which follows is not intended to be a detailed account of historical events involving the Persians. Rather, it is meant briefly to suggest the importance of certain political and intercultural relationships which must have had a significant impact upon the process of creation of Achaemenid iconography.

The Persians, and also the Medes, are members of the Indo-Iranian language group of the Indo-European family. According to generally accepted theories on the relation of language to culture, this fact suggests close cultural affinities between the Medes and the Persians and between these two peoples and an aboriginal Indo-Iranian, or Aryan, society[82]. This aboriginal society presumably existed in Central Asia before the southward dispersal of some members to north India and the westward dispersal of others (including the Persians and the Medes) to the western Zagros. This dispersal may have begun in the Middle Bronze Age, and it was most likely caused by the pressure of external forces. There is no need to view such a great movement of populations as the fulfillment of an inherent and inexorable nomadic tendency or "wanderlust".

Attempts to describe the aboriginal culture of the Indo-Iranians are based largely upon the methodology of comparative linguistics and upon the picture of society which can be derived from an analysis of the vocabulary of the Indo-Iranian religious and epical literature such as the *Rig Veda* and the *Avesta*. From information we can glean from these sources, the Indo-Iranians do not seem to have been nomads in the sense that continuous migration was a prerequisite of their lifestyle[83]. We may infer an economy based upon agriculture and stockbreeding. Some form of kingship or chieftaincy seems to have existed. But whether the ruler was considered divine or whether he was a purely secular authority figure is more difficult to establish. The basic social units seem to have been the tribe, the clan, and the family (presumably patriarchal).

---

[82] H. Hoijer, "The Relation of Language to Culture", *Anthropology Today: Selections*, ed. S. Tax (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), 258-277; W.P. Lehmann, "Linguistic Structure as Diacritic Evidence on Proto-Culture", *Indo-European and Indo-Europeans*, ed. G. Cardona, H.M. Hoenigswald and A. Senn (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970), 1-10.

[83] Note also the remarks of E. Sunderland, "Early Man in Iran", in *Cambridge History of Iran*, I, *The Land of Iran*, ed. W.B. Fisher (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 412.

Many aspects of the reconstruction of Indo-Iranian society are the subject of debate[84]. Most controversial, however, is the question of the ideology and religion of the Indo-Iranians. While it is not within the scope of this discussion to deal with these controversies, it is important to note that concepts of kingship and religious ideology, as these are expressed in Achaemenid art, are possibly related to the as yet elusive traditions of the Indo-Iranians—at least to the extent that the Persians' Indo-Iranian heritage may have colored their response to the Near Eastern cultures they eventually drew upon in the formation of their imperial art.

The Indo-Iranian splinter groups whom we know as the Persians and the Medes seem to have pushed gradually westward from their original homeland. They had probably established themselves on the fringes of the Assyrian sphere by the close of the second millennium B.C.[85]. The first historical record of the Persians occurs in the Assyrian annals of the mid-ninth century[86]. Mention of the Medes follows shortly thereafter[87]. Interestingly, no reference is made to their relatively recent arrival in the Zagros. For all that the Assyrians tell us on the matter, we should have to assume that the Medes and Persians were indigenous to the area. The Assyrian accounts suggest that the Persians of the mid-ninth century were ruled by chieftains who controlled established territories from fortified manors—much as did the kings of the neighboring indigenous Zagros peoples[88]. By contrast, the Assyrian kings carefully single out any nomadic peoples living in tents rather than palaces[89]. Recent excavations have now affirmed this suggestion that already in the early years of the first millennium the Median and Persian ruling classes had fortified citadels and "palaces" of a permanent nature[90].

---

[84] C.S. Littleton, *The New Comparative Mythology: An Anthropological Assessment of the Theories of Georges Dumézil*, rev. ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 25-28, with references; R.N. Frye, *The Heritage of Persia* (New York: Mentor Books, 1963), 44-46.

[85] T.C. Young, Jr., "The Iranian Migration into the Zagros", *Iran* 5, 1967, 11-34.

[86] Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, I, par. 581.

[87] Ibid., par. 637.

[88] Ibid., par. 581; par. 587 (Shalmaneser III): "I received the tribute of the kings of Parsua. The rest of the Parsuans (lit. Parsua), were not loyal to Assur,—their cities I captured, their spoil, their property, I carried off to Assyria"; par. 588; par. 795; par. 784. Nevertheless, many scholars have persisted in viewing the Persians as having been nomads until very late. Note, for example, R.N. Frye, "The Institutions", *Historia Einzelschriften*, XVIII, Beiträge zur Achämenidengeschichte, ed. G. Walser (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1972), 84; and A.T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948), 60. The cities of neighboring indigenous groups are described as "fortresses", and "strong cities" (Manneans), or "strong-walled cities" and "towering fortresses" (Urartians). Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, II, par. 56.

[89] E.g., ibid., par. 818.

This, of course, does not mean that some Iranian folk were not leading semi-nomadic existences. Then, even as today, there must have been pasture-seeking herdsmen whose location depended upon the season. And as today such people might have considered themselves connected to a specific town or fortified settlement for purposes of trade and other needs[91]. Sunderland suggests, actually, that there was less nomadism in the Iron Age than there has been in recent years in Iran[92].

From the ninth century until the fall of Nineveh in 612, the Persians and the Medes were a constant source of harassment to the Assyrians along their eastern frontier. The Assyrian annals and royal correspondence indicate frequent military clashes with the Persians, as well as with the Medes. Although the Assyrians often encountered Medes and Persians in the same general area, the two groups are treated as distinct peoples[93].

The Assyrian sources document the full range of diplomatic associations which inevitably accompanied military clashes. At crucial times the Medes and the Persians were prominent in power struggles between Assyria and Babylon. In the mid-seventh century, for instance, the Persian Cyrus I of Anshan aided Shamash-shum-ukim of Babylon in the latter's revolt against his brother, the Assyrian king Assurbanipal. When this coalition ended in defeat, Cyrus I sent his eldest son Arukku to Nineveh with tribute, in order to render submission to Assurbanipal[94]. The Medes, meanwhile, had achieved a position of dominance, so that the Persian chiefs were vassals of a united Median kingdom. It was a coalition of Medes and Babylonians, aided by Scythians (nomadic Aryan warriors), who at the end of the seventh century crushed Assyria once and for all.

---

[90] E.g., the Median fortified citadel at Godin Tepe: T.C. Young, Jr., *Excavations at Godin Tepe: First Progress Report*, Occasional Paper, XVII, Art and Archaeology (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1969), the Median site of Nush-i Jan: M. Roaf and D. Stronach, "Excavations at Tepe Nūsh-i Jān: Second Interim Report", *Iran* 11, 1973, 129-140; and the manor house at Baba Jan in Luristan: C.G. Meade, "Excavations at Bābā Jān, 1967", *Iran* 7, 1969, 115-130.

[91] For a classic descriptive study of a modern nomad group in Iran, including its way of interacting economically and culturally with settled communities, see F. Barth, *Nomads of South Persia: The Basseri Tribe of the Khamseh Confederacy* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1961).

[92] Sunderland, "Early Man in Iran", 411.

[93] Young, "Migration".

[94] Olmstead, *Persian Empire*, 31, with sources.

By this time, the Medes and Persians had for generations been active and important participants in the history of the Near East. They had become acquainted with the cultures of Assyria and Babylon not only through the importation of a fibula or a cylinder seal, but also through constant human interaction in warfare and diplomacy. They had stormed the provincial strongholds of Assyria and they had come to the courts of the great kings bearing tribute.

It is also significant that Medes and Persians are known to have worked as craftsmen at Nebuchadnezzar's court, alongside others from Egypt, Elam, Ionia, Lydia, and Byblos[95]. This fact, as evidenced by Babylonian pay lists, reminds us of the cosmopolitan nature of the labor forces assembled for state projects at this period; and it suggests that the Persians should not be thought of as isolated from this cosmopolitan situation. It suggests further that the Persians and the Medes had, at least by the seventh century, become familiar with the construction craft techniques used in the great Near Eastern capitals. Interesting corroboration of this comes from the Median site of Nush-i Jan. Here, the cleaning of the fire temple and the methodical filling of it with stone chips seems to have been derived from the commonly practiced Babylonian ritual preparations for rebuilding over an existing temple[96].

It is true that so far no monumental sculpture of the Medes and Persians has been found which can unhesitatingly be assigned to the pre-Achaemenid Period. But the sites investigated so far have been provincial posts. The Median capital of Ecbatana has not been excavated because it lies under the modern city of Hamadan. According to Herodotus (I. 98), Ecbatana was a magnificent city with a large, well-defended palace befitting a king, with a treasury, and with concentric battlements, the innermost revetted with silver and gold. It is not unlikely that at important centers such as Ecbatana buildings were adorned with sculpture in stone or glazed brick relief. Also, a tradition of monumental representational art may well have been maintained in perishable media such as wall painting and wooden relief. The painted terracotta ceiling plaques found at Baba Jan suggest another decorative form which may have been commonly used.

---

[95] E.F. Weidner, "Jojachin, König von Juda, in babylonischen Keilschrifttexten", *Mélanges offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud*, II (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1939), 923-935.

[96] D. Stronach, "Tappeh Nuši-Jān : A Case for Building Rites in 7th/6th Century B.C. Media?" *Proceedings of the IInd Annual Symposium on Archaeological Research in Iran* (Tehran : Iran Centre for Archaeological Research, 1974), 223-238.

When they reached the western Zagros, the Iranian newcomers encountered not only the Assyrians and Babylonians. They also encountered local indigenous Zagros groups—notably the Urartians in the north, the Manneans in the Lake Urmia basin, the Ellipi in the central western Zagros, and the Elamites in the southwestern Zagros. While each of these kingdoms was a culturally distinct group unto itself, all were, nevertheless, culturally dependent in varying ways and degrees upon the same source—Mesopotamia.

During the first half of the first millennium the Iranians clearly assimilated many aspects of the cultures of the most powerful Zagros peoples—Elam, Urartu, and perhaps Manna. The Medes and Persians interacted closely with these kingdoms. The royal Assyrian annals and correspondence describe coalitions of Iranian and indigenous peoples formed against the Assyrians. Also there are references to Iranians working with the Assyrians against the interests of their neighbors.

Available evidence suggests that the Medes were particularly closely associated with the Manneans[97]. Manna was subject to the ravages of Urartu, and we may suppose that Median settlements likewise felt the pressure of this powerful kingdom. Indeed it has generally been supposed that the Medes were strongly influenced by the Urartians, and that apparently Urartian elements found later in Achaemenid royal art and titulary may have been transmitted to the Persians through the Medes[98]. Interestingly, though, the Assyrian records mention Media and Urartu together only once. And there is no known reference in Urartian records to the Medes. On the other hand, two references to Parsa have been preserved in Urartian inscriptions[99]. This warns us against assuming that all Urartian influence on Persian civilization would *necessarily* have been derived second-hand through the filter of Median culture. The Medes, as a powerful, united kingdom during the seventh century, would have been in a position to set patterns which their Persian vassals might have tended to emulate. To this extent, the concept of Persian acquisition of certain Urartian cultural forms and ideas through the filter of a previous Median assimilation of same seems likely. It should always be borne in mind, however, that the Persians also had *direct* contact with Urartu, and that this contact had existed before the Medes became politically dominant[100].

---

[97] Young, "Migration", 15ff.

[98] E.g., Herzfeld, *Iran*; Frye, *Heritage*, 89-93. Frye, "Institutions", 85.

[99] Young, "Migration", 17.

In the Assyrian records of Assurbanipal the Persians are closely associated with Elam as a military ally[101]. The traditions of the venerable kingdom of Elam seem to have had a great influence upon the Persians. The Persian adoption of the ancient Elamite royal title "king of Anshan and Susa" is but one indication of this. Later, of course, the use of the Elamite language not only for monumental inscriptions but also for administrative notations is one testimony to the probable depth of Persian cultural indebtedness to Elam[102].

In Fig. 2 I have attempted to represent visually some crucial aspects of the potential complexity of immediate cultural influence upon the Persians from the beginning of the first millennium to 550 B.C. Again, I would stress that, as Fig. 2 suggests, the Persians were interacting *directly* with the Assyrians, Babylonians, Urartians and Elamites even as they seem to have been receiving cultural stimuli indirectly from Mesopotamia and Urartu through the filter of the Medes—especially during the period of Median political domination.

The Median king Astyages married his daughter Mandane to Cambyses I, vassal king of Anshan and head of one branch of the Achaemenid Persian clan. The fruit of this royal union of Medes and Persians was Cyrus II [Fig. 3]. In 559, Cyrus II succeeded his father as king of Anshan. He was able to unite the Persian people. And, aided by the forces of the Babylonian king Nabonidus, the united Persians threw off the yoke of Median rule in about 550. The Median capital Ecbatana was besieged, its precious plunder brought back to Anshan. From this time on, the Medes were part of the newly united Persian kingdom. The lands previously conquered by the Medes also came under Persian rule.

From Achaemenid and Greek sources it is clear that Medes some-

---

[100] Young, ibid., has offered cogent arguments in support of the theory that Persians had established themselves simultaneously in the northwestern Zagros (in the Urartian sphere) and in the southwest. In this case, there is no reason why the Persians would not have been as directly exposed to Urartian civilization as the Medes are assumed to have been.

[101] For historical sketches of this period see Cameron, *Early Iran*, 170-227; and W. Hinz, *The Lost World of Elam*, trans. J. Barnes (New York : New York University Press, 1973), 138-161; J. Hansman, "Elamites, Achaemenians, and Anshan", *Iran* 10, 1972, 101-125; W. Culican, *The Medes and Persians* (New York : Praeger, 1965).

[102] Note Amiet, "La glyptique de la fin d'Élam", and Porada, *Ancient Iran*, e.g., 174f.

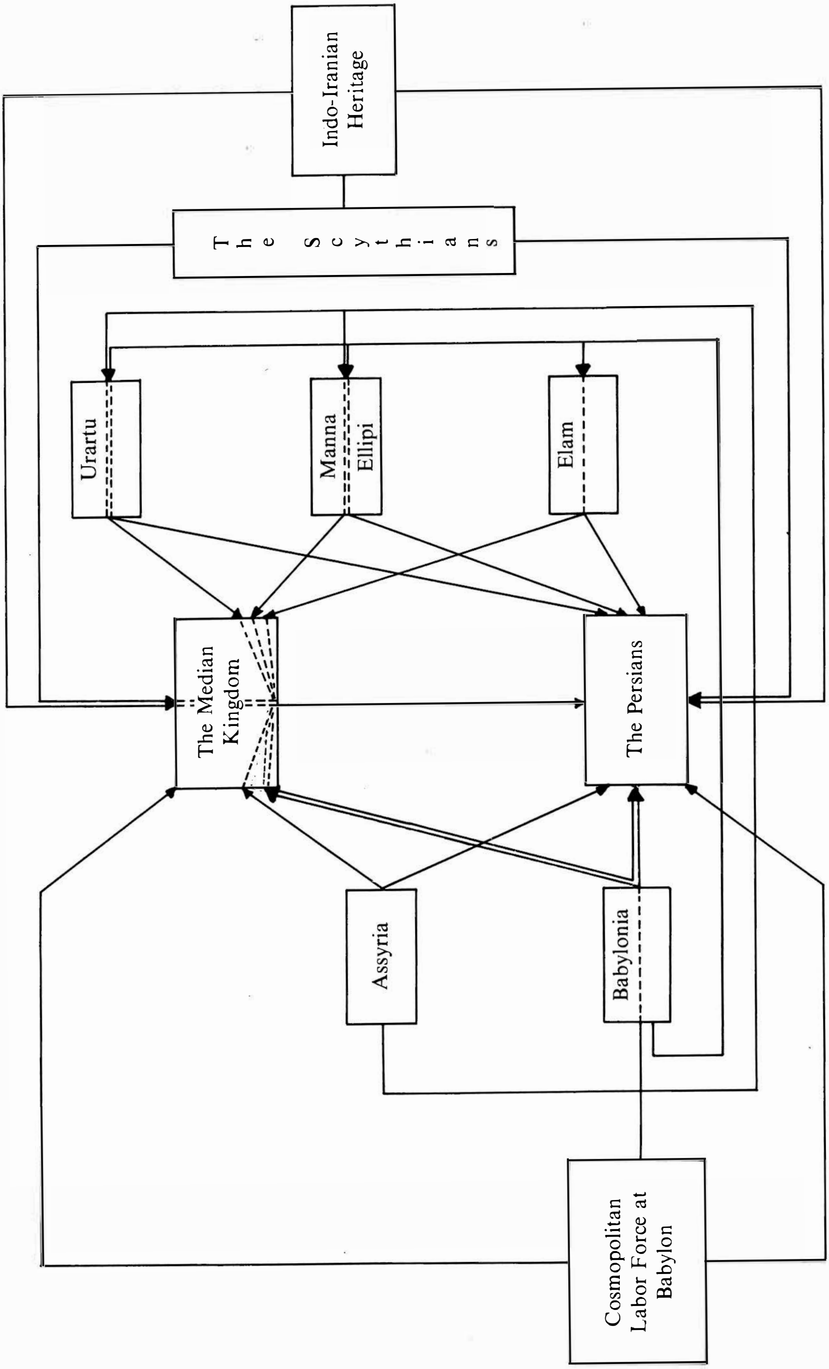

Indo-Iranian Heritage
The Scythians
Urartu
Manna Ellipi
Elam
The Median Kingdom
The Persians
Assyria
Babylonia
Cosmopolitan Labor Force at Babylon

Fig. 2. — The Persians as Direct and Indirect Recipients of Immediate Cultural Influences, c. 1000-550 B.C.

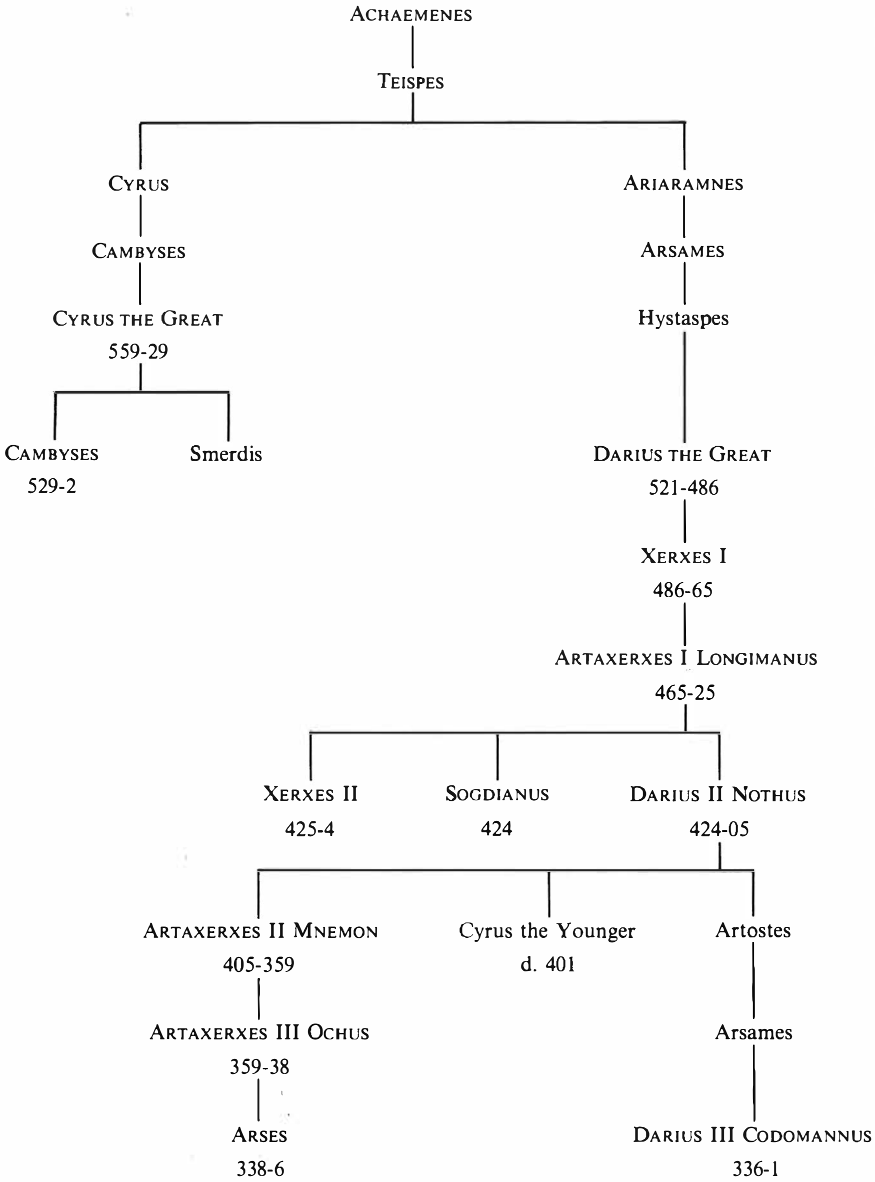

ACHAEMENES
TEISPES
CYRUS
ARIARAMNES
CAMBYSES
ARSAMES
CYRUS THE GREAT 559-29
Hystaspes
CAMBYSES 529-2
Smerdis
DARIUS THE GREAT 521-486
XERXES I 486-65
ARTAXERXES I LONGIMANUS 465-25
XERXES II 425-4
SOGDIANUS 424
DARIUS II NOTHUS 424-05
ARTAXERXES II MNEMON 405-359
Cyrus the Younger d. 401
Artostes
ARTAXERXES III OCHUS 359-38
Arsames
ARSES 338-6
DARIUS III CODOMANNUS 336-1

Fig. 3. — Genealogy of the Achaemenid Dynasty.

times held high offices at the Achaemenid court[103]. And references in Hebrew and classical Greek sources frequently suggest a tradition of closeness between the Medes and Persians extending into Achaemenid times[104]. As a group, the Medes were, however, treated by the Achaemenids as a people distinct from the Persian people and not entitled, as a group, to quite the favored status enjoyed by the Persians[105].

Following the conquest of the Median Empire only three great powers—Babylon, Lydia, and Egypt—stood in the way of a Persian hegemony in the Near East. By 546 Cyrus had pushed his way to Sardis, and the wealth of Croesus lay at his feet. The Greeks of the coastal cities and the Lycians were soon forced to succumb to the inevitable as well. Cyrus may have intended eventually to conquer Egypt; but such an ambition was not realized during his lifetime[106]. After a series of successful campaigns against peoples inhabiting the Iranian plateau north and east of the great salt desert, Cyrus turned his attention to Babylonia. In 539 the Persian king entered Babylon in triumph as restorer of the faith—appointed by the god Marduk himself[107].

In his method of dealing with Babylon and the lands which had been under Babylonian control, Cyrus was keenly aware of the importance of tradition, of symbolic acts, and of protocol. The ease with which he assumed the powers and titles of Babylonian kingship were, in large part, due to the internal political circumstances in Babylon at the time. Nevertheless, Cyrus and his advisors knew how to use these circumstances to their best advantage. A less brilliant statesman—and one who had no real understanding of Babylonian religion, politics, and international affairs—could not have capitalized on the situation as Cyrus did. All the gods were restored to their rightful places, in Babylonia itself and also in the lands whose sanctuaries Babylon had ravaged in years past. The sacred utensils were brought back to Jerusalem, and Cyrus commanded that a new temple be erected there to replace the one destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar. Displaced populations were allowed to return to their native lands.

---

[103] For Median names mentioned in Achaemenid texts see most recently: M. Mayrhofer, *Onomastica Persepolitana: Das altiranische Namengut der Persepolis-Täfelchen* (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1973). On Medes in Achaemenid history (esp. as recorded in classical sources), see Olmstead, *Persian Empire*; A.R. Burn, *Persia and the Greeks* (London: Edward Arnold, 1962); and H. von Gall, "Persische und medische Stämme", *AMI* n.F. 5, 1972, 261-283.

[104] E.g., Daniel 6:8, 12, 15; Esther 1:19. Persian sympathizers among the Greeks were often called "Medizers".

[105] Media paid a regular annual tax which Persia was exempt from (Herodotus III, 91-96).

[106] K.M.T. Atkinson, "The legitimacy of Cambyses and Darius as Kings of Egypt", *JAOS* 76, 1956, 167-177.

[107] For a recent translation of the Cyrus Cylinder text, which gives the "official" description of the taking of Babylon, see W. Eilers, "Le texte cunéiforme du cylindre de Cyrus", Acta Iranica, II, 1974, 25-34.

A recently discovered fragment of the famous Cyrus Cylinder edict is of particular interest in this context[108]. In the edict, Cyrus announces his intention to restore the temple at Babylon. The new fragment says, "I saw inscribed [at Babylon] the name of my predecessor King Assurbanipal". Now, why would Cyrus single out this *Assyrian* king, who had been dead for 100 years, for mention as his predecessor in the context of the city of *Babylon* where there were inscriptions of *Babylonian* kings all over the place?

The reference to Assurbanipal as his predecessor *at Babylon* was clearly based upon an informed comparison of the parallelism of their actual deeds in a specific set of historically analogous circumstances rather than upon a concept of automatic succession through conquest.

In fact, Assurbanipal had, many years earlier, *also* restored the temple at Babylon as a conciliatory gesture[109]. Whether Cyrus had already known about Assurbanipal's earlier restoration work at Babylon, or whether the analogy was suggested by a well-versed temple scribe, the point is that Cyrus was part of a self-consciously historical continuum, and he grasped the significance of this[110].

Interestingly, the iterary style of the entire edict is archaistic and is modeled *specifically* on the style of Assurbanipal's inscriptions at Babylon[111]. The use of this source was quite obviously deliberate. It suggests the complexly layered nature of civilisation in the Near East at this period. In matters of state and religion, content and form were intimately connected; and all things were done with a purpose. The astute comments of Berta Segall are particularly meaningful here:

---

[108] J. Harmatta, "Les modèles littéraires de l'édit babylonien de Cyrus", Acta Iranica, I, 1974, 29-44.

[109] On the significance of Assurbanipal's work in Babylon see J.A. Brinkman, "Sennacherib's Babylonian Problem", *JCS* 25, 1973, 89-95.

[110] Cf. G.G. Cameron, "Ancient Persia", in *The Idea of History in the Ancient Near East*, ed. R.C. Dentan (New Haven : Yale University Press, 1955), 79-97, esp. 81-86.

[111] Harmatta, "Les modèles littéraires". On the peculiarities of Assyrian inscriptions at Babylon, note Brinkman, "Sennacherib's Babylonian Problem", 90. For a similar use of a very ancient literary model for specific political reasons, note a Babylonian tablet dated 287 B.C. which copies a text from c. 2500 B.C. See S.N. Pallis, "The History of Babylon 538-93 B.C.", in *Studia Orientalia Ioanni Pedersen* (Hauniae : E. Munksgaard, 1953), 285.

> "In the years preceding the rise of Persian power under Cyrus II, religious and political trends were so closely interwoven that the one cannot be observed without the other. Beliefs and myths became increasingly important in the carefully considered systems of theological advisors to the great rulers, and even local cults of more or less obscure tribes were incorporated into large, all-embracing syncretistic speculations in which tendencies of imperialistic propaganda were only thinly concealed. Side by side with this trend, and doubtless to a large extent in its service, developed an archaistic revival of religious concepts and the religious art of the past that was felt from Egypt to Phoenicia and from Assyria to Babylon[112].

Cyrus died in a campaign against the Massagetae on the eastern fringe of his new empire. His son and successor, Cambyses II, annexed Egypt to the realm in 525. According to Herodotus, Cambyses' deportment in Egypt as the new pharaoh was that of a madman[113]. He is said to have defiled ancient sanctuaries and murdered an Apis Bull. Egyptian sources do not give precisely the same picture. They indicate that Cambyses assumed the titles and religious duties of Pharaoh. But they also suggest, however, that Cambyses cut back the revenues of all but a few cults[114]. Very likely this reform was long overdue. And Herodotus' slanderous stories probably reflect tales told by disinherited priests who would naturally have been hostile.

The imposing monuments of the kings of ancient Egypt were of course visible to Cambyses and his party in the sixth century. The scale and grandeur of these vestiges of empire undoubtedly impressed the Persians. The continuity of Egyptian civilization throughout thousands of years was itself something to admire. And we can be sure that the prestige of conquering the Two Lands was not lost on the Achaemenid court.

During Cambyses' Egyptian campaign his spearbearer was a young man named Darius—a prince of the other branch of the Achaemenid clan. We do not know when Darius left the service of Cambyses (surely a position of honor). But Cambyses died under mysterious circumstances, while en route back to Persia—apparently having received word that his younger brother had usurped the throne in his absence. When next we hear of Darius, he had become king in 522, following a complex intrigue involving the death of Cambyses' brother and the murder of a Median pretender to the throne[115].

---

[112] B. Segall, "Notes on the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship", *The Art Bulletin* 38, 1956, 76. See also, B. Segall, "The Arts and King Nabonidus", *AJA* 59, 1955, 315-318.

[113] Herod. III. 1-38, on Cambyses in Egypt.

[114] For a collection of the Egyptian sources see Posener, *Première domination perse*. Note also, A.B. Lloyd, *Herodotus Bk II: Introduction* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975), 77-170.

This affair seems to have touched off a wave of rebellions among the subject peoples. It required a series of campaigns and bitter reprisals to restore law and order to the Empire. But, this accomplished, one of Darius' first projects was a state visit to Egypt—this time as no mere spear bearer, but as Pharaoh of the Two Lands, Son of Re, and heir to power unprecedented.

Under Darius the Achaemenid Empire reached its farthest extent—stretching from India to Lybia, and even threatening mainland Greece. And by the end of Darius' reign, a style, a *modus operandi*, had been established for the Empire. An imperial administration had been organized; and, in addition to this establishment of an internal order of affairs, all outward manifestations of imperial order had also been formulated and canonized. By the end of Darius' reign, the basic formulae for royal inscriptions had been established; and a basic repertoire of imperial architectural, sculptural and glyptic types had been created and codified. Some of the architectural projects planned and begun under Darius were finished in the reign of Xerxes. And the later Achaemenid kings continued to commission architecture and sculpture. Nevertheless, it is clear that the years covering the reign of Cyrus through the reign of Darius represent the definitive phase of creative imperial effort in the Achaemenid Period—for the visual and also the textual advertising of the dynastic achievement. Extant representations of the king and kingship planned after the reign of Darius are adapted copies of motifs already devised in an earlier era[116]. Although further discoveries of late Achaemenid art may, of course, change this picture, I suspect that almost any motif now extant only in a late example would originally have had its counterpart and model in the art of Cyrus or Darius.

The first kings of the Achaemenid Empire fell heir to a world which was very conscious of its past—to the vestiges of glorious empires and powerful state religions. In many ways the Persian Empire represents a culmination of all that had gone before—a final "packaging" for posterity of the pre-Hellenistic Near Eastern historical and cultural experience[117]. The official art of this last pre-Hellenistic empire in the Near East also emerges from the eastern experience; and it delivers its message in a new *lingua franca* which is, nonetheless, spoken with a decidedly eastern intonation.

---

[115] See Chapter VI, *infra*.

[116] This is generally acknowledged—as for instance, Farkas, *Achaemenid Sculpture*, 54f; and R. Ghirshman, "Notes iraniennes VII, à propos de Persépolis", *Artibus Asiae* 20, 1957, 268, f.

The Persians were themselves a product of the East. They were seasoned actors in the international affairs and the cultural experience of the Near East long before their empire was formed. It should not be surprising that, historically, culturally, and strategically, the Achaemenid kings were mainly concerned with this sphere—with Egypt and with Asia. The frequent assumption that they were as greatly concerned on these levels with Greece is a misapprehension which stems from our own western view of the world and from the unfortunate fact that Greece has given us our main literary sources of information on the Achaemenids[118]. It was the Greeks who were fascinated by Persia, by Persian mores, and, yes, by Persian court art and luxury goods—not the reverse[119]. If only the Persians had spawned the likes of Aeschylus and Herodotus, our perception of their preoccupations would be quite different.

In terms of art alone, the Persepolis Treasury was found to have contained many luxury objects and antiques from the East, including countless fragments of alabaster royal tableware imported from Egypt. But not a sherd of Attic pottery has been discovered at the entire site. The broken statue of Penelope found among the looted ruins of the Treasury may be a trophy of war or the gift of a western dynast; but that is all[120]. When the Persian king drank, his lips touched golden rhyta and alabaster goblets—not the cups of Brygos. Deluxe Attic ware could have been procured for the Great King if he had wished it—if this had been perceived as a status symbol of the court. But the Achaemenid kings were attuned to the tastes of a different sphere. The prestige and power of Persia lay in its emergence from and revitalization of the glories of the East.

---

[117] S.K. Eddy, *The King is Dead: Studies in the Near Eastern Resistance to Hellenism 334-31 B.C.* (Lincoln : University of Nebraska Press, 1961), 57ff.

[118] Note the important discussions of our skewed impressions of Achaemenid history derived from Greek sources by C.G. Starr, "Greeks and Persians in the Fourth Century B.C.", *Iranica Antiqua* 11, 1975, 39-99, esp. 40-42; L.L. Orlin, "Athens and Persia ca. 507 B.C. : A Neglected Perspective", in *Michigan Oriental Studies in Honor of George G. Cameron*, ed. L.L. Orlin (Ann Arbor : Department of Near Eastern Studies, University of Michigan, 1976), 255-266; and A. Momigliano, *Alien Wisdom : The Limits of Hellenization* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1975) 123-150. Other recent studies of Greco-Persian relations and historiography include H. Bengtson, ed., *The Greeks and the Persians: From the Sixth to the Fourth Centuries*, trans. J. Conway (New York : Delacorte Press, 1968); Burn, *Persia and the Greeks*; R. Drews, *The Greek Accounts of Eastern History* (Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard University Press, 1973); and the essays in *La Persia e il mondo greco-romano* (Rome : Accademia dei Lincei, 1966).

[119] Note, for instance : O. Broneer, *The Tent of Xerxes and the Greek Theater*, California University Publications in Classical Archaeology, I (Berkeley : University of California Press, 1943), 305-312; H. Hoffmann, "The Persian Origin of the Attic Rhyta", *Antike Kunst* 4, 1961, 21-26; H. Hoffmann, *Attic Red-Figured Rhyta* (Mainz : P. von Zabern, 1962); P. Jacobstahl, "A Sybarite Himation", *JHS* 58, 1938, 205-216; D.B. Thompson, "The Persian Spoils in Athens", in *The Aegean and the Near East : Studies Presented to Hetty Goldman* (Locust Valley, NY : J.J. Augustin, 1956), 281-291.

In the absence of an Oriental Aeschylus, it is to the official art of the Persian kings which we must turn as a first-hand source on the imperial preoccupations and visions of the Achaemenid Dynasty.

---

[120] Schmidt, *Persepolis*, II; E. Langlotz, "Zur Deutung der 'Penelope'", *JDAI* 76, 1961, 72-99.

II

THE CATALOGUE

The following is a catalogue raisonné of the known and clearly official Achaemenid monuments, coin types, and seals which represent, or include as part of their decorative programme, the figure of the king *as king* or the figure of a personage who may be identified as an embodiment of some abstract royal essence or attribute. The order in which the entries are presented reflects an attempt to group the material so that certain issues relating to more than one monument will be most instructively presented. For a suggested chronological listing of the catalogued monuments based upon the arguments presented in each entry, see Fig. 4.

Each catalogue entry consists of a brief description of the particular monument, building, or artifact, and its figural representation or programme, followed by a discussion of the available evidence for dating it. Only in the case of seals and coins have I deviated from this format by grouping as one entry all the official (inscribed) seals and as another entry all the royal coin types.

The purpose of these discussions is three-fold: First, it is simply to collect the known official representations of the king and kingship in one easily accessible place; second, it is to establish a relative chronology for the introduction into the official Achaemenid artistic repertoire of the various representational themes involving the king and kingship; third, it is to acquaint the reader with this material as a corpus within its immediate historical context—thereby obviating the need to discuss certain technical issues in the course of ensuing iconographical essays.

Unfortunately it is not always possible to arrive at firm conclusions on even the relative dating of Achaemenid monuments. Frequently the historical and archaeological data available are ambiguous or contradictory, so that one is sometimes forced to suggest very tentative conclusions. When I have done so it has been with the hope simply of postulating a plausible reconstruction of the past which will provide a structure for scholarly debate.

In certain cases, a palace such as the Apadana at Persepolis may have been under construction for over a quarter of a century. In a situation of this sort, the most important problem to be dealt with in the context of this study is a plausible determination of the period in which the sculptural programme was planned—not when it was completed.

Included at the head of each catalogue entry will be a selected bibliography on the monument or building in question, reference to an annotated plan (when applicable), and a list of plate numbers for all photographs of the monument contained in this study. The bibliography is not intended to be exhaustive, nor does it list all works referred to in the notes to the text. It does, however, give the reader a survey at a glance of the most comprehensive discussions of the monument, and the most comprehensive sources for information and further bibliography on specific problems associated with the monument and its dating. The works cited are listed in chronological order of publication. The page numbers given after certain bibliographic entries are included in order to facilitate the reader's reference to relevant sections of large or general works.

The risk one takes in presenting a catalogue of this type is that it will become incomplete overnight with the discovery of a hitherto unknown monument. In view of this it is perhaps best to describe Chapter II as a catalogue of the material known to me at this time and the corpus upon which my study of the king and kingship in Achaemenid art is perforce based.

As an acknowledgment of the unfortunately limited nature of the representational material which is available to us for the study of official art I have appended to the catalogue a brief note on textual references to Achaemenid royal sculpture.

One final *caveat* : We can never hope to recover the representations of the king which may have appeared in precious materials or perishable ones. What must be lost to us looms large : monumental wall painting, wooden reliefs, bronze repoussé revetments, bronze and precious metal statuary, embroidered palace hangings, carpets, illustrations on official papyrus documents, and representations on official royal paraphernalia such as ceremonial banners, royal shields, and royal weaponry.

Monument	*Approximate Date*	*Associated Text*
Hamadan Head	May be modern	—
Apis Stele of Cambyses	525/24 B.C.	Stele text
Palace R (doorjamb relief)	Cyrus : after 547	CMa
Palace P (doorjamb reliefs)	Cyrus : after 547	CMb/CMc
Behistun Relief (9 original captives)	Darius : before 519	DB
Apis Stele of Darius	518	Stele text
Canal Stelae of Darius	Early Darius : after 518	Stelae texts
Statue of Darius	Early Darius : after 518	Statue texts
First Archer Coins	Early Darius : after c. 515	—
Tomb of Darius (first of the series)	Early Darius : after c. 515	DN
Palace of Darius (doorjamb reliefs)	Late Darius	DPa, DPb, DPe, XPc, XPk
Apadana	c. 515-Xerxes	DPh, XPb, XPg
(north stair reliefs)	Begun before 486	
(east stair reliefs)	Planned before 486	
Central Building	Late Darius	—
(doorjamb reliefs)	Before 486	
(north stair)	May be late replacement	
Statue fragments from Susa	Before 486	DSn; Elamite and Babylonian text fragments
Temple of Hibis	Late Darius : c. 490-486	Temple inscriptions
Harem of Xerxes	Early Xerxes	XPf
Palace of Xerxes	Xerxes	XPda, XPdb, XPe
Throne Hall	Xerxes-Artaxerxes	APa
Palace H	Xerxes-Artaxerxes	APa

Fig. 4. — Suggested Chronology for Official Achaemenid Monuments which bear Representations of the King/Kingship.

Catalogue Entry I

PALACE R (THE GATEHOUSE), PASARGADAE

Selected Bibliography:

Herzfeld, E., and Sarre, F. *Iranische Felsreliefs.* Berlin: E. Wasmuth, 1910, 155-165.

Schmidt, E. *Persepolis*, I. OIP, LXVIII. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953, 20-25.

Sami, A. *Pasargadae: The Oldest Imperial Capital of Iran.* Translated by R.N. Sharp. Shiraz: Musavi Printing Office, 1956, 59-68.

Stronach, D. "Excavations at Pasargadae: First Preliminary Report". *Iran* 1, 1963, 19-42.

—. "Excavations at Pasargadae: Third Preliminary Report". *Iran* 3, 1965, 9-40.

Nylander, C. *Ionians in Pasargadae.* Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1970, 102-126.

Mallowan, M.E.L. "Cyrus the Great (558-529 B.C.)". *Iran* 10, 1972, 1-17.

Farkas, A. *Achaemenid Sculpture.* Leiden: Nederlands historisch-archaeologisch Instituut, 1974, 7-9.

Plan: Fig. 5.
Photograph: Pl. 1.

Description

The site of Pasargadae, situated in the Murghab plain about 80 kilometers northeast of Persepolis by way of the ancient road, was a place of great symbolic importance to the Achaemenid Persians. It was near here that Cyrus defeated the Median king Astyages in about 550 B.C.;[1] here that he built his tomb as well as palaces and a citadel; and here that succeeding Achaemenid kings came on important ceremonial occasions[2].

Palace R served as the monumental gateway of the palace complex in the plain at Pasargadae[3]. It is essentially an oblong hall with

---

[1] See R. Drews, "The Fall of Astyages and Herodotus' Chronology of the Eastern Kingdoms", *Historia* 18, 1969, 1-11, on the difficulties of the traditional date of 550 for Cyrus' defeat of Astyages. The event may have occurred in 554/3 or 553/2.

[2] E. Herzfeld, "Pasargadae. Untersuchungen zur persischen Archäologie", *Klio* 8, 1908, 1-28, for topographical information and for ancient sources on Pasargadae. D. Stronach's work at Pasargadae has shown that the site was continuously inhabited throughout the Achaemenid Period: "Excavations at Pasargadae: Third Preliminary Report", *Iran* 3, 1965, 17.

[3] D. Stronach, "Excavations at Pasargadae: First Preliminary Report", *Iran* 1, 1963, 27-28. For a plan of the complex, see Stronach, "Pasargadae: Third Report", fig. 1.

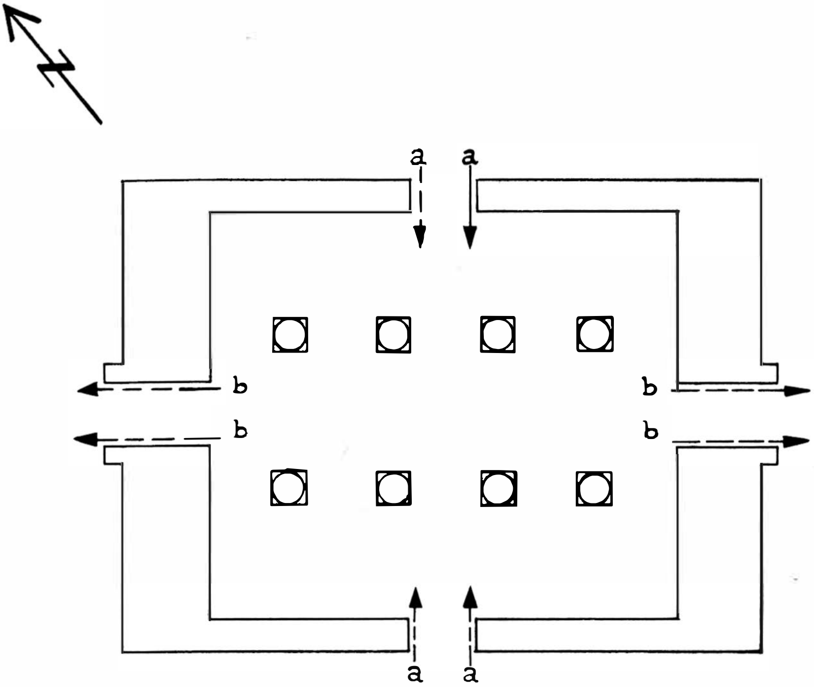


Fig. 5. — Reliefs of Palace R :
(a) The "Genius"
(b) Guardian colossi
—— = still in situ ——— = suggested reconstruction

two rows of four columns[4]. In each short wall of the building is a large doorway. According to Herzfeld, these were originally lined with colossal winged bull and winged man-bull guardian figures[5]. A small doorway pierces each of the long walls of the Gatehouse. These two entrances are aligned between the second and third pair of columns in the hall.

On the east jamb of the north door a relief is preserved, carved in white limestone. This relief, completely intact but badly weathered, depicts an over life-sized human figure entering the hall[6]. The figure wears two pairs of out-spread wings. His right hand is extended out in a greeting gesture, with palm parallel to the relief plane. He appears to be holding something in his left hand, which is positioned below his right arm[7]. His hair is coiffed in what may be an Elamite style—cropped to just below the ear at the back of the neck; and his beard seems to have been short and tightly curled[8]. The dress he wears closely resembles the type worn by King Teumman of Elam as shown in a relief of Assurbanipal[9]. The figure is, however, crowned with an elaborate Egyptian religious headdress rendered frontally[10].

---

[4] The recent excavations by Stronach have revealed "the presence of two opposed side chambers each of which probably afforded access to the battlements above". ("Pasargadae : Third Report", 9).

[5] E. Herzfeld, "Bericht über die Ausgrabungen von Pasargadae, 1928", *AMI* 1, 1929, 11; A. Sami, *Pasargadae : The Oldest Imperial Capital of Iran*, trans. R.N. Sharp (Shiraz : Musavi Printing Office, 1956), 65. Stronach has found traces of the bulls : "Pasargadae : Third Report", 9.

Date

As late as the mid-nineteenth century a trilingual inscription in four lines was still visible above the winged figure. Though now lost, it was copied by several early travelers. The text read, "I am Cyrus the King, an Achaemenian"[11]. Thus no one questions that the Gatehouse was built and decorated during the reign of Cyrus. But whether, as some have suggested, this building and its sculpture should necessarily be considered the earliest at Pasargadae, seems impossible to determine conclusively. Frankfort implies that the Palace R relief should be considered earlier than other Pasargadae reliefs (even those of Palace S) because of what he interprets as its lack of "plasticity" as well as its reliance upon Mesopotamian prototypes[12]. But these evaluative criteria are based on an assumption of progressive evolution toward increased "plasticity" and away from Mesopotamian models at a steady rate. Such criteria do not work for Achaemenid art, as we shall see.

---

[6] For an excellent photograph see M. Mallowan, "Cyrus the Great (558-529 B.C.)", *Iran* 10, 1972, pl. II. According to Mallowan (1, n. 1), Stronach suggests that originally all four jambs of the two smaller doors were decorated with the same relief. Sami gives the height of the winged figure as 2.90 m. and preserved height of the block itself as 3.50 m. (*Pasargadae*, 63).

[7] Herzfeld, in E. Herzfeld and F. Sarre, *Iranische Felsreliefs* (Berlin : E. Wasmuth, 1910), 157-158, claims that reports which state that the figure holds something in his left hand are mistaken, and that the left hand and arm are not even visible but are meant to be hidden behind the profile body. Sami, on the other hand, sees the figure as holding something which may be a barsom branch (*Pasargadae*, 61); the photograph published by Mallowan ("Cyrus the Great", pl. II) seems to show traces of the left arm and possibly of an object held as well.

[8] Porada, *Ancient Iran*, 158 and n. 28.

[9] Ibid., 158 and n. 28; Herzfeld and Sarre, *Felsreliefs*, 163 and Abb. 78.

[10] Porada, *Ancient Iran*, 158 and n. 27.

[11] Kent, *Old Persian*, 116 (CMa) in Old Persian, Babylonian, and Elamite. This same inscription was found on the antae of Palaces S and P at Pasargadae. Some have suggested that the Old Persian texts were added by Darius. On this issue see Catalogue Entry II.

[12] Frankfort, "Achaemenian Sculpture", 9. Cf. Nylander, *Ionians*, 128-132.

Palace R may well antedate Palace P (Entry II); but not by any great length of time. It is noteworthy that the small rosettes on the Palace R figure's robe are very similar in design and style to the large-scale rosettes carved on a stone architectural fragment discovered on the Takht at Pasargadae. The Pasargadae rosettes are precisely paralleled at Samos; and similar rosettes are also known from Ephesus and Miletus—dating to about 540-530[13]. Thus, even here in this very "eastern" building we can see evidence of the impact of western style which presumably would not be likely to pre-date Cyrus' conquest of Lydia in 547/6.

Catalogue Entry II

PALACE P (THE "RESIDENTIAL PALACE"), PASARGADAE

Selected Bibliography:

Herzfeld, E. "Bericht über die Ausgrabungen von Pasargadae, 1928". *AMI* 1, 1929, 4-16.
Richter, G.M.A. "Greeks in Persia". *AJA* 50, 1946, 15-30.
Schmidt, E. *Persepolis*, I. OIP, LXVIII. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953, 20-24.
Sami, A. *Pasargadae: The Oldest Imperial Capital of Iran*. Translated by R.N. Sharp. Shiraz: Musavi Printing Office, 1956, 52-59.
Borger, R. and Hinz, W. "Eine Dareios-Inschrift aus Pasargadae". *ZDMG* 109, 1959, 117-127.
Stronach, D. "Excavations at Pasargadae: First Preliminary Report". *Iran* 1, 1963, 19-42.
Nylander, C. "Who Wrote the Inscriptions at Pasargadae?—Achaemenian Problems. III". *OrSu* 16, 1967, 135-180.
—. *Ionians in Pasargadae*. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1970, 121-128.
Farkas, A. *Achaemenid Sculpture*. Leiden: Nederlands historisch-archaeologisch Instituut, 1974, 14-26.

Plan: Fig. 6.
Photographs: Pls. 2-3.

---

[13] Nylander, *Ionians*, 139-142. Farkas (*Achaemenid Sculpture*, 26) suggests a post-547 date because of the way the figure's shoulder is rendered in profile—a trait she connects with Greek influence.

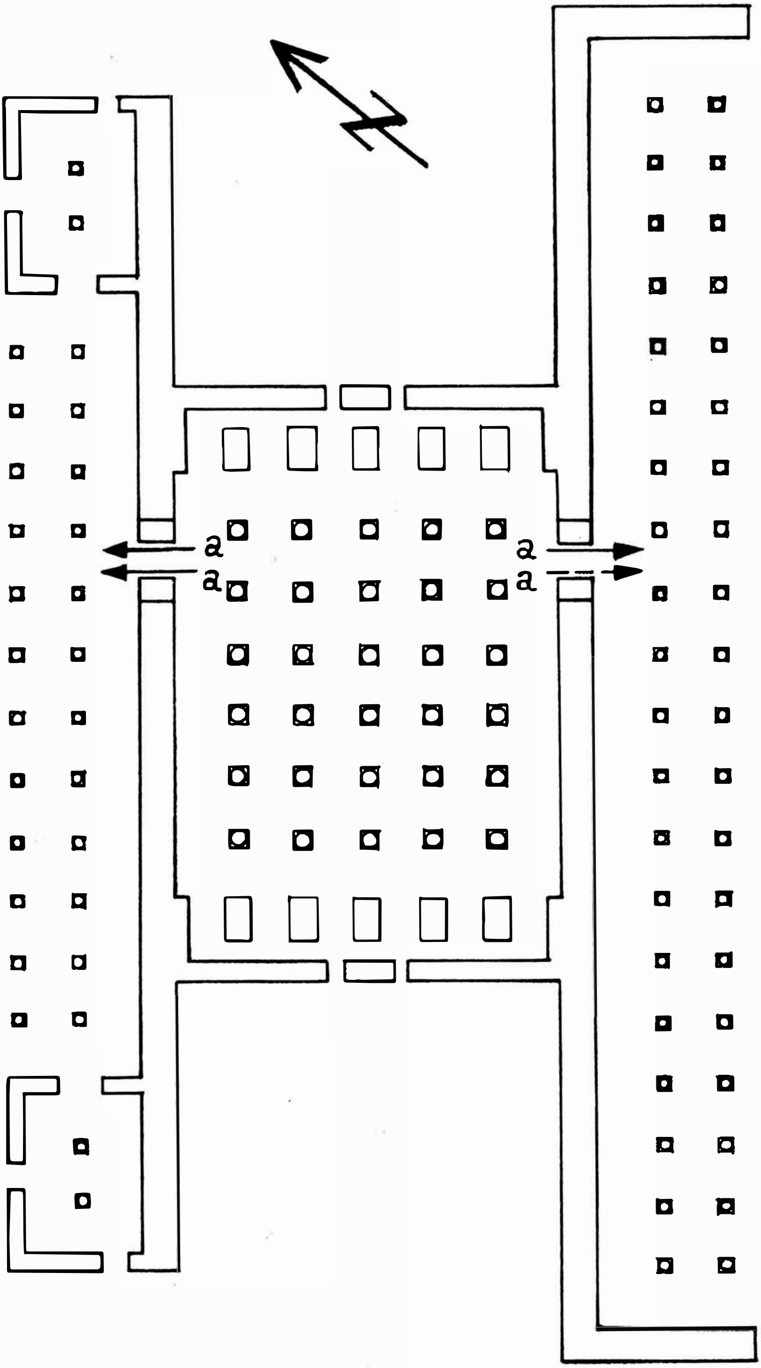


Fig. 6. — Reliefs of Palace P:
(a) King followed by an attendant (with parasol?)
— = in situ --- = suggested reconstruction

Description

Palace P is one of several rather widely spaced buildings in the plain at Pasargadae[14]. It consists of an oblong hall supported by five rows of six columns. A shallow portico stretches across each long side of the hall, extending out well beyond the corner of the building on either short end. From each of these porticoes the main hall may be entered through one doorway. These doors are both aligned between the first and second rows of columns at the north end of the hall.

Originally, both pairs of black limestone doorjambs were decorated with the same relief (in mirror image on opposing jambs). Now, however, of the three reliefs which still stand at the site, only the bottom portion of each is preserved. Each relief depicts a large figure, wearing the Persian robe and carrying a staff, moving out of the columned hall. Attachment holes indicate that this figure's shoes and the pleats of his garment were once adorned with metal[15]. A diagonal fold on each side of the central pleat bears the cuneiform inscription CMc (once in Babylonian and once in Elamite) which identifies the figure as King Cyrus[16]. A sleeve fragment found recently by Stronach, and presumably belonging to one of these large relief figures, bears part of an Old Persian version of this same inscription[17]. Behind the large figure a smaller figure follows, wearing the same Persian robe, but without attachment holes or inscriptions. This figure may have held a parasol[18]. In any case, his smaller stature suggests that he represents an attendant of the king.

---

[14] On the arrangement of the buildings, see Nylander, *Ionians*, 114 and Stronach, "Pasargadae: First Report", 27. Though the buildings in the plain do not form a tight group, they do conform to certain principles of orientation. There is no need to think of Pasargadae as a replica in stone of a nomadic encampment with concomitant implications of haphazard arrangement. In any event, nomadic camps are frequently set up according to strict principles involving hierarchy and safety—so that even these should not be considered necessarily synonymous with random, far-flung arrangement.

[15] A good illustration appears in Tilia, "A Study on the Methods of Working and Restoring Stone", fig. 15.

[16] Kent, *Old Persian*, 116.

[17] Stronach, "Pasargadae: Third Report", 29 and pl. VIe.

[18] No evidence of a parasol now exists. But Herzfeld specifically states, "... der Diener halt etwas, wovon nur der Griff erhalten ist: eher den Sonnenschirm als den Facher". ("Pasargadae, 1928", 14). On his Taf. III (here, Pl. 2), a slight shadow must indicate the protrusion which he identifies with the parasol handle. Herzfeld's published drawing of this relief (*Iran*, fig. 363) includes a more significant portion of the tip of the handle than seems present from the photograph. And note a disturbing discrepancy in another Herzfeld drawing of this same relief. In this sketch, which forms part of the Metropolitan Museum's Herzfeld Archive, Herzfeld indicated *no trace* of any

Date

It is a matter of some debate whether Palace P and particularly its sculptured doorjambs were made under Cyrus or Darius. The following arguments may be put forth as suggesting a date in the reign of Cyrus.

1) There are no traces of toothed chisel marks on any of the sculpture; and only a few such marks can be found on structural parts of the building itself. During the reign of Darius the toothed chisel assumed ever increasing popularity among masons working at Persepolis. Thus the extreme rarity of toothed chisel marks on Palace P suggests the plausibility of an early date[19].

2) Certain formal features of the sculpture distinguish it from reliefs of a similar (though not identical) composition at Persepolis: the undercutting of the drapery, the representation between the legs in low relief of the far side of the robe (including the other of the two vertical pleats which in actuality hung symetrically with its mate down the front of the garment—not the sides), and the metal attachments on the central pleat, the sleeve and the shoes of the royal figure[20]. Furthermore, we have at Palace P a unique disposition of a text on a sculpted Persian robe. In all other known cases (those dating from Darius and later) all versions of a text are inscribed on the vertical pleat (or pleats, in the case of sculpture in the round)—never on the radial or subsidiary folds. These differences may reflect a chronological gap between the Palace P reliefs and the Persepolis reliefs of Darius.

3) According to a reconstruction by R. Borger and W. Hinz of an inscription (CMb) the fragments of which were found in the debris

---

handle on the preserved portion of the relief; but *above* the preserved portion of the relief he sketched in a complete parasol in pencil. See M.C. Root, "The Herzfeld Archive of the Metropolitan Museum of Art", *The Metropolitan Museum Journal* 11, 1976, 119-124.

[19] Nylander, *Ionians*, 128. On the relationship of the toothed chisel to chronology see C. Nylander, "Old Persian and Greek Stonecutting and the Chronology of Achaemenian Monuments: Achaemenian Problems I", *AJA* 69, 1965, 49-55, and "The Toothed Chisel in Pasargadae: Further Notes on Old Persian Stonecutting", *AJA* 70, 1966, 373-377.

[20] Ibid. Cf. Tilia, "A Study on the Methods of Working and Restoring Stone", 84. Tilia remarks of one of the doorjamb reliefs in the Palace of Darius at Persepolis that, "Small holes along the folds of the dress, on the shoes, etc., tell us that these once had metal ornaments applied to them, as we have already observed at Pasargadae". I have found no mention of these holes on the robe and shoes elsewhere, and did not see them myself on any reliefs in the Palace of Darius.

of Palace P, this text was written under Darius and states in part that Cyrus built the palace for himself and carved the relief(s):

> Kündet Dareios, der grosse [König], des Hystapes [Sohn], der Achämenide: Diesen [Palast] hat [König] Kyros ... für sich errichtet, und auch [dieses] Relief, eine Inschrift [jedoch nicht] angebracht. Ich habe meine [Inschrift] darauf geschrieben[21].

4) The robe of the royal figure on each of the sculpted doorjambs of Palace P was inscribed on a pair of symmetrical radial folds once in Babylonian and once in Elamite. The text (CMc) reads, "Cyrus the Great King, an Achaemenian"[22]. The additional fragment, apparently from a sleeve, bears an Old Persian version of the same text; and presumably this fragment belongs to one of the Palace P royal figures[23]. The CMc text suggests that the figures bearing it were the work of Cyrus.

In evaluating each of these four arguments it becomes clear that some are more significant or conclusive than others, but that taken together they strongly suggest a date in the reign of Cyrus for the Palace P reliefs.

The use of the presence or absence of toothed chisel marks as a dating criterion for sculpture must be approached with caution. As Nylander points out, the little sculpture from Pasargadae which has been preserved is so finely finished that no trace of any tool marks is visible[24]. Thus the absence of toothed chisel marks on finished pieces of sculpture cannot prove that the tool was not used. Furthermore, the use of dentate tools by more and more masons during the reign of Darius seems to have been very gradual. Evidence of the toothed chisel is found so sparingly on some monuments firmly dated to the reign of Darius that we must accept the possibility that even an unpolished relief carved in the early years of Darius might easily display no toothed chisel marks[25].

The formal differences between the Palace P sculpture and the Persepolis reliefs do not in themselves prove an earlier date for the former. But in the context of what we learn from the inscriptions, these differences can be used to corroborate an earlier date determined by less subjective means[26].

---

[21] R. Borger and W. Hinz, "Eine Dareios-Inschrift aus Pasargadae", *ZDMG* 109, 1959, 125; R.T. Hallock, "Notes on Achaemenid Elamite", *JNES* 17, 1958, 256, n. 2.

[22] Kent, *Old Persian*, 116.

[23] Stronach, "Pasargadae: Third Report", 29 and pl. VIe.

[24] Nylander, *Ionians*, 33.

[25] Darius' tomb at Naqsh-i Rustam shows very few traces of the toothed chisel. See Catalogue Entry VI.

The CMb text, though problematical, suggests a pre-Darius date. One must take issue with the Borger-Hinz reconstruction of the text on certain points—notably their addition of a "jedoch nicht" which they supply in order to convey the sense that the sculptures had not been inscribed *at all* until the reign of Darius. But this difficulty concerns the argument specifically over when the Old Persian inscriptions at Pasargadae were carved: under Cyrus (meaning that Old Persian had been "invented" already at that time), or posthumously under Darius (meaning that Darius "invented" Old Persian and, proud of this achievement, ordered the addition of the Old Persian inscriptions on all of Cyrus' monuments at Pasargadae)[27]. With or without "jedoch nicht" CMb is a text written under Darius which seems to state that Cyrus had the palace built and the relief carved, and that Darius later added his own inscription. Quite possibly, Darius is referring in CMb to CMb itself—which presumably was originally carved over the doorjamb reliefs (as on Palace R and on palaces at Persepolis). Darius' addition of the CMb text over reliefs which were already carved and inscribed to represent Cyrus is characteristic of Achaemenid kings—who generally seem to have lost no opportunity to claim credit wherever credit was conceivably due in the completion of a monument begun by a predecessor.

---

[26] Though cf. Farkas, *Achaemenid Sculpture*, 94-96. Farkas dates the first appearance in Greek sculpture of the use of metal attachments to about 530 B.C.—thus using the presence of the attachment holes on the Palace P reliefs as proof of a *late* date (later than Cyrus). I think that she is perhaps mistaken on this point, however. Note, for instance, the attachment holes on the diadem and through the ear lobes of the mid-sixth century Nike from Delos (G.M.A. Richter, *A Handbook of Greek Art* [London: Phaidon Press, 1967], fig. 71, dated by Richter to c. 550 B.C.). On metal attachments on Greek sculpture see B.S. Ridgway, "Stone and Metal in Greek Sculpture", *Archaeology* 19, 1966, 38-41. Ridgway (to whom Farkas refers) makes no statement to the effect that metal attachments are found on Greek sculpture only after about 530 B.C. On the other hand, Farkas' stimulating ideas (95, n. 33) on the possibility that the Achaemenid attachments derive not from Greek sculptural prototypes, but rather from Mesopotamian traditions of sculptures of deities, are worth more emphasis. Note also that Assyrian kings apparently wore garments adorned with gold plaques (though we have no Assyrian reliefs with such applied ornamentation): A.L. Oppenheim, "The Golden Garments of the Gods", *JNES* 8, 1949, 180. It is also worth remembering that the actual usage of metal plaques attached to clothing is well attested among the nomads of ancient Iran (viz., The Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, *From the Land of the Scythians* [New York and Los Angeles: The Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1975], pl. 27). And actual Achaemenid gold appliques have been found as well. See P. Roos, "An Achaemenian Sketch Slab and the Ornaments of the Royal Dress at Persepolis", *EW* 20, 1970, 54, and H.J. Kantor, "Achaemenid Jewelry in the Oriental Institute", *JNES* 16, 1957, 6. The Pasargadae reliefs, with ornaments actually placed on the clothes and shoes, no doubt reflect an indigenous tradition of sumptuous apparel as opposed to the mere borrowing of a Greek sculptural convention.

[27] For further discussion of related issues see Chapter V and Catalogue Entry III, *infra*. Discussions of the controversy may be found in R. Ghirshman, "L'écriture cunéiforme vieux-perse", *JNES* 24, 1965, 244-250, and Mallowan, "Cyrus the Great", 2-3. Nylander and Hinz have presented cases for the addition by Darius of the Old Persian inscriptions at Pasargadae—based upon the belief that in the Behistun text Darius says that he "invented" the writing down of Old Persian, which had not been done before. See C. Nylander, "Who Wrote the Inscriptions at Pasargadae?—Achaemenian Problems, III", *OrSu* 16, 1967, 173-175; and W. Hinz, "Die Zusätze

I should point out in this context that there is nothing odd specifically about Darius bothering to put the finishing touches on a monument meant to glorify Cyrus. The frequent suggestions that Darius wished to disassociate himself from Cyrus' branch of the Achaemenid clan, or from Cyrus' reign, are not historically justified[28].

Finally, as concerns the CMc text inscribed on the royal robes of the Palace P reliefs, there is no reason to doubt that they were inscribed during the reign of Cyrus on reliefs carved during his reign. While it is characteristic of Achaemenid kings to add a text such as CMb explaining the contribution of each king involved in a given project, it is *not* characteristic for a reigning king to complete a monument (including the carving of the architectural reliefs) and then to have the royal figures on those reliefs inscribed with the name and royal titles of his deceased predecessor—and all with no mention of *himself*[29]. In fact, such a thing seems inconceivable on the basis of what we know of Achaemenid practice.

Nevertheless, the dating of the Palace P reliefs in the reign of Cyrus has not received the acceptance of all scholars. The rendition of the drapery on the Palace P figures—with vertical central pleat terminating in an omega-shaped hem and with radiating diagonal

---

zur Darius-Inschrift von Behistan", *AMI* n.F. 5, 1972, 243-251, esp. 244-245. On the other hand, Hallock and Lecoq have argued cogently to the effect that Old Persian had been written in cuneiform already in the time of Cyrus (and that therefore there is no reason to assume that Cyrus did not have his own reliefs inscribed in his own name with the Cmc text). See R.T. Hallock, "On the Old Persian Signs", *JNES* 29, 1970, 52-55, esp. 53-54; and, for an excellent examination of the whole discussion in the last twenty years (with bibliography), P. Lecoq, "Le problème de l'écriture cunéiforme vieux-perse", Acta Iranica, III (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974), 25-107.

[28] E.g., Ghirshman, "L'écriture cunéiforme vieux-perse", 246. See Chapter V, *infra*. *infra*.

[29] Xerxes, for instance, took great pains to note his contributions to his father's projects.

folds—is so reminiscent of archaic Greek drapery patterns (where a clear evolutionary development toward this sculptural solution is documented) that there are few who doubt that the general form of the omega pattern, coupled with the radial folds, was developed first in Greece and then transmitted to Iran[30]. Thus, the chronology of Achaemenid sculpture has become dependent upon that of archaic Greece[31].

An early example of the combination of vertical central pleat terminating in an omega fold and radiating diagonal folds occurs on a draped male figure from a sculptured column drum of the sixth century Temple of Artemis at Ephesus[32]. [Pl. 4]. Herodotus tells us that Croesus donated most of the columns for his temple (I. 92). And indeed, fragments of column tori inscribed with Croesus' dedication prove Herodotus' reliability on this point. This figure from one of the Ephesus columns must date to around 547 B.C.—the year when Cyrus defeated Croesus[33]. Without entering here into the question of whether it was Greek or Near Eastern artisans who actually carved the Palace P drapery, it is clear that already by about 547/6 B.C. Greek drapery prototypes were available in areas recently fallen within the Persian Empire—prototypes which could have suggested the basic structure for the omega pleat as a solution to the problem of rendering rationally in stone the effect produced by the hemline of gathered drapery[34]. And some time *before* 530-525, the date by which the reliefs on the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi *had already been carved*, Greek sculptors had worked out elaborate, supple, drapery schemes incorporating vertical omega pleats, and radial folds as well as parallel vertical pleats stacked in only one direction, in a variety of combinations [Pl. 5][35]. It is an unfortunate misapplication of Richter's chronological scheme for Greek art to use the date by which time the Siphnian Treasury must have been completed as the date of the "invention" of such drapery renditions as the omega pleat[36]. The drapery of the Siphnian Treasury reliefs clearly represents a fairly advanced stage in development. The evidence from the Croesus Temple column drums suggests that these sculptural solutions were being worked out already by about 545—at least in East Greece.

---

[30] See Chapter I, *supra.*

[31] It is well to bear in mind that Archaic Period chronology for draped figures rests primarily upon a few monuments whose sculpture can be dated fairly reliably to within a margin of several years. Archaic sculpture has been arranged to fit in before and after these dates according to a principle of evolution toward increasingly naturalistic forms. Frequently therefore there is a plus-or-minus factor of at least five to ten years in the absolute dating of a specific sculpture. E.B. Harrison presents an informative discussion in *Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture*, The Athenian Agora, XI (Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1965), 3-13.

[32] G.M.A. Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, 4th ed., rev. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970), 36-37 and figs. 265-266. This figure (B.M. 121) is now displayed in the British Museum alone, having been removed from the composite restoration shown in these illustrations. The drapery pattern depicted on this figure's hem is actually precisely equivalent to half of the symmetrical omega pleat and radial folds, as they are rendered on canonical Achaemenid drapery. Thus, although a complete omega pleat is not depicted, it is clear that the concept of it (and, more importantly, the pattern of vertical pleat and radial folds in combination) had been worked out by the mid-sixth century B.C.

[33] Unfortunately, there is no proof that the particular draped male figure in question here belongs to one of the extant *inscribed* column fragments of Croesus. Richter gives a range from 555-530 B.C. for the dating of the various column drum figures—noting that some seem earlier in style than others. Within these parameters an early date for this figure seems likely on stylistic grounds: G.M.A. Richter, *Kouroi* (London: Phaidon Press, 1960), 94—where she suggests a date "no later than" 540 for B.M. 121. Cf. F.N. Pryce, *Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities of the British Museum*, I/1, *Prehellenic and Early Greek* (London: Oxford University Press, 1928), 59-60 and fig. 63. Pryce suggests that B.M. 121 is "probably not older than the third decade of the sixth century" (48); but he did not have the benefit of Richter's stylistic analysis.

At Pasargadae, the fluid forms of mid-sixth century Ionian sculpture were then deliberately reworked into the frozen and permanent forms of canonical Achaemenid drapery—doubtless a calculated attempt to complement stylistically the sense of immutable authority and still, unmoving timelessness which pervades all Achaemenid reliefs with the possible exception of Darius' relief at Behistun[37].

All of this should create no difficulty in assigning the Palace P reliefs to Cyrus. The problem is caused only by the *a priori* assumption that all Achaemenid drapery renditions can be fitted into a relentless line of evolutionary development. This assumption (which is the result of applying experience from Greek sculptural analysis to an art which, in my opinion, functioned differently) makes it impossible to "explain" the different treatment of the Behistun drapery (firmly dated to 520-

---

[34] On evidence of connections between Ephesus and Pasargadae, see Nylander, *Ionians*, 146-147 and n. 382.

[35] Pediment (esp. figure on far left, with omega hemline): Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors*, fig. 409; Frieze: Charbonneaux, et al., *Archaic Greek Art*, figs. 199, 205, 206.

[36] Though this is what Farkas has done in *Achaemenid Sculpture*.

[37] Note the remarks of Nylander, *Ionians*, 133, and Erdmann, "Griechische und achaemenidische Plastik", 150-153. Also, on the relation of style to meaning in art, see M. Schapiro, *Words and Pictures, On the Literal and the Symbolic in the Illustration of a Text* (The Hague: Mouton, 1973), 37ff.

519) if it is considered to be later than Pasargadae Palace P[38]. Thus most recently, A. Farkas has viewed the canonical Achaemenid drapery with rigid omega pleat (found first at Palace P) as having *evolved* somehow from the Behistun drapery type[39]. By not taking into account either the earlier Ephesus column drum sculpture or the fact that the 530-525 date of the Siphnian Treasury is only a *terminus ante quem* for that particular work—not the date of the "invention" of the drapery treatment—she misses the important point that Achaemenid drapery as it appears at Pasargadae could have been derived ultimately from Greece, yet still be found in Iran twenty years or more before the carving of the Behistun relief in 520/519.

In my opinion, the evidence confirms a date toward the end of the reign of Cyrus for the carving of the reliefs of Palace P at Pasargadae.

Catalogue Entry III

THE BEHISTUN RELIEF OF DARIUS I

Selected Bibliography:

Poebel, A. "Chronology of Darius' First Year of Reign". *AJSL* 55, 1938, 142-165.

Olmstead, A.T. *History of the Persian Empire*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948, 107-118.

Kent, R.G. *Old Persian: Grammar, Texts, Lexicon*. AOS, XXXIII. New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1950, 116-135; 159-163.

Hallock, R.T. "The 'One Year' of Darius I". *JNES* 19, 1960, 36-39.

Trümpelmann, L. "Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Monumentes Dareios' I. von Bisutun und zur Datierung der Einführung der altpersischen Schrift". *AA* 82, 1967, 281-298.

Hinz, W. "Die Entstehung der altpersischen Keilschrift". *AMI* n.F. 1, 1968, 95-98.

Luschey, H. "Studien zu dem Darius-Relief von Bisūtun". *AMI* n.F. 1, 1968, 63-94.

---

[38] For the Behistun relief see Catalogue Entry III. The special pecularities of the style of the Behistun relief as a whole—its extraordinary dependence upon Assyrian models—leads me to understand the differences between the Behistun drapery and the canonical style as determined not by Behistun being the first in a line of development toward a standard, but rather by its reflecting the deliberate use of a specific stylistic tradition. See *infra*, Chapter V.

[39] Farkas, *Achaemenid Sculpture*, 25, 31, 35-37, 84-86, and esp. 85, n. 4. In the same vein, note also Luschey, "Darius-Relief", 90. Luschey suggests that the reliefs of the royal hero in the Palace of Darius at Persepolis were actually carved by the same sculptor who carved the relief at Behistun—seeing the drapery of the royal hero as representing a later phase in that particular sculptor's development of a drapery style.

Shahbazi, A.S. "The 'One Year' of Darius Re-examined", *BSOAS* 35, 1972, 609-614.

Hinz, W. "Die Behistan-Inschrift des Darius". *AMI* n.F. 7, 1974, 121-134.

Cameron, G.G. "Darius the Great and his Scythian (Saka) Campaign : Bisitun and Herodotus". Acta Iranica, IV. Leiden : E.J. Brill, 1975, 77-88.

Dandamaev, M. *Persien unter der ersten Achämeniden*. Translated by H.-D. Pohl. Wiesbaden : Dr. Ludwig Reichert, 1976.

Photographs : Pls. 6-8.

Description

The important historical inscription and relief of Darius the Great is carved high up on the steep southern face of the mountain of Behistun. It looks down over the ancient and strategic highway which leads from Baghdad to Hamadan (ancient Ecbatana) and across to a pleasant oasis in the plain[40]. In the trilingual cuneiform text Darius sets forth his lineage and titles; he then describes his defeat of the usurper Gaumata, his subsequent rise to the throne, and his successful quelling of the series of rebellions which broke out during his first year of reign[41]. The relief compresses the essence of these events into one tableau : Darius, wearing a crown, and with two weapon bearers behind him, steps upon the pleading and prostrate Gaumata while the other treacherous rebel leaders proceed, in bonds, toward the king. Ahuramazda hovers over this scene, extending a ring to Darius. The prisoners are differentiated by dress and hair style. They are also identified by labels.

---

[40] Luschey, "Darius-Relief", 63-69, for a description of the location and for a history of discovery of the monument, as well as for excellent photographs. Fragments of a copy of the Behistun text and relief have been found at Babylon : U. Seidl, "Ein Relief Dareios' I. in Babylon", *AMI* n.F. 9, 1976, 125-130.

[41] The text, carved in parallel versions of Elamite, Babylonian and Old Persian, played a crucial role in the decipherment of cuneiform signs. For annotated translations see Kent, *Old Persian*, 116-135 (Old Persian) and W. Hinz, "Die Behistan-Inschrift des Darius", *AMI* n.F. 7, 1974, 121-134 (Elamite). The Elamite version was carved first, the Old Persian last. This fact has suggested that Old Persian cuneiform may have been devised specifically for the Behistun monument. Also, in DB IV Darius makes an enigmatic allusion to the fact that the Behistun text was written in "aryan", which previously had not been done (see especially Hinz, "Zur Darius-Inschrift von Behistan", 243-245). There has been much debate as to whether Darius was here referring to the Old Persian language written in cuneiform or to Old Persian written in the Aramaic script. For a good summary of the problems and the literature, especially as pertains to Achaemenid sculpture chronology, see Nylander, "Who Wrote the Inscriptions at Pasargadae?", 135-180 and "ΑΣΣΥΡΙΑ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΑ : Remarks on the 21st 'Letter of Themistokles'", *Opuscula Atheniensia* 8, 1968, 122-124 (esp. nn. 13-17). More recently see Hallock, "On the Old Persian Signs", 52-55. Hallock suggests that a limited basic text had been devised in Old Persian cuneiform already in the reign of Cyrus. In any event, the Behistun text is the first known one of any length composed in Old Persian; and studies of the Old Persian syllabary have shown that it was of a contrived, ad hoc nature. On this point note an interesting discussion by G.G. Cameron, "The Persian Satrapies and Related Matters", *JNES* 32, 1973, 51-54. See also P. Lecoq, "La langue des inscriptions achéménides", Acta Iranica, II (Leiden : E.J. Brill, 1974), 55-62; and "Le problème de l'écriture cunéiforme vieux-perse".

Date

Two elements indicate an early date for the carving of the relief and inscription. First, the list of lands forming the empire at Darius' accession which is given in DBI is the earliest one known. Kush and India, included in later lists, are not mentioned here[42]. Secondly, an addition to the relief and inscription pinpoints the *terminus ante quem* securely. In DBV (the added text) Darius says that in his third year he subdued the Scyths with pointed caps[43]. A figure of the rebel Scyth, Skunkha by name, was also added to the original file of eight captives on the relief. We know that this addition took place after the rest of the monument was completely finished because it was necessary to destroy part of the Elamite text in order to include the figure of Skunkha[44]. Thus, the Behistun monument offers an important fixed point in the chronology of Achaemenid history and sculpture. Before 519 B.C. the original Behistun relief, including the first eight standing prisoners, had been planned and executed.

The only debate over chronology which directly relates to issues concerning the relief involves the internal order of the events described by Darius as having taken place all in the same year[45]. As will be discussed in Chapter V, the ordering of the captive figures in the relief differs from that given in the text—a fact which raises interesting questions on the interdependency of the text and sculpture.

---

[42] See G.G. Cameron, "Darius, Egypt, and the 'Lands Beyond the Sea'", *JNES* 2, 1943, 308. (Cameron says unintentionally that it is Egypt, not Kush, which does not appear in the DB listing).

[43] Cf. J.M. Balcer, "The Date of Herodotus IV.1. Darius' Scythian Expedition", *HSCP* 76, 1972, 99-132, who suggests the possibility that these Scyths with pointed caps should be equated with the European Scyths.

[44] On the phases of work on the Behistun monument see W. Hinz, "Die Entstehung der altpersischen Keilschrift", *AMI* n.F. 1, 1968, 95-98, and L. Trümpelmann, "Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Monumentes Dareios' I. von Bisutun and zur Datierung der Einführung der altpersischen Schrift", *AA* 82, 1967, 281-298.

[45] On the dating of the accession of Darius I and the events which immediately followed, see R.A. Parker, "Persian and Egyptian Chronology", *AJSL* 58, 1941, 285-301; A. Poebel, "Chronology of Darius' First Year of Reign", *AJSL* 55, 1938, 142-165; R.T. Hallock, "The 'One Year' of Darius I", *JNES* 19, 1960, 36-39; Trümpelmann, "Zur Entstehungsgeschichte", 281-298; A.S. Shahbazi, "The 'One Year' of Darius Re-examined", *BSOAS* 35, 1972, 609-614.

Catalogue Entry IV

THE CANAL STELAE OF DARIUS I

Selected Bibliography:

Menant, J. "La stèle de Chalouf". *Recueil de travaux* 9, 1887, 131-157.

Scheil, V. "Documents et arguments—Inscription de Darius à Suez". *RAssyr* 27, 1930, 93-97.

Posener, G. *La première domination perse en Égypte*. Bibliothèque d'étude, XI. Cairo: Impr. de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1936, 48-87.

—. "Le canal du Nil à la Mer Rouge". *Chronique d'Égypte* 26, 1938, 259-273.

Parker, R.A. "Darius and his Egyptian Campaign". *AJSL* 58, 1941, 373-377.

Cameron, G.G. "Darius, Egypt, and the 'Lands Beyond the Sea'". *JNES* 2, 1943, 307-313.

Kervran, M., Stronach, D., Vallat, F., and Yoyotte, J. "Une statue de Darius découverte à Suse". *JA* 260, 1972, 235-266.

Cameron, G.G. "The Persian Satrapies and Related Matters". *JNES* 32, 1973, 47-56.

Drawing: Pl. 9.

Description

Originally, at least four granite stelae were erected along the right bank of the ancient Suez Canal to commemorate the completion of that project by Darius the Great[46]. One of the four known is now lost, but partial remains of three others have been recovered and studied[47]. Each stele is inscribed in Babylonian, Elamite and Old Persian cuneiform on reverse and Egyptian hieroglyphs on the obverse[48]. These texts, which are not identical, describe the circumstances under which Darius decided to dig the canal. The Babylonian version, clearly preserved on the Chalouf stele, states simply, "I seized Egypt; I gave the order to dig a waterway". The hieroglyphic text goes into more detail, describing how Darius solicited advice from the local civil authorities on excavating the canal. The Maskhoutah stele preserves two references to Cyrus. In one context it is stated that after the passage was completed, Darius had tribute sent through the canal from Egypt to the city in Parsa which was a residence of Cyrus[49].

---

[46] See G. Posener, "Le canal du Nil à la Mer Rouge", *Chronique d'Égypte* 26, 1938, 259-273. Posener discusses evidence, both textual and geological, for pre-Ptolemaic Suez canals mentioned by ancient authors. He concludes that one of the Egyptian pharaohs with whom tradition has credited an earlier canal must in fact have completed a passage. The evidence points to that pharaoh having been Neccho II (609-594 B.C.). Then Darius, when he came upon this canal of Neccho's, re-dug it to make it navigable once again. See Posener's map opposite 259, and text, 271-273. The canal of Darius was started from near Bubastis. It followed the Wadi Toumilat, passed Lake Timsah on the east, crossed the Bitter Lakes, and emptied into the Gulf of Suez. Note that Herodotus (II.158) tells us that Darius merely completed a canal originally started, *but never completed*, by Neccho. Diodorus (I.33.9), on the other hand, states that Darius did not finish the canal either. The stelae, with their mention that ships traveled on the waterway from the Nile to Persia, indicate that Diodorus was mistaken.

Above the hieroglyphic text on the front face of each monument was carved a row of twenty-four crenelated cartouches inscribed with the names of the different lands of the Persian Empire, and each surmounted by a small kneeling figure with hands raised, palms forward, in a gesture of praise [Pl. 9]. These figures wear clothing which is meant to be indicative of the different lands whence they come. But whether ethnic facial characteristics are also differentiated is impossible to say on the basis of the photographs available for study.

---

[47] (1) the stele of Tell el Maskhoutah: Posener, *Première domination perse*, 50-63 and pl. IV. Cairo Museum, Journal d'Entrée 48855. Three-quarters of the monument have been recovered, allowing a reconstruction of the dimensions as follows: H = 3.15 m.; W = 2.10 m.; Th. = 0.77 m. It is inscribed only in hieroglyphs on the front face. According to Golénischeff the cuneiform inscriptions were carved on a separate stele (Posener, 49).

(2) The stele of Chalouf (Kabret): Posener, *Première domination perse*, 63-81, and pls. V-XIII. Some of the fragments are now joined and are placed near the railway station at Ismaïla. Others were, when last seen by Posener in 1932, stored in the basement of the Dispensary there. This stele was inscribed on both sides: the front face in hieroglyphs and the reverse in the three cuneiform texts. See J. Ménant, "La stèle de Chalouf", *Recueil de Travaux* 9, 1887, 131-157, for the major publication of this, the best preserved of the stelae.

(3) The stele of Suez: Posener, *Première domination perse*, 81-87, and pls. XIV-XV. Two fragments have been found, one containing parts of a hieroglyphic text and the other signs in Babylonian cuneiform. A cast of these two blocks is now in Ismaïla.

[48] Though note Golénischeff's opinion that the cuneiform texts of the stele of Maskhoutah went on a separate block.

[49] V. Scheil, "Documents et arguments—Inscriptions de Darius à Suez", *RAssyr* 27, 1930, 97, for the Babylonian text of the Chalouf stele. See Posener, *Première domination perse*, 55-63, for text, translation, and notes on the hieroglyphic text of the Maskhoutah stele and 71-81 for the fragmentary Egyptian version recorded on the Chalouf stele.

The twenty-four cartouche groups on the canal stelae are divided in half with the two sets confronting each other. A column of hieroglyphs separates these two flanks of figures kneeling upon name-rings. By combining the preserved portions of the stelae of Maskhoutah and Chalouf, Posener translates the text as, "Je te donne toutes les terres et tous les pays étrangers en adoration devant toi"[50]. The two groups of countries thus represented comprise Persia and the lands of the East on the one hand, and Babylonia and the lands of the West on the other (though for the sake of symmetry Maka and Sind are included with the western nations). Persia occupies the position which, following the rules of priority governing hieroglyphic texts, is to be read as number one in the list of twenty-four nations[51]. The fragmentary lists available from the remains of the Maskhoutah and Chalouf monuments correlate both in places named and in their positions within the lists with the completely preserved listing on the base of Darius' Susa monument (Catalogue Entry V). It is possible therefore that these two stelae and the statue base were decorated with reference to the same official source[52]. On the Suez stele the only cartouche preserved is that of Assyria. Here this nation occupies position number six, on the left side of the stele, instead of position number eighteen, on the right side. Posener suggests that the groups were switched on the Suez stele so that Persia and the eastern lands were placed on the right, instead of on the left as they are on the other two preserved monuments. He admits, however, that this hypothesis creates the problem that, according to the Egyptian numbering convention, Persia would then become number thirteen on the list instead of number one[53].

---

[50] Posener, *Première domination perse*, 53.

[51] According to Egyptian convention, the figures in this type of format which face in the same direction as the hieroglyphs in the accompanying text will be read first. Thus the cartouche groups here are read: ^{12}—east→^{1} ^{13}←west—^{24}. On the Maskhoutah and Chalouf stelae Persia and the eastern nations are on the left, while Babylonia heads off the list of western nations on the right. Although on neither of these two stelae are both groups equally well preserved, enough remains of each to indicate that the lists and order were identical.

[52] Posener remarks on this subject that, "le répertoire géographique des stèles du canal dérive d'un original écrit en araméen ... Le prototype de notre liste s'inspire à son tour des noms vieux-perses des pays. Pour l'Égypte, la Libye et la Nubie les noms étrangers furent remplacés par leurs équivalents égyptiens" (187). Cf. K. Zibelius, *Afrikanische Orts- und Völkernamen in hieroglyphischen und hieratischen Texten* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1972), 62. Zibelius concludes, on the basis of Egyptian name forms used, that the Egyptian scribal model drawn upon for the stelae had to have been a traditional hieroglyphic geographical text—not a demotic document such as would have been used for contemporary administrative purposes.

A preferable solution to this difficulty is to suppose that the Suez stele was made with reference to a different list—a list which placed Persia at the head of the *western* lands. If this were the case, then Persia would still be number one on the left side of the stele.

Of the known inscriptions of Darius which include a list of nations, all texts basically conform to the principle of naming the western lands and then the eastern lands or vice versa. DB, DSm and DPe all present Persia, Media and Elam as parts of the west. The stelae of Maskhoutah and Chalouf, the Darius statue, DSe, DNa and the DN sculpture labels all show Persia, Media and Elam as belonging to the east[54]. In DPe, for instance, Assyria would occupy sixth position (as on the Suez stele) if we were to add the tacitly understood Persia as number one of the western lands, in its place before Elam. Thus it is less difficult to suppose two different lists being used (one for the Maskhoutah and Chalouf stelae, and one for the Suez stele and perhaps also for the lost one from Serapeum) than to suppose that Persia was given the thirteenth place on any of these monuments. The probability that both types of list were used on the canal stelae seems to invalidate Herzfeld's idea that those lists which group east before west are necessarily later[55].

Above the register of cartouches the top part of each stele block curves into an arc beneath which an Egyptian winged disc hovers over the figures of the two Nile gods—fertility figures who symbolically bind together Upper and Lower Egypt[56]. The royal cartouche of Darius rests upon the "sma"-sign which stands for unification. Between the legs of the Nile gods is inscribed a discourse. The figure on the left says, according to Posener's translation, "Je te donne toutes les terres, tous les Fenkou, tous les pays étrangers, tous les Arcs". The Nile god on the right adds, "Je te donne tous les humains, tous les hommes, tous les habitants des îles de la mer Égée"[57]. On the top of the reverse side, preserved at least on the stele of Chalouf, is engraved a double image of a figure in the Achaemenid court dress, apparently wearing a crenelated crown, who stands under an Egyptian winged disc and before a name-ring which encircles the name of Darius written in cuneiform.

---

[53] Posener, *Première domination perse*, 182-183, and pl. XIV for a drawing of the Suez stele. The Suez stele groups would be disposed as follows according to Posener's hypothesis: ^{12}—^{6} west$\rightarrow^{1}$ $^{13}\leftarrow$east—^{24}, 6 being Assyria, and Persia having to be number 13 (assuming that it is *always* grouped with the *east*). I suggest instead that here, Persia was placed at the head of the *west* group, maintaining its proper place as number 1 in the list.

[54] Cf. R. de Mecquenem, "Contribution à l'étude du palais achéménide de Suse", MDP, XXX (Paris: Ernst Leroux, 1947), 68-69, and E. Herzfeld, *The Persian Empire*, ed. G. Walser (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1968), 292. Herzfeld views the conceptualization as tripartite, with the middle of the empire always given first (Persia, Media and Elam) and the western or eastern lands following (though in DB, Media is no. 10 of the western list).

[55] Ibid., 294.

[56] J. Baines, "The Destruction of the Pyramid Temple of Sahure", *Göttinger Miszellen* 4, 1973, 9-14.

Date

The dating problems associated with these canal stelae involve the conflicting testimony of historical considerations and hieroglyphic orthography as criteria for establishing the precise period within Darius' reign when the monuments must have been inscribed.

I. *Orthographic Arguments*

When Egyptian scribes first began writing the name Darius, they used a sign for 't' as an approximation of the initial sound in the Persian. Eventually a sign for 'n' began to be prefixed to the initial 't' in the Egyptian spelling of the king's name in order more closely to approximate the Persian 'd'. Based upon a study of dated spellings of the name Darius, Burchardt determined many years ago that by the twenty-eighth year of Darius' reign, the Egyptian equivalent of 'n' was invariably prefixed to the initial 't' consonant of the king's name in Egyptian[58]. This observation has formed the basis for dating monuments inscribed with the name of Darius in Egyptian ever since. By this criterion the canal stelae should all be dated to some time after the twenty-seventh year of Darius.

Posener notes, however, that the dated inscriptions used as evidence by Burchardt fall into two groups: 1) official texts deposited in the Serapeum, and 2) private graffiti found at Wadi Hammamat. Four Serapeum stelae deposited in year 4 render the initial consonantal sound of the name Darius with only the sign for 't'. The stele dated to year 31 and those dated to year 34 render the initial consonant sound with the additional prefixed sign for 'n'. Thus, the dated official texts give us only a date before which the simple 't' was still in use (year 4) and a date by which the new form had been introduced (year 31). It is the unofficial texts which provide the narrower limits. Seven private inscriptions dated to the year 26/27 still use the simple 't' as initial consonant for Darius' name. Four texts inscribed at Wadi Hammamat in year 28 use the new form. Hence Burchardt's determination that any inscription employing the 'nt' consonant for Darius' name must date after year 27 because year 27 is the year of the last dated—though unofficial—rendering of the older form.

---

[57] See Posener, *Première domination perse*, 52. The translation combines preserved sections of the Maskhoutah and Chalouf stelae. The geographical names have no specific meaning when used here. They are simply vestiges of old formulae.

[58] M. Burchardt, "Datierte Denkmäler der Berliner Sammlung aus der Achämenidenzeit", *ZÄS* 49, 1911, 69-80, esp. 79.

But the nature of Burchardt's data may invalidate his thesis[59]. Posener points out that the change in spelling might have occurred much earlier in official inscriptions than it would have in the writing style of private individuals carving graffiti at Wadi Hammamat. Furthermore, he suggests that on the basis of historical considerations a date early in the reign of Darius is preferable for the erection of the canal stelae.

II. *Historical Considerations*

The texts of the stelae clearly convey the impression that Darius ordered work to begin on the canal on the occasion of his entry into Egypt overland. R.A. Parker has demonstrated that Darius must have entered Egypt in the winter of year 2 (519/518) and left in the spring of 518 B.C.[60] The canal would then have been started in 519/518 B.C. Presumably the stelae were not carved until the project had been completed—especially in view of the fact that the texts mention that boats were sent through the canal to Persia[61]. But surely a twenty-four year period (such as Burchardt's study would imply) between the start of the canal in 519/518 and the proposed carving of the stelae around 495 or later is rather excessive for such a project, the speedy completion of which would have yielded such tangible benefits to the Persian ruler.

---

[59] Posener, *Première domination perse*, 163.

[60] R.A. Parker, "Darius and his Egyptian Campaign", *AJSL* 58, 1941, 373-377. See Chalouf stele (Babylonian version): Scheil, "Documents et arguments", 97, and the Old Persian version on the Suez stele, Kent, *Old Persian*, 147.

[61] Ibid., 147 (DZc, in Old Persian).

In spite of these historical considerations which strongly suggest an early date, J. Yoyotte has recently assigned the canal stelae to some time after 495 B.C. on the basis of Burchardt's problematical orthographic theory[62]. His determination has been widely accepted—though one wonders how readily this acceptance would have occurred had the difficulties inherent in Burchardt's schema been presented to those who may otherwise not have been able to avail themselves of Posener's perceptive critique.

Hinz (who accepts Yoyotte's late date as definitive) has now attempted to reconcile this late date with the sense of the stelae texts (and the Darius statue text) to the effect that Darius commissioned the work *while he was in Egypt*[63]. He postulates a *second* royal visit to Egypt by Darius during his 23rd year (499)—noting that in this period there are apparently no references to the king being in Susa on any of the Persepolis Fortification tablets. Then he proposes that the canal would have been completed and the stelae erected in year 24. Year 24 is offered because the number 2(?)4 appears on the fragmentary Suez stele hieroglyphic text near the end of the passage; and he would like to see here the date of completion of the canal and the stelae. Unfortunately, this is highly questionable, however. As Posener points out, the number 24 is more likely to have been part of a reference to the twenty-four ships which bore cargo to Egypt (as mentioned on a better preserved portion of the Chalouf stele)[64]. Indeed this suggestion fits the context of the placement of the number within the Suez stele passage—following right after a fragmentary reference to tribute. The number could also refer to the twenty-four subject peoples depicted on the stele itself.

While the late date for the canal stelae may be correct, Hinz's reconstruction of the historical situation is based upon a series of assumptions deliberately tailored to suit his acceptance of Yoyotte's chronology (which itself is based upon the acceptance of Burchardt's problematical orthographic analysis).

I myself feel compelled to leave open the possibility that Darius ordered the canal to be dug on his *first* (and, for all we really know, his *only*) royal visit. This would seem most logical historically[65]. Furthermore, the listing of twenty-four peoples on the stelae conforms most closely with early trilingual cuneiform lists.

---

[62] M. Kervran, et al., "Une statue de Darius découverte à Suse", *JA* 260, 1972, 262.

[63] W. Hinz, "Darius und der Suezkanal", *AMI* n.F. 9, 1975, 115-121.

[64] Posener, *Première domination perse*, 50 and 76.

Catalogue Entry V

THE STATUE OF DARIUS FROM SUSA

Selected Bibliography :

Kervran, M., Stronach, D., Vallat, F., and Yoyotte, J. "Une statue de Darius découverte à Suse". *JA* 260, 1972, 235-266. [See now the final publication, with additional contributions by J. Perrot, D. Ladiray, M. Roaf and J. Trichet, in *Cahiers de la DAFI* 4, 1974].

Perrot, J. "Le palais de Darius le Grand à Šuš". *Proceedings of the IInd Annual Symposium on Archaeological Research in Iran.* Tehran : Iran Centre for Archaeological Research, 1974, 91-107.

Photographs : Pls. 10-11.

Description

In 1972 members of the Mission Archéologique Française discovered a monolithic colossal statue of Darius I east of the palace of Darius on the Apadana mound at Susa[66]. It was found in the same place as it occupied during the Achaemenid Period : set against the west wall of a gateway which pierced a fortification. Over the years of post-Achaemenid inhabitation of Susa, debris was permitted to accumulate around the monument until, in the Sasanian Period, it was completely covered.

The statue is made of Egyptian granite[67], and certain features of the sculpture suggest Egyptian workmanship[68]. The royal figure, attached to a back pillar, stands with left leg forward [Pl. 10]. Within the clenched right fist held straight down at his side, the king grasps a short "stick" which is characteristic of Egyptian statuary[69]. His left arm is bent at the elbow and held to his chest. In the left hand Darius holds what appears to be a flower[70]. Unfortunately, the statue is broken off at this point. The top third has not been recovered.

---

[65] Herzfeld (*The Persian Empire*, 294 and n. 2) suggests a date not much later than 514 for the completion of the canal (and the stelae). In 1943 Cameron presented a detailed historical discussion of the evidence for dating the stelae in "Darius, Egypt, and the 'Lands Beyond the Sea'", 307-313. At that time he concluded that they must have been inscribed in about 513 on the basis of which lands (peoples) seemed to have been mentioned among the 24 listed. (Though see now his "Darius the Great", for a change to 519 of the date of Darius' Scythian campaign). More recently, Cameron's views have altered somewhat—to the extent that he now suggests that the Achaemenid geographical lists seem to have varied according to "those peoples who were thought worthy of mention" in a specific context. The implication of this is that the absence of a name in a list cannot *necessarily* be taken as proof that the particular people not mentioned had not yet been incorporated into the Empire.

[66] Kervran, et al., "Une statue de Darius", 235-239, fig. 1, and pls. I-IV.

[67] This information was determined after publication of the preliminary report.

In spite of the thoroughly Egyptian character of the monument, Darius wears the Persian court dress and strapless royal boots. His bracelets and the dagger tucked in his belt are typical Iranian accoutrements. But whether or not the king wore the Persian crown or an Egyptian one is at present only a matter for conjecture[71].

A trilingual cuneiform text invoking Ahuramazda runs down the vertical pleats on the right side of the royal robe. A different text in Egyptian hieroglyphs decorates the corresponding folds on the left. This passage links Darius to Atum of Heliopolis and extols the prowess of the king in traditional Egyptian metaphor. The ends of the king's belt bear royal hieroglyphic cartouches of Darius[72].

The rectangular base upon which the colossal statue of Darius stands measures 1.043 m. in length by 0.645 m. in width. A brief dedication is inscribed in hieroglyphs on the top surface of the socle. Here again, Atum of Heliopolis is invoked as the patron deity of the king. Engraved on the front short face of this block are the figures of the two Nile gods who tie together the symbols for Upper and Lower Egypt, much as they do on the tops of the canal stelae of Darius (Catalogue Entry IV).

On either long side of the base appear twelve fortress rings upon which kneel figures personifying the places named within the rings

---

[68] It is interesting to note, however, that traces of paint have been detected on the statue. This, in contrast to other strongly Egyptian characteristics of the sculpture, is otherwise unknown for hard-stoned Egyptian sculpture of the Late Period: B. Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period* (Brooklyn: The Brooklyn Museum, 1960), 27. The sculpture at Persepolis was, however, brightly painted (viz. J. Lerner, "A Painted Relief from Persepolis", *Archaeology* 26, 1973, 116-122; and Roos, "An Achaemenian Sketch Slab").

[69] Bothmer has described this as the "Egyptian emblematic staff".

[70] Kervran, et al., "Une statue de Darius", 241, n. 1 and 244, for a discussion of the Egyptian features of the statue.

[71] Ibid., 243. Note Stronach's interesting reference to a satrapal coin type dating to Artaxerxes III on which an enthroned figure is shown wearing the Persian robe and an Egyptian crown.

[72] Ibid., 247-251, for the cuneiform texts in translation; 252-266 for hieroglyphic texts, translations and commentary.

[Pl. 11][73]. All figures are turned toward the front face of the socle, with their hands rendered palms-up. Although these figures are extremely small, they are depicted with a remarkable degree of detail. Certain aspects of costume, hairstyle and physiognomy differentiate them one from another.

A pair of identical hieroglyphic texts frames both sets of Nile gods on the short sides of the base. This text, thus given four times, explains the presence of the personifications of all the lands :

> Je te donne toute vie et toute force, toute stabilité, toute santé et toute joie. Je te donne tous les pays de plaine et tous les pays de montagne réunis sous tes sandales. Je te donne la Haute Égypte et la Basse Égypte qui adressent des adorations à ton beau visage comme à celui de Re, éternellement[74].

Date

F. Vallat and J. Yoyotte, who have published preliminary accounts of the cuneiform and hieroglyphic inscriptions, respectively, both date the statue to the final years of the reign of Darius.

I. *Evidence of the Hieroglyphic Texts*

On the basis of the parallelism of the group of twenty-four kneeling peoples, Yoyotte sees the canal stelae and the Darius statue as being roughly contemporaneous. He uses the form of the king's name in Egyptian with prefixed 'n' as the basis for his dating of both to after the twenty-eighth year of Darius. He does not mention the reservations about the use of this criterion which Posener expressed in 1936[75].

II. *Evidence of the Cuneiform Texts*

Vallat notes the inversion, in the Elamite text, of the formula "Darius the king says" (the type invariably used by Darius in other known Achaemenid Elamite inscriptions) to say "Says Darius the king" (a formula which, *for the Elamite texts*, is not otherwise known until the reign of Xerxes)[76]. Thus he reasons that the Elamite inscription must have been carved not long before Xerxes ascended the throne. But in all the Old Persian texts of Darius the formula "Says Darius the king" is the standard one. The fact that the Elamite text here follows the Old Persian formula instead of the usual Elamite one is not necessarily indicative of a late date[77].

---

[73] The grouping of the names of nations is the same as that found on the canal stelae. Ibid., 256 and 258 for text and translation of the names in the cartouches. The fact that the lands of the east are placed on the king's left and those of the west are on his right is in itself a further aspect of the Egyptian nature of this statue. To an Egyptian, the east was always thought of as left because the south, whence flows the Nile, was perceived as the directional point of reference.

[74] Ibid., 256 (text 4) and 258. In function this text corresponds to the text which separates the two sets of name-rings on the canal stelae and the texts of discourse between the Nile gods also on the stelae.

[75] Kervran, et al., "Une statue de Darius", 266; and Catalogue Entry IV.

All three versions of cuneiform text state explicitly that Darius ordered the statue to be made in Egypt so that anyone seeing it would know that a Persian man has taken Egypt[78]. This implies that the statue was ordered to commemorate Darius' visit to Egypt in 519/518 B.C. and his reassertion of Persian control over the land and its institutions following the disruptions attendant upon his accession[79]. Of particular interest for a discussion of the date of the statue is the syntax of the sentence which Vallat translates as "Voici la statue en pierre que Darius le Roi a ordonné de faire en Égypte". Vallat acknowledges that two interpretations are syntactically possible: 1) Darius placed the order *while he was in Egypt* for a statue to be made at Susa by Egyptian artists; 2) Darius, though not necessarily in Egypt himself, ordered a statue to be made there and sent to Susa[80]. I would suggest a third hypothesis: that during his sojourn in Egypt Darius ordered a statue to be made in Egypt, by and for Egypt. Now that we know that the sculpture is made of Egyptian stone, the first hypothesis put forth by Vallat seems unlikely. It is true that column bases of pink granite imported from Aswan have been found at Susa—suggesting that the stone was transported rough-hewn to Susa and only later carved[81]. And it is certainly not unknown for ancient Near Eastern monarchs to import (or to brag about importing) from specific foreign lands the raw materials for a great edifice[82]. But the Darius statue, with its predominantly hieroglyphic inscriptions, was so obviously meant to "speak" to an Egyptian audience that it is difficult to believe that it was originally commissioned to be made at (and therefore presumably *for*) Susa. Furthermore, the references to Atum of Heliopolis in the hieroglyphic text suggest that the statue may have been made for the temple at Heliopolis.

---

[76] Ibid., 251.

[77] R.T. Hallock has kindly discussed this question with me. He also notes that there are very few inscriptions (especially of Xerxes) upon which to base a judgment. Furthermore, he suggests that the inversion (when used for Elamite texts in the reign of Darius *and* Xerxes) could very easily represent the quirk of a single scribe whose period of activity could have spanned the two reigns.

[78] Kervran, et al., "Une statue de Darius", 249-250. Note the similar phraseology in DNa: "... then shall it become known to thee: the spear of a Persian man has gone forth far; then shall it become known to thee: a Persian man has delivered battle far indeed from Persia". (Kent, *Old Persian*, 138).

[79] Catalogue Entry IV.

[80] Kervran, et al., "Une statue de Darius", 251.

[81] R. Ghirshman, *Persia: From the Origins to Alexander the Great*, trans. S. Gilbert and J. Emmons (London: Thames and Hudson, 1964), 142. Darius does not mention stone brought from Egypt in his foundation charter (DSf: Kent, *Old Persian*, 142-144). *Old Persian*, 142-144).

Thus there can be no doubt that the sculpture was made in Egypt. The statue found at Susa is probably the one originally ordered by Darius while he was in Egypt which for some reasons was brought to Susa later[83]. On the other hand, it may possibly be an exact copy of the originally commissioned one—this also made in Egypt, but meant to be sent to Persia. The Aramaic letter of ʾAršam mentioned earlier in Chapter I shows that such procedures were common enough[84].

As with the canal stelae, I am not fully convinced by the arguments put forth so far in support of a late date for the statue of Darius. It is too soon to accept them unquestioningly and to do as Hinz has done in constructing a history to coincide with ambiguous or, at least, non-definitive textual evidence.

Catalogue Entry VI

THE TOMBS OF DARIUS AND HIS SUCCESSORS: NAQSH-I RUSTAM/PERSEPOLIS

Selected Bibliography:

Herzfeld, E. and Sarre, F. *Iranische Felsreliefs.* Berlin: E. Wasmuth, 1910, 57-66.

Schmidt, E. *Persepolis,* III. OIP, LXX. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970, 80-90 and 108-118; pls. 18-39.

Calmeyer, P. "The Subject of the Achaemenid Tomb Reliefs". *Proceedings of the IIIrd Annual Symposium on Archaeological Research in Iran.* Tehran: Iran Centre for Archaeological Research, 1975, 233-242.

---

[82] Note, for instance, Gudea's lengthy account of materials brought for the construction of a temple of Ningirsu. Barton, *Royal Inscriptions*, 218-221.

[83] Hinz, "Darius und der Suezkanal", 120f, suggests that Xerxes had the statue brought back to Susa—to salvage it from now-hostile territory.

[84] Driver, *Aramaic Documents*, letter no. IX.

—. "Zur Genese altiranischer Motive III. Felsgräber". *AMI* n.F. 8, 1975, 99-113.
Kleiss, W. and Calmeyer, P. "Das unvollendete achaemenidische Felsgrab bei Persepolis". *AMI* n.F. 8, 1975, 81-98.

Photographs: Pls. 12-14.

Description

The facade of the rock-cut tomb of Darius at Naqsh-i Rustam is laid out on a cruciform plan. This configuration and the decorative system imposed upon it were copied with only minor variations by all succeeding Achaemenid kings. The focus of the monument is upon the vertical projection of the cross which frames a representation of the royal figure, who stands alone on a three-stepped podium before a blazing fire altar. Ahuramazda hovers overhead, facing the king. Behind Ahuramazda is a disc with inscribed crescent. This tableau is represented as resting upon a large platform which is lifted up by two tiers of men, who personify thirty lands of the empire. Below this scene the central section of the cruciform monument is rendered as a dimensionally compressed architectural facade[85].

To the left of the upper part of the cross, the tableau of the king on the raised platform is framed by three weaponbearers disposed in three registers. Six additional spearbearers in this same attitude are disposed in three registers which are carved on a wing projecting out perpendicular to the facade tableau. On the right side of the tableau a similar arrangement of figures is found—this time representing unarmed men all wearing the Persian robe, and each holding his left hand up to his mouth.

Darius' tomb facade bears an inscription (DNa-b) referring to Darius and to his achievements[86]. In addition, the thirty men personifying the subject peoples are all labeled[87]. Also, two of the weaponbearers flanking the tableau are labeled: one as "Gobryas, a Patiscorian, spearbearer of Darius the king", and the other as "Aspathines, bowbearer, holds the battle-ax of Darius the king"[88]. Gobryas is no doubt to be identified with "Gobryas, son of Mardonius, a Persian" whom Darius names in the Behistun inscription as one of his co-conspirators against Gaumata[89]. Herodotus (III. 70) counts a man named Aspathines among the members of the Persian nobility who, along with Darius, defeated Gaumata; but Darius does not mention this man on the Behistun inscription.

---

[85] Ghirshman, *Persia*, pl. 279; E. Schmidt, *Persepolis*, III, OIP, LXX (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), pl. 19.

[86] Kent, *Old Persian*, 137-140.

[87] Ibid., 140f.

[88] DNc and DNd: Kent, *Old Persian*, 140.

On tomb V, the south tomb at Persepolis, the platform carriers are also labeled[90]. But no tomb other than that of Darius bears any inscription by which the owner may be identified.

Date

In this analysis we are primarily concerned with establishing the date by which representational types had initially been introduced into the Achaemenid repertoire. Thus, in the case of the royal tombs, our main interest is in determining a date for the tomb of Darius. For the later tombs, an important study by W. Kleiss and P. Calmeyer gives a detailed account of the issues involved in the attribution of the uninscribed tombs to Darius' successors, and it offers cogent arguments in support of new identifications for some of them[91]. Thus the unfinished tomb at Persepolis, always identified with Darius III, has been reassigned to either Artaxerxes II or possibly Sekyndianos/Sogdianos. The tomb of Xerxes at Naqsh-i Rustam is, however, still identified with Schmidt's tomb II[92].

There is no reason to doubt the attribution of the sculpture and accompanying tomb inscription to Darius I[93]. The main text is a rather personal statement of that king[94]. The inscription actually refers to the reliefs: "If now thou shalt think that 'How many are the countries which King Darius held?' look at the sculptures [of those] who bear the throne, then thou shalt know";[95] and the placement of the texts in juxtaposition to the reliefs shows that the sculpture had to have been executed in advance of the inscriptions.

---

[89] DB IV: Ibid., 132.

[90] Schmidt, *Persepolis*, III, 99-102 and figs. 39-52.

[91] W. Kleiss and P. Calmeyer, "Das unvollendete achaemenidischen Felsgrab bei Persepolis", *AMI* n. F. 8, 1975, 81-98.

[92] P. Calmeyer, "Zur Genese altiranischer Motive III. Felsgräber", *AMI* n. F. 8, 1975, 110 ff.

[93] Schmidt, *Persepolis*, III, 116-118, suggests the possibility that the throne carriers were carved under Xerxes because of the fact that of all the peoples represented only the Babylonian is shown unarmed. He reads a political statement against Babylon in this unarmed representative—a statement which would, at least as far as present knowledge would suggest, be most appropriate for Xerxes to have made. It is more conceivable that the Babylonian's weapon was removed from Darius' tomb facade after the pillage of Babylon by Xerxes. Schmidt's argument that Babylon, by being fifteenth in the list of nations in the DN inscription, has been disgraced (presumably by Xerxes) is a misinterpretation. In fact, Babylon heads off the list of western lands here, as it always does when Persia, Media and Elam are grouped with the eastern lands (see Catalogue Entry IV).

[94] In addition to the content of the main text (esp. DNb), the fact that Gobryas and Aspathines are labeled emphasizes the personal nature of the monument. It is

For our purposes the crucial dating question concerns just how early in the reign of Darius his tomb facade was planned and carved. On technical grounds, an early date is suggested by the very sparing use of the toothed chisel—even on the interior of the tomb where the interests of sculptors in erasing tool marks would not have pertained[96]. It is, however, unlikely that the relief was carved before Darius' campaign against the Scyths beyond the sea (generally equated with the European Scythians). A representative of this group appears as one of the platform carriers on the relief and the Scyths beyond the sea are also mentioned in the inscription. Until recently it was assumed that Darius' campaign against the European Scythians took place about 513, giving a 513 *terminus post quem* for the tomb. But Balcer, seconded now by Cameron, suggests that Darius' campaign against Skunkha and the Scyths with pointed caps (dated by the Behistun text to 519) may have been one and the same as his action against the European Scythians and the Scyths beyond the sea[97].

I should like to suggest a date in the first half of Darius' reign for the planning and execution of his tomb relief and text. It is significant that on the relief the king stands alone, without the crown prince, and that two of his weaponbearers are labeled as members of the Persian nobility. The fact that here, as well as at Behistun, the king is shown in the company of his trusted nobles

---

not the sort of text which we would expect Xerxes to have inscribed for his father posthumously—especially with no mention of his part in the matter. At Persepolis Xerxes was quite meticulous in noting his part in any construction begun by his father. Compare W. Hinz, *Altiranische Funde und Forschungen* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1969), 45-51, who notes that, in spite of the personal nature of Darius' Naqsh-i Rustam inscription, a version of DNb was later used by the scribes of Xerxes, without any acknowledgment of the source. Xerxes might borrow freely from the monuments of his father without acknowledgment; but in the reverse situation he took great pains to document his contribution to his father's work.

[95] DNa: Kent, *Old Persian*, 138.

[96] Nylander, "Old Persian and Greek Stonecutting", 52.

[97] Balcer, "The Date of Herodotus IV.1 Darius' Scythian Expedition". See G.G. Cameron, "Darius the Great and his Scythian (Saka) Campaign: Bisitun and Herodotus", Acta Iranica, IV (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975), 77-88, for a helpful analysis, within the archaeological context, of the compression into one group of these variously described Scythians.

rather than his crown prince is understandable if we suppose that the tomb facade as well as the Behistun relief documents an early period in Darius' reign when the king's ties to the Persian nobility—indeed, to the specific men who helped him to gain the throne—were still more crucial bonds of loyalty to have emphasized publicly than were the bonds between king and heir[98].

By contrast, reliefs of Darius which clearly date to the closing years of his reign represent the king with the crown prince in attendance[99].

Catalogue Entry VII

THE PALACE OF DARIUS (THE "TAČARA"), PERSEPOLIS

Selected Bibliography:

Schmidt, E. *Persepolis*, I. OIP, LXVIII. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953, 222-229 and pls. 126-158.

---

[98] See Catalogue Entry VII for discussion of the date of the appointment of Darius' heir. A third monument dating to the beginning of Darius' reign may be added to the list of those emphasizing the ties to the nobility. Darius' palace at Susa, apparently begun upon his accession, was decorated with a baked brick relief of spear-bearing "archers" and an adjacent inscription. The name Otanes has been recovered from the fragmentary text—Otanes being the man who initially formed the plan to oust Gaumata (Herodotus III. 68-88; Kent, *Old Persian*, 132). It is an interesting possibility that this frieze from Susa was meant to represent specific conspirators against Gaumata who were named in the accompanying text—not simply a line of anonymous guards heraldically framing the inscription panel for sheer decorative effect. See M. Dieulafoy, *L'acropole de Suse* (Paris: Hachette, 1893), 284. In "The Subject Peoples on the Base of the Statue of Darius", *Cahiers de la DAFI*, forthcoming, M. Roaf proposes a date in the middle years of Darius' reign for the tomb. While we agree in our conclusions, Roaf's assumption that the portrayal of Gobryas indicates an early date *in and of itself* is perhaps problematical. It is true that Herodotus (VII.2) tells us that Gobryas had three male grandchildren (by his daughter's marriage to Darius) at the time of Darius' accession. Thus, Roaf suggests that Gobryas would have been long dead (and therefore not represented as spearbearer) by the end of Darius' reign. There is, however, some indication that Gobryas was alive and active at least into the twenty-third year of Darius. According to Persepolis Fortification tablet 688, a Gobryas received rations while on a journey bearing a sealed document of the king. (Hallock, *Fortification Tablets*, 213). The unpublished seal of Gobryas on this tablet is of extremely fine quality. Professor Hallock has expressed confidence that the owner of this seal is none other than the Gobryas mentioned frequently by Herodotus and by Darius himself. I am also skeptical of the emphasis Roaf places on the use of Ctesias' story about the death of Darius' parents during a visit to the tomb as a reliable means of dating the tomb's completion. (Note Balcer's critique: "The Date of Herodotus IV.1 Darius' Scythian Expedition", 117-119).

[99] See Catalogue Entries VIII and IX.

Krefter, F. *Persepolis Rekonstruktionen.* Teheraner Forschungen, III. Berlin : Deutsches archäologisches Institut, 1971, 73-77.
Tilia, A.B. *Studies and Restorations at Persepolis and Other Sites of Fārs.* IsMEO Reports and Memoirs, XVI. Rome : Istituto italiano per il medio ed estremo oriente, 1972, 52-57.

Plan : Fig. 7.
Photographs : Pls. 15-16.

Description

The Palace of Darius stands, facing south, on a stone platform 2.40 m. high near the western edge of the terrace wall and just south of the Apadana [Figs. 8-9]. A double stairway on the south leads up to a columned portico flanked by guardrooms. A central stone doorway, flanked on either side by a pair of stone-encased windows, permits access into the main room—a square twelve-columned hall[100]. Two narrow rooms flanking this hall on both the east and the west are entered by a door in the east and the west wall of the hall. A second door in the west wall leads through a small vestibule to a secondary palace entrance. The north wall of the main hall has two doors. They lead to a set of symmetrical compartments at the rear of the building.

In its plan, the Tačara has been compared to Darius' Temple of Hibis at el Khargeh in Egypt; and indeed the Egyptian cavetto cornices crowning the doors of the Tačara and other later Persepolis buildings attest the influence of Egyptian architecture on Achaemenid constructions starting, apparently, with the reign of Darius[101].

All of the doorjambs in the Tačara are embellished with bas reliefs. The two jambs of the southern doorway (leading from the portico into the main hall) are decorated with a relief showing a royal figure walking south, out of the building, carrying a staff and holding a flower [Pl. 15a]. Two attendants follow, one carrying a parasol and one the flywhisk and scarf (or towel?)[102]. Two separate doors pierce the opposite wall, giving access to the twin northern apartments [Pl. 15b]. The jambs of these doors carry representations of the royal

---

[100] The walls were of mudbrick above a base course of stone. Essentially, the only stone used in the superstructure was for stairways, column bases (columns and capitals in the Tačara were not of stone), antae, and window and door casings and jambs.

[101] See Catalogue Entry XIV. For the comparison with the Temple of Hibis, see Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, 26-27; on the Egyptian cornice, Herzfeld, *Iran*, 233.

[102] Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, pls. 138-139.

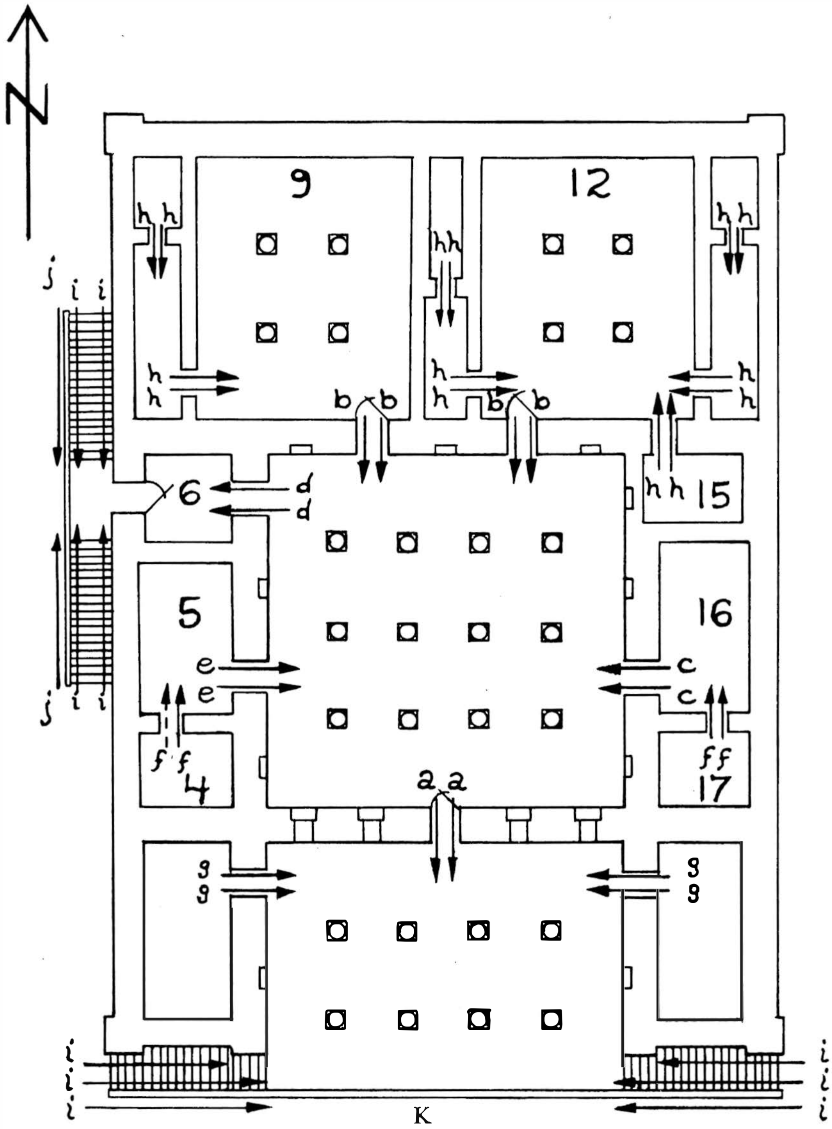


Fig. 7. — Reliefs of the Palace of Darius:

(a) King followed by attendants carrying flywhisk and parasol
(b) King followed by attendants carrying flywhisk and towel & bowl
(c) Royal hero stabs lion
(d) Royal hero stabs bull
(e) Royal hero stabs lion monster
(f) Royal hero grasps lion cub
(g) Palace guards
(h) Domestic attendants
(i) Servants carrying banquet supplies
(j) Tribute groups of Artaxerxes III
(k) Guards/inscription panels

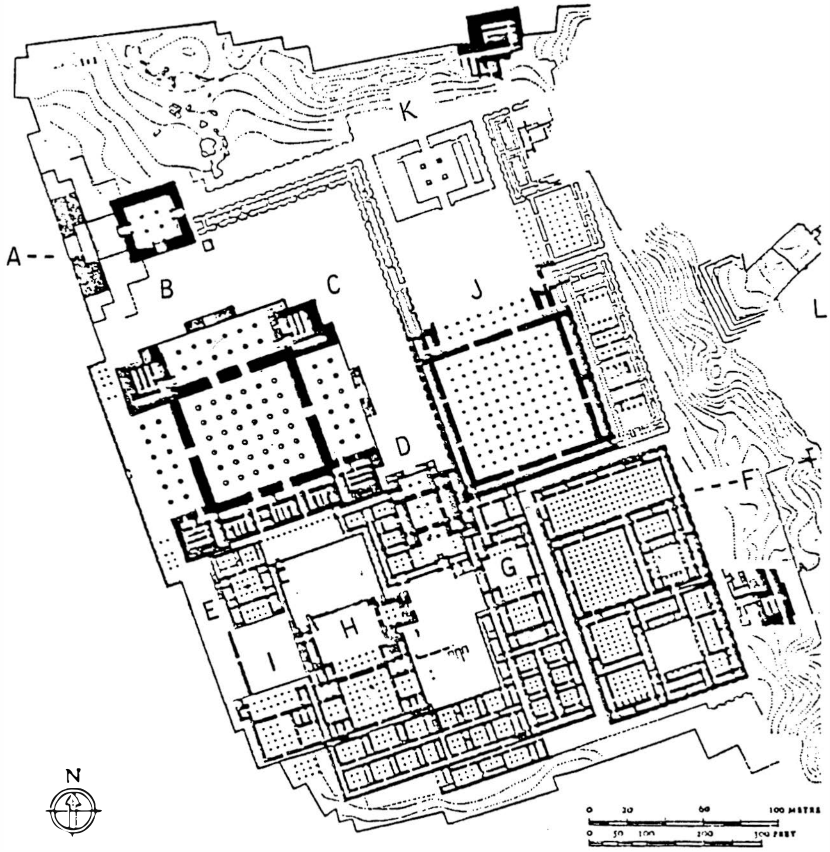

K
L
A
B
C
J
D
F
G
E
H
I
N
0 20 60 100 METRES
0 50 100 200 300 FEET

Fig. 8. — Plan of the Persepolis Terrace :

A. Stairway to the Terrace
B. Gate of All Lands
C. Apadana
D. Central Building
E. Palace of Darius
F. Treasury
G. "Harem" of Xerxes
H. Palace of Xerxes
I. Palace H
J. Throne Hall
K. Unfinished Monumental Gate
L. Royal Tomb

figure who walks south into the main hall, followed by two attendants. Here one servant carries the flywhisk and scarf while the other holds a small object at his waist[103].

---

[103] Ibid., pls. 140-143.

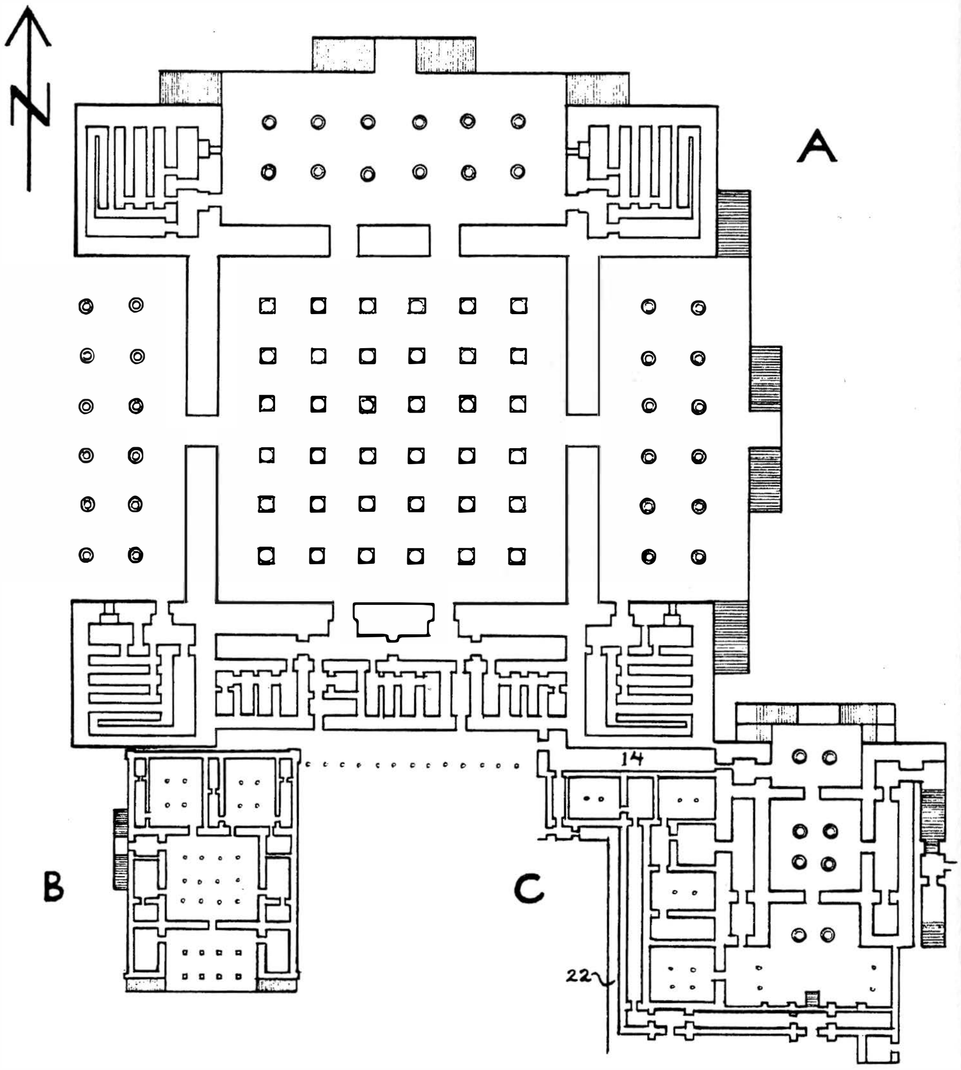


Fig. 9. — Plan of Persepolis showing only:
(A) The Apadana
(B) The Palace of Darius
(C) The Central Building

These sculptures are still in situ, though they have suffered severely at the hands of Moslem zealots who hacked away the faces and hands. In all fairness we must note, however, that it was Herzfeld who, intrigued by the Greek graffiti inscribed upon it, removed the rear shoe from the royal figure on the western jamb of the western door.

The doorways leading from the main hall into the eastern and western rooms and that opening onto the western vestibule (Rm. 6 on the plan) are decorated with reliefs showing the so-called royal hero fighting a lion, a lion monster, and a bull, respectively [Pl. 16a][104]. In the first two doors the hero fights into the main hall; while on the jambs of the door leading west into Rm. 6, he fights his way out of the main hall, into the vestibule. As the plan indicates, the Palace of Darius in its present form has an entrance from the west, leading through Rm. 6, past the jambs decorated with the hero fighting the bull, and into the main hall. It has long been recognized that the present western staircase was probably built not by Darius, but by Artaxerxes III. It bears the inscription of this king (A^3Pa). Furthermore, the relief decoration (exterior facade : two lion and bull groups and abbreviated tribute scene; interior faces : servants carrying foodstuffs upstairs) has close affinities with late Achaemenid sculpture[105]. Restoration work at the palace has revealed evidence to the effect that the Tačara was originally planned to be closed on its western side[106]. But the plan must have been altered to include some type of entrance on the west when construction was still in its early stages[107]. Otherwise it would be difficult to explain why the reliefs of the hero fighting the bull are directed west rather than east. For the motif of royal hero combat is always used in an apotropaic capacity in the architecture of Persepolis. If there had been no door to the west, but merely a small chamber, the hero would surely have faced east to "guard" Rm. 6. Instead, Rm. 6 was treated as a mere entranceway—the main hall thus becoming the object of "defense"[108].

---

[104] Ibid., pls. 144-146.

[105] A recent, as yet unpublished, stylistic analysis by M. Roaf has tended to verify that the sculptures are contemporaneous with those of the south tomb at Persepolis. Note also A. B. Tilia's important discussion in *Studies and Restorations at Persepolis and Other Sites of Fārs*, IsMEO Reports and Memoirs, XVI (Rome : Istituto italiano per il medio ed estremo oriente, 1972), 309-312. On all grounds we must disregard Krefter's recent assertion (perpetuating Herzfeld's superseded hypothesis published in *Iranische Felsreliefs*, 126) that the western staircase and the reliefs upon it were done in the reign of Darius and only inscribed by Artaxerxes III (F. Krefter, *Persepolis Rekonstruktionen*, Teheraner Forschungen, III [Berlin : Deutsches archäologisches Institut, 1971], 98).

[106] Tilia, *Studies and Restorations*, 56.

[107] Ibid. Tilia observes that before the Artaxerxes III stairway there was probably some different exit arrangement (implying that the door to Rm. 6 at the west was not made only in the time of Artaxerxes III).

[108] Also, note that Rm. 6 has no door to the northern apartments as does the otherwise corresponding Rm. 15 on the east side of the main hall. This is further proof that Rm. 6 was early on in the planning treated as a sort of foyer—thus indi-

Connecting rooms 4 and 5 and rooms 17 and 16 within the western and the eastern apartments respectively, a small doorway is adorned in each case with reliefs depicting the royal hero, facing into the northern room while holding a dagger in one hand and grasping a lion cub with the other [Pl. 16b]. The feet of the hero are rendered in profile, though his torso is rendered frontally. These reliefs are in situ with the exception of that from the west jamb of the door in the west apartment, which is now in the Tehran Archaeological Museum[109].

The jambs of the doors connecting the rooms of both of the northern apartment complexes are adorned with reliefs showing one servant each[110]. Here, instead of depicting the same figure or figures in virtual mirror image on both jambs of the same door, one servant carries an alabastron and a towel or scarf while the figure on the opposing jamb holds a pail and incense burner. On the jambs of the doors linking the main room (Rm. 12) of the northeast apartment to the adjacent room (Rm. 15) of the eastern apartment these two servant figures are combined and used as a group on both jambs. The figures walk north into Rm. 12[111].

A group of two guards in Persian dress embellish the jambs of the door at the top of the western staircase and also the jambs of the two doors to the guard rooms which flank the south portico. In each case the guards move out of the sentry chamber, and the man at the front carries a long wicker shield along with the tall lance which both watchmen bear[112].

On the south stair facade two lion and bull groups flank a composition of three inscription panels sandwiching two confronting files of archers in Persian court dress. Outlining the top edge of this facade are two converging lines of servants bearing foodstuffs. These figures wear alternately the Iranian riding habit and the Persian court robe. The same servant motif is echoed on the inner side of the facade and also on the edge of the palace platform which follows the course of the stairs up toward the landing[113].

---

cating that some entrance from the west figured in the final original plans for the superstructure of this palace.

[109] Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, pl. 147.

[110] Ibid., pls. 148-149.

[111] Ibid., pl. 150.

[112] Ibid., pls. 136-137 and 151.

[113] Ibid., pls. 130-135; Krefter, *Persepolis Rekonstruktionen*, Beil. 11, for reconstruction of the facade.

Date

The palace itself is securely dated to the reign of Darius by inscriptions DPa (over the relief of both doorjambs of the south door), DPe (18 times on window frames and niches), XPc (on the portico antae), and XPca and XPcb (on inscription panels of the south stair)[114]. Text DPb was originally inscribed in three languages on the vertical folds of the royal figure of the west jamb of the southern doorway: "Darius, the Great King, son of Hystaspes, the Achaemenid"[115]. Text XPk, in Old Persian, Elamite, and probably also in Babylonian, is inscribed on the garment of the corresponding figure appearing on the east jamb: "Xerxes, son of Darius the King, the Achaemenid"[116]. The presence of DPa ("Darius the great king, king of kings, king of countries, son of Hystaspes, the Achaemenid, who built this tachara") indicates that the reliefs below were carved during the reign of Darius (i.e., before the text was carved). And by the time the robes bearing DPb and XPk were inscribed, Xerxes must have been formally selected as crown prince[117].

Unfortunately, the information on when Darius appointed Xerxes as his successor is slightly problematical. Herodotus tells us (VII. 1-4) that after the Battle of Marathon (490) and after an Egyptian revolt three years later (487) Darius, determined to punish Greece and Egypt, decided to select an heir to his throne because by Persian law a successor must be named before a king can go off on a foreign campaign. But a harem dispute broke out over this issue. By the wife he had married before becoming king (Gobryas' daughter) Darius had three sons, the eldest being Artabazanes. He had four more sons by Atossa (the daughter of Cyrus) whom he had married upon his accession to the throne. The eldest of these four was Xerxes. Xerxes, rather than Artabazanes, was ultimately chosen crown prince. That Herodotus' tradition of rival claimants is true, at least in general outline, is supported by Xerxes' own account of his rise to the throne, as preserved on a foundation tablet found under the "Harem" at Persepolis (XPf):

---

[114] Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, 223-224.

[115] Ibid., 223. De Bruin removed the inscription and copied the text in a rather garbled way.

[116] Ibid., 224 (Schmidt calls the text XP 'tac'). The Babylonian version, removed by De Bruin along with the inscriptions from the figure of Darius, is now in the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris.

[117] Schmidt (*Persepolis*, I, 223) cannot believe that the figure on the east jamb was inscribed with Xerxes' name as crown prince until after the death of Darius simply because the figure carries the scepter (which on other reliefs at Persepolis is carried only by the king). But I doubt that once Xerxes had become king he would have labeled the west jamb figure as Darius the king and the east jamb figure as Xerxes the crown prince, without his full royal titulary. While such a hypothesis is always *possible*, I see no reason why we should choose to disregard the inscriptions and instead construct a more complex chain of events than the evidence calls for. Furthermore, it seems inconsistent with Achaemenid custom for a son to label as himself a figure which was carved to represent his predecessor—especially without explaining his actions. See Catalogue Entry II for an instance when Darius seems to have added an inscription above the figure of Cyrus in Palace P at Pasargadae, but was meticulous about explaining exactly what his part in the work had amounted to. What is more, the representation of Darius and Xerxes on opposing jambs of the southern door suggests, when viewed in conjunction with the layout of the palace in two symmetrical sets of rear and side compartments, that perhaps the building was planned from the start for some dual "occupancy" of a ceremonial nature involving both king and chosen heir.

> Saith Xerxes the king: My father was Darius; Darius' father was Hystaspes by name; Hystaspes' father was Arsames by name. Both Hystaspes and Arsames were both living, at that time—thus unto Ahuramazda was the desire—Darius, who was my father, him he made king in this earth. When Darius became king, he built much excellent (construction).
> Saith Xerxes the King: Other sons of Darius there were, (but)—thus unto Ahuramazda was the desire—Darius my father made me the greatest after himself. When my father Darius went away from the throne, by the will of Ahuramazda I became king on my father's throne. When I became king, I built much excellent (construction). What had been built by my father, that I protected, and other building I added. What moreover I built, and what my father built, all that by the favor of Ahuramazda we built...[118].

On the other hand, Herodotus' notion that Darius had no crown prince at all until after 487 is apparently mistaken and suggests that he has conflated several widely separated events into one post-487 episode. If, as Herodotus himself says, it was customary for the king to appoint a successor before a foreign campaign, then we might suppose that Darius had chosen an heir at least by the time he went to Egypt in 519/518 B.C. (when Xerxes would have been but a babe). Indeed, a tablet from Babylon dated to 507 refers to the "King's son of Elam"[119]. And a tablet dated to 498 mentions that the house of the King's son was being built at Babylon[120]. It seems, then, that Darius may first have chosen Artabazanes as crown prince early in his reign and that it is to this son rather than to Xerxes that the Babylon tablets refer. In either case the Babylonian documents show that Herodotus was mistaken in suggesting that Darius had not chosen any crown prince until after 487. But it may well be true that Darius, having originally selected Artabazanes, changed his mind in favor of Xerxes quite late in his reign—perhaps even as late as 487—thus accounting for Herodotus' association of this date with the entire affair[121]. This would explain why Xerxes felt the need to explain in his foundation text (XPf), early in his reign, the circumstances of his appointment as crown prince. Had he been selected at birth, he would surely have felt no need of apologetics by the time he had actually gained the throne in 486. It is interesting that Xerxes does not base his claim to the throne upon his prerogative over Artabazanes as first son of the royal marriage to Atossa. Rather, he structures a carefully balanced statement implicitly juxtaposing the unusual circumstances surrounding *Darius'* accession (it being emphasized that Darius, too, had bypassed any chain of hereditary succession) with the circumstances surrounding his own rise to power. Thus it seems plausible that the royal figures in the south door were inscribed as late as 487/6 with the names of Darius as king and Xerxes as crown prince[122].

---

[118] Kent, *Old Persian*, 149-150. Note the interesting study of Xerxes by M. Mayrhofer, "Xerxès, roi des rois", Acta Iranica, I (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974), 108-116.

[119] Olmstead, *Persian Empire*, 214; J.N. Strassmaier, *Babylonische Texte, X-XII: Inschriften von Darius, König von Babylon (521-485 v. Chr.)* (Leipzig: E. Pfeiffer, 1897), 292, n. 411.

[120] Olmstead, *Persian Empire*, 215.

The reliefs of the southern stairway were in all probability well under way, if not actually finished, during the reign of Darius[123]. XPcb, the text carved on the three panels of the facade, certainly does not prove the contrary :

Saith Xerxes the Great King : By the favor of Ahuramazda this palace Darius the King built, who was my father. Me may Ahuramazda together with the gods protect, and what was built by my father Darius the King, that also may Ahuramazda together with the gods protect[124].

---

[121] There might have been many reasons why Darius changed his mind. Aside from purely personal ones, he might have wished to strengthen his ties with Cyrus' branch of the dynasty by appointing the son of Cyrus' daughter. Gobryas may have died, so that Darius felt he could reject his son by Gobryas' daughter without offending this loyal ally; or perhaps Darius simply no longer felt the need of affirming his ties with Gobryas.

[122] Olmstead (*Persian Empire*, 215) suggests that perhaps Xerxes was appointed by 498 and that it is to Xerxes that the Babylonian tablet of that date refers (since no name is given on it); but that would necessitate our *completely* disregarding Herodotus' tradition of a post-Marathon date in connection with the selection of the crown prince.

[123] The glazed brick reliefs of Darius at Susa prove that the motif of Persian guards flanking inscription panels was used already under Darius (Dieulafoy, *L'acropole de Suse*, 284). Though, as previously noted, the guards represented in this first example of the type may have been meant to depict historical personages.

It indicates only that Darius had died before the panels were inscribed.

The palace of Darius, virtually completed before the king's death in 486 B.C., may well have been the first building on the Persepolis terrace to be finished[125].

Catalogue Entry VIII

THE APADANA, PERSEPOLIS

Selected Bibliography:

Schmidt, E. *Persepolis*, I. OIP, LXVIII. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953, 70-106 and 162-169; pls. 15-61.

Barnett, R.D. "Persepolis". *Iraq* 19, 1957, 55-77.

Walser, G. *Die Völkerschaften auf den Reliefs von Persepolis.* Teheraner Forschungen, II. Berlin: Deutsches archäologisches Institut, 1966.

Krefter, F. *Persepolis Rekonstruktionen.* Teheraner Forschungen, III. Berlin: Deutsches archäologisches Institut, 1971, 45-54.

Tilia, A.B. *Studies and Restorations at Persepolis and Other Sites of Fārs.* IsMEO Reports and Memoirs, XVI. Rome: Istituto italiano per il medio ed estremo oriente, 1972, 125-208.

Farkas, A. *Achaemenid Sculpture.* Leiden: Nederlands historisch-archeologisch Instituut, 1974, 49-54, 60-76, 117-119; and 127-134 (by A.B. Tilia).

Plan: Fig. 10.
Reconstruction of North Stair Facade: Fig. 11.
Photographs: Pls. 17-24.

Description

The Apadana at Persepolis is an imposing square edifice built upon a podium which raises it 2.60 m. above the level of the terrace on the north and east. Thirty-six columns support the roof of the main hall[126]. On the north, east, and west, porticoes two columns deep stretch out between the corner guard towers. The western portico, level with the terrace floor, looks out over the Marv Dasht plain,

---

[124] Kent, *Old Persian*, 149.

[125] Tilia, *Studies and Restorations*, 52.

[126] The building has been given the name "Apadana" because of its plan which is similar to that of a palace of Artaxerxes II at Susa in which column inscriptions describe the building as an "Apadana". The term is thus frequently used now to denote simply a many-columned hall. See Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, 70.

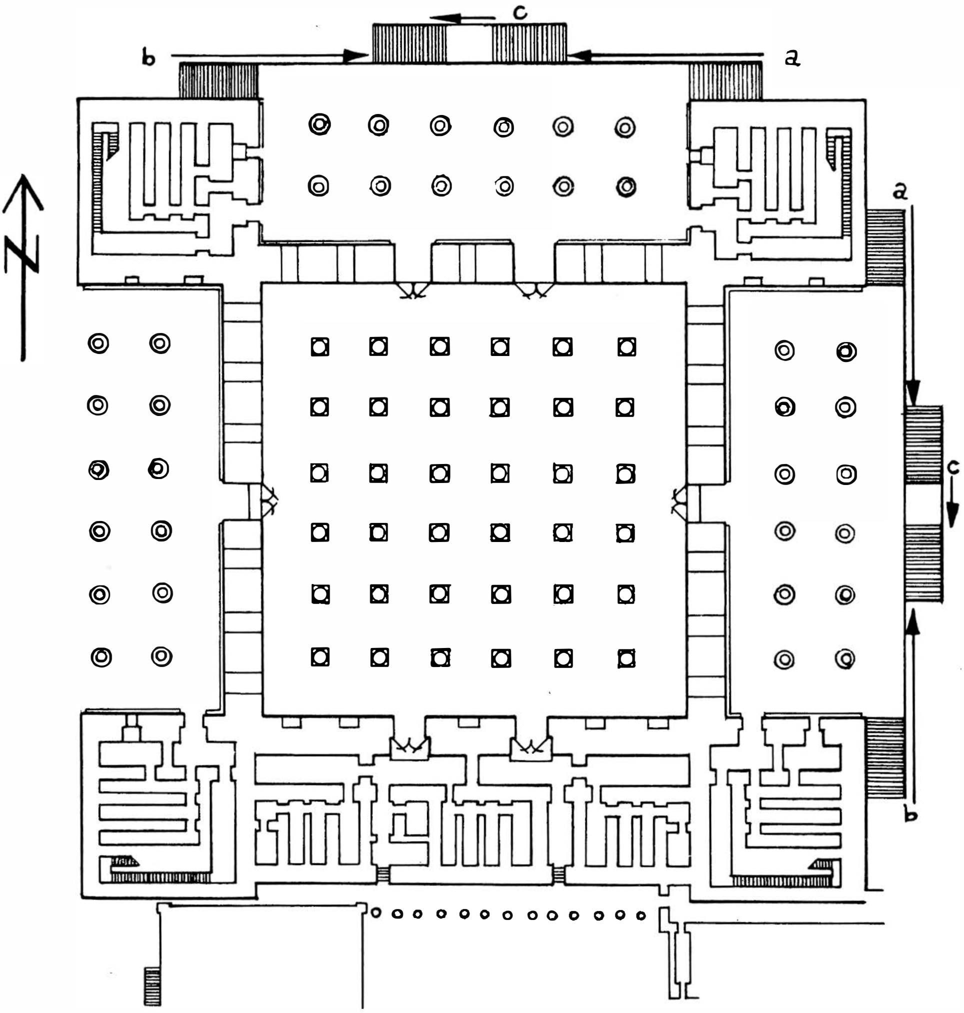


Fig. 10. — Reliefs of the Apadana:
(a) Procession of guards, chariots and nobles
(b) Tribute groups
(c) Original central panel: King and crown prince in audience

while the porticoes of north and east open onto the public area of the Persepolis platform below—the L-shaped expanse one encounters when one passes through the southern door of the Gate of All Lands. Great double stairways of identical plan give access to both porches.

The facades and parapets of these stairways are decorated with an elaborate system of relief sculpture[127].

On the north and east stairway facades alike, three registers of relief depict a court entourage facing toward the central panel; and three registers of relief on the opposite wing depict twenty-three groups of tribute bearers, each group led toward the central panel by an usher. At the end of each wing appears the lion and bull emblem and a rectangular inscription panel which brackets the three registers of sculpture. The central panel, as it stands on the site now, is decorated with two confronting files of four guards dressed alternately in the Persian robe and the Iranian riding tunic and trousers. Separating the two groups is a blank inscription panel. During the course of restoration work on the Apadana supervised by A. B. and G. Tilia, it was discovered that the presently installed central panels of the north and east stairway facades are in fact replacements for the original ones[128]. A. B. Tilia has now demonstrated what Schmidt had suspected but could not prove: that the two reliefs discovered in the Treasury—the so-called "Treasury reliefs"—were actually the original central panels of the Apadana facades [Pl. 17]. Thus, as originally designed, the north facade showed the king and crown prince giving audience to an official, facing the files of tributaries approaching from the west, with the court entourage approaching the central panel from the rear [Fig. 11]. On the east facade this same scheme was shown in mirror image[129].

Although the reliefs on the east and north facades are in essence mirror images of one another, there are internal differences between them. Corresponding tribute delegations do not always bring exactly the same gifts on both sides[130]; and the ushers on the north side pose in an attitude which differs slightly from that assumed by those on the east[131]. A comparison of the twin reliefs of dignitaries in the

---

[127] Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, pls. 19-59.

[128] See below for discussion of the date of the replacement panels.

[129] Tilia, *Studies and Restorations*, 175-198. The central panel from the east facade is still in situ in the Persepolis Treasury. The panel from the north facade is now in the Tehran Archaeological Museum. Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, pls. 121-122.

[130] E.g., delegation no. 3, Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, pl. 29. On the north stair they bring the Median costume and vessels; on the east they bring a horse and one large vessel.

[131] On the north stair each usher with one exception holds his baton on a diagonal passing behind his forward leg; and in at least one group he turns his head back to look at the delegate whom he is leading. Ibid., pl. 27.

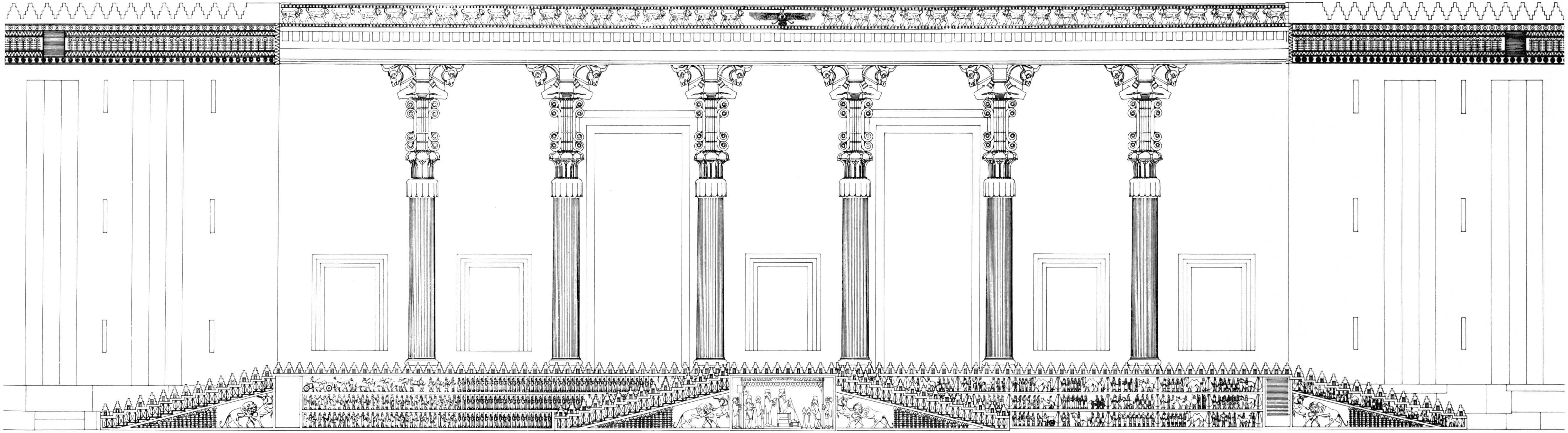


Fig. 11. — Apadana : Reconstruction of North Stair Facade with Original Central Panel.

court entourage shows that a set repertoire of gestures and poses was used on both sides, but in combinations which distinguish the figure groupings on one frieze from the corresponding figure groupings on the other facade[132]. There seem to be stylistic differences between north and east parades of nobles—apparent, for instance, in the rendering of drapery folds, where it is interesting to note that features of drapery detail found on some north stair Persian robes are not found at all on the east stair but are paralleled on the statue of Darius from Susa [Pls. 10, 20-21][133]. These differences possibly indicate that the facades were not carved at the same time, though it is dangerous to draw such conclusions at Persepolis[134]. We understand so little about the organization of labor there that it is not always clear whether certain stylistic differences reflect the fact that different teams were working simultaneously at the site, or that different generations of artisans worked successively on various phases of the building programme. Taken together with certain technical considerations it does, however, seem probable that the north stair was planned first and that its early execution was a top priority—especially given its immediate impact upon any visitor approaching from the terrace stair on the northwest [Fig. 9][135].

---

[132] It is perhaps significant in terms of labor organization, however, that on the bottom register of both reliefs we see exactly the same groupings of face directions of the figures. Compare pls. 51/2 with 57/8, ibid.

[133] E.g., north stair, wing A, bottom register, figures 5 and 13 (counting from right): pouch of material gathered above belt and the clear articulation of the cut of the top of the garment. (This detail does not show up clearly on Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, pls. 57-58). Also see C.M. Olmstead, "Studies in the Stylistic Development of Persian Achaemenid Art" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Chicago, 1936), 28, and Farkas, *Achaemenid Sculpture*, 70-71, for other stylistic differences between the north and east facades.

[134] Note that C.M. Olmstead dates the north stair earlier because she (working solely from photographs) sees it as less refined. Farkas reaches the same conclusion for similar reasons. It is, however, frequently a question (even when people agree on what is to be considered "better") whether what is "better" should be assumed to be early and pure or, rather, late and more fully developed. Similarly, of course, what is "worse" may be considered either early and primitive or late and decadent. In this particular case, for instance, I agree for several reasons that the north stair is earlier—but not because its sculpture is less refined than that of the east stair. Actually, as I have already noted, the north stair reveals (when studied first hand) subtleties not found on the east stair—subtleties paralleled on (and perhaps indicative of contemporaneity with) the statue of Darius. Thus, I would suggest, were I to rely upon this type of argument, that the north stair facade was earlier than the east facade because it is in some ways *more* refined.

[135] Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, 82-83. Though compare L. Trümpelmann, "Tore von Persepolis: Zur Bauplanung des Dareios". *AMI* n.F. 7, 1974, 170-171, who postulates

The sculptures of the eastern stairway are well preserved since they were protected by debris until Herzfeld excavated them in the 1930s. They are still in situ. The north stair must have remained exposed to the elements—human and natural—throughout antiquity after the destruction of Persepolis[136]. Thus portions of the reliefs have either been destroyed or else they have found their way to museums around the world[137].

Date

The trilingual foundation inscription (DPh) discovered at each corner of the Apadana shows that the building was planned, and its construction begun, under Darius[138]. Coins deposited with the foundation records suggest a *terminus post quem* of about 515[139].

The only other inscriptions associated with this building are those of Xerxes. An inscription on glazed bricks which must have been placed on the northeast tower superstructure states,

> Saith Xerxes the Great King: by the favor of Ahuramazda, King Darius my father built and ordered [to be built] much good [construction]. By the favor of Ahuramazda I added to that construction and built further [buildings]...[140]

---

that the monumental stair to the Persepolis terrace on the northwest was not added until the reign of Xerxes. Darius' foundation inscription on the south wall of the terrace has in the past suggested that the main access to the terrace was originally planned for the south (Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, 64). And A.B. Tilia has now shown that indeed a stairway did exist at the south: "Recent Discoveries at Persepolis", *AJA* 81, 1977, 67. But plans must have been made for (and construction begun on) a monumental access on the west already during the reign of Darius. From the wording of Xerxes' inscription on the Gate of All Lands at the top of the northwest stair, there is reason to believe that Xerxes only finished a gate which had at least been envisioned already by his father: XPa, Kent, *Old Persian*, 148. Tilia has shown that on the east side of the Apadana the monumental stair in its present form was not part of the original plan: *Studies and Restorations*, 127-165 (esp. 164), while the north facade was part of the original conception of the building. See Farkas, *Achaemenid Sculpture*, 61, for a discussion of the use of information from inscriptions for the relative dating of the north and east stair facades.

[136] Gropp has suggested that on certain Sasanian reliefs the formula of having the group to the king's right representing the loyal Iranians and those to his left representing tribute bearers (or foreigners in some act of submission) may reflect the fact that they copied the general scheme from the still visible *north* stair reliefs of the Apadana. Gropp, "Beobachtungen in Persepolis", 46-47.

[137] See R.D. Barnett, "Persepolis", *Iraq* 19, 1957, 59-64, for a compilation of Persepolis sculpture fragments known to be in museums and private collections.

[138] DPh: Kent, *Old Persian*, 136-137. Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, 70.

[139] Schmidt, *Persepolis*, II, 110. Krefter, *Persepolis Rekonstruktionen*, 53, n. 178, quoting E.S.G. Robinson.

[140] XPg: Kent, *Old Persian*, 150.

This inscription, then, would not make us hesitate to date the stairway reliefs to Darius. But the XPb inscription which is repeated on the north and east facades of the stairways themselves does not even mention Darius:

> What has been built by me here, and what has been built by me at a distance [from here], all that by the favor of Ahuramazda I built...[141]

The presence of this text led Schmidt and those following him to assume that the stairway reliefs were carved during the reign of Xerxes—even though the text claims credit only for that work which Xerxes did do on the Apadana, and is rather ambiguously worded when compared to his inscription on the Palace of Xerxes: "Saith Xerxes the Great King: By the favor of Ahuramazda this palace I built"[142].

The discovery by the restoration team at Persepolis that the two "Treasury reliefs", clearly depicting a king and crown prince in audience, were originally part of the Apadana facade compositions is a strong indication that the sculptures were planned during the reign of Darius, though they were perhaps not finished until some time in the reign of Xerxes[143]. No other Achaemenid king after Darius (with the possible exception of Artaxerxes II) seems successfully to have ensured the succession through the selection of a crown prince[144]. In practice, at any rate, decisions on succession tended to be made through harem intrigues and power struggles. Thus, when Artaxerxes I chose to have a slightly condensed version of the central panel reliefs placed on the doorjambs of the two north doors of the Throne Hall, the figure of the crown prince was rejected in favor of the figure of an attendant with the flywhisk[145].

---

[141] XPb: Ibid., 148.

[142] XPd: Ibid., 149.

[143] On Xerxes as crown prince see Catalogue Entry VII. Tilia, *Studies and Restorations*, 201-204.

[144] H. von Gall, "Die Kopfbedeckung des persischen Ornats", *AMI* n.F. 7, 1974, 158-159, postulates, however, a kind of coregency system in the Achaemenid Period. If such existed, history indicates that it was extraordinarily ineffectual as a guarantor of peaceful succession. Others have suggested that the Achaemenids shared a common Indo-European tradition of election of a successor by a chosen group or selection by the reigning king—rather than an automatic succession through primogeniture. Note, for instance, G. Widengren, "La royauté de l'Iran antique", Acta Iranica, I (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974), 84-89.

[145] Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, pls. 96-99. On the south doors of the same building (pls. 102-107) reliefs are derived from the Central Building with the significant replacement of attendant for crown prince. Compare remarks of von Gall, "Die Kopfbedeckung", 154.

The fact that Xerxes was perhaps not appointed crown prince until 487 (see Catalogue Entry VII) does not necessarily mean that these original central panels were not planned until that date. Whether it was still Artabazanes or whether it was now Xerxes who was heir to the throne, the fact remains that at least by 507 B.C. Darius had selected an official crown prince[146]. After having chosen an heir, Darius seems to have considered it important to display the fact of this established continuity of power. As previously suggested (Catalogue Entry VI), the representations of king and crown prince together may be seen as a rather late phase of the royal iconography of Darius—at any rate as a later phase than that represented by his tomb facade[147].

Recently, some doubts have, however, been raised about the identification of the royal figures on the original central panels. H. von Gall has studied the forms of the crown worn by different Achaemenid kings on their reliefs[148]. Noting that on all reliefs which indisputably represent Darius the king wears a dentate crown, von Gall suggests that the figure of the king on the original Apadana central panels cannot represent Darius since on these reliefs the crowns are not crenelated[149]. He sets forth an interesting theory that each Achaemenid king had a distinctive crown of a type worn also by his crown prince before his accession to the throne. The type of crown worn by the king in the "Harem" and in the Palace of Xerxes, both indisputably assigned to Xerxes, is similar in proportions to that worn by the king (and crown prince) on the original central panels (and also on the reliefs of the Central Building). Thus von Gall identifies the king on all these reliefs as Xerxes, with the crown prince shown on the Apadana and the Central Building being Xerxes' son,

---

[146] Note the discussion by Farkas, *Achaemenid Sculpture*, 51-52, who also suggests that the central panels could have been carved while Artabazanes was still crown prince.

[147] Though cf. von Gall, "Die Kopfbedeckung", 151-152, who argues that to show the king attended by his crown prince instead of by his loyal generals would have been inconsistent with the politic of Darius. Von Gall does not consider the possibility that it reflects a late period in the reign of Darius, when conditions may have stabilized considerably so that the king no longer needed to cater so much to the loyalties of Gobryas, et al. As mentioned already in Entry VI, the very fact that Darius, reversing his earlier decision, chose Xerxes (his son by Cyrus' daughter) as crown prince over Artabazanes (his eldest son by Gobryas' daughter) suggests a validity in this postulated process of Darius' movement away from reliance upon the support of his co-conspirators against Gaumata in favor of a strengthening of his image as a person of royal blood with family ties to the likes of Cyrus.

[148] von Gall, "Die Kopfbedeckung", 145-161.

[149] Ibid., 151-153.

Darius. But in order to build a case for Xerxes alone having worn this type of crown as King—and having worn it *exclusively*—he must account for the fact that on his tomb facade Xerxes wears a dentate crown like Darius'. He explains this significant exception by the assumption (which has no evidential basis) that Xerxes' tomb was carved early (before his accession?), when Xerxes had not yet developed his own crown[150].

I am not convinced of the validity of von Gall's theory on exclusive and distinctive crowns—intriguing and well presented though it is. The differences between various crowns do not to my eye appear distinctive in any iconographically deliberate and significant way (by contrast, for instance, with the idiosyncratic crowns of Sasanian rulers). Any resolution of this discussion is hampered by the important factor of gold overlays and paint which may have added crenelations as well as other features to crowns which in their present state appear plain[151]. But even if von Gall's theory were definitive—to the extent that the crown represented on the Apadana panels could be shown to be a type exclusive to Xerxes—this does not alter my basic conclusion that the Apadana reliefs were *planned* toward the end of the reign of *Darius*. If they were not finished until some time in Xerxes' reign the artists might well have rendered the royal crowns according to current conventions[152].

It is clear that Darius and Xerxes enjoyed a stable relationship as king and crown prince. By contrast, historical considerations argue against Xerxes having planned the central panel reliefs to show himself as king, attended by his son Darius. The relationship between the two was hardly likely to have made Xerxes want to dignify his son in this way. Xerxes never made Darius his crown prince; never gave him special duties as heir apparent. On the contrary, he apparently seduced his son's wife Artaynte (Herodotus IX.107/8). Relations between Xerxes and his son Darius could not have been anything but openly strained. After instigating the murder of Xerxes, Artabanus was able to convince Artaxerxes to assassinate the young Darius on the grounds that Darius was the most likely person to have killed Xerxes—as an act of revenge for his father's seduction of Artaynte[153].

---

[150] Ibid., 150-151. Additional discussion of this important subject has now been offered by P. Calmeyer: "Zur Genese altiranischer Motive IV. 'Persönliche Krone' und Diadem", *AMI* n.F. 9, 1976, 45-95. And I hope soon to be able to contribute information gleaned from the Persepolis Fortification tablet seal impressions.

[151] Slots for gold overlays on plain crowns are present in the Central Building, the Palace of Xerxes, and the Throne Hall (north doors).

[152] After examining the "Treasury relief" crown at Persepolis, E. Porada has suggested that it was either unfinished or modified: Review of *Achaemenid Sculpture* by A. Farkas, in *The Art Bulletin* 58, 1976, 613. But A.S. Shahbazi, following von Gall, argues that the panels were originally meant to portray Xerxes as king: "The Persepolis 'Treasury Reliefs' Once More", *AMI* n.F. 9, 1976, 151-156.

In spite of this, R.N. Frye also proposes that the king in the original central panels was Xerxes and that the crown prince was the young Darius. His suggestion grows out of his concern to explain why the original panels were removed to the Treasury[154]. He suggests that Artaxerxes I, seeing in the figure of the standing prince a constant reminder of his hated brother Darius who had murdered his father, banished the reliefs to the ignominy of the Treasury. Frye disregards here the fact that the reliefs were set up again in an important building at Persepolis where they were actually better protected than in their original location. One might say that their removal was a mark of honor in some sense, or a reflection of a special interest taken in the Treasury at a certain period. As Frye himself points out, the functional focus of Persepolis had gravitated toward the Treasury in later years[155]. Thus, although Frye may be correct in assigning the removal of the reliefs to Artaxerxes I, his reasons for doing so are problematical[156]. Farkas has tentatively suggested that the central panels may have been moved to the Treasury while Darius was still alive and even before work was started on the wings of the Apadana stairs[157]. I find this impossible to accept, not least because the reliefs on the Apadana facade so clearly were meant originally to function as a tripartite decorative system[158]. Tilia notes, furthermore, that the trilingual inscription (XPb) would not have been squeezed onto the two wing inscription panels at the beginning of the reign of Xerxes if the central panel space of the replacement reliefs had been available then[159].

---

[153] Olmstead, *Persian Empire*, 289-290.

[154] R.N. Frye, "Persepolis Again", *JNES* 33, 1974, 383-386.

[155] See Tilia, *Studies and Restorations*, 208, n. 1, who notes that Frye himself suggested on another occasion that the Treasury might have become a kind of heroon during late Achaemenid times. F. Krefter, "Persepolis; A propos: Beiträge zur Funktionsbestimmung", *AMI* n.F. 6, 1973, 157-158, also sees the Treasury as having become the center of some cultic activity in a late phase of the Achaemenid Period.

[156] In an unpublished analysis, Roaf also dates the replacement panels to Artaxerxes I, but on the basis of an analysis of masons' marks.

[157] Farkas, *Achaemenid Sculpture*, 117-118.

[158] See Chapter VI.

[159] A.B. Tilia, in Farkas, *Achaemenid Sculpture*, 128.

The specific nations which appear to be represented by tribute bearers on the Apadana facades indicate that they were chosen on the basis of a list of peoples of the empire which tallied with the political situation during the reign of Darius[160]. This evidence, as well as the historical probability that it was Darius who was at least originally meant to be shown as king on the original central panels, supports the theory that the Apadana reliefs were planned under Darius even if they were not finished until some time during the reign of Xerxes[161].

Catalogue Entry IX

THE CENTRAL BUILDING (TRIPYLON), PERSEPOLIS

Selected Bibliography :

Schmidt, E. *Persepolis*, I. OIP, LXVIII. Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1953, 107-122 and pls. 62-87.
Krefter, F. *Persepolis Rekonstruktionen*. Teheraner Forschungen, III. Berlin : Deutsches archäologisches Institut, 1971, 61-64.
Trümpelmann, L. "Tore von Persepolis : Zur Bauplanung des Dareios". *AMI* n.F. 7, 1974, 163-171.
Plan : Fig. 12.
Photographs : Pls. 25-26.

Description

The small building which stands between the Apadana and the Throne Hall at Persepolis has been given various names which reflect varying interpretations of the building's function at the site. Herzfeld recognized the function of the structure as a gatehouse; and because it has three stone doorways, he labeled it the "Tripylon"[162]. Ghirshman and others have also viewed the building as essentially a monumental gateway between the private and public parts of the terrace[163].

---

[160] Barnett, "Persepolis", 65-72.

[161] See Farkas, *Achaemenid Sculpture*, 60-63 and 72-73, for a discussion of information from the Persepolis Treasury tablets which may have a bearing on how long construction on the Apadana as a whole continued into the reign of Xerxes.

[162] Herzfeld, *Iran*, 229-230.

[163] Ghirshman, "À propos de Persépolis", 267-268; followed by Porada, *Ancient Iran*, 152. Ghirshman sees the building as a gateway through which his hypothetical No Ruz procession passed from north to south. Thus the servants of the south stair were, according to his interpretation, meant as harbingers of a banquet in the Palace

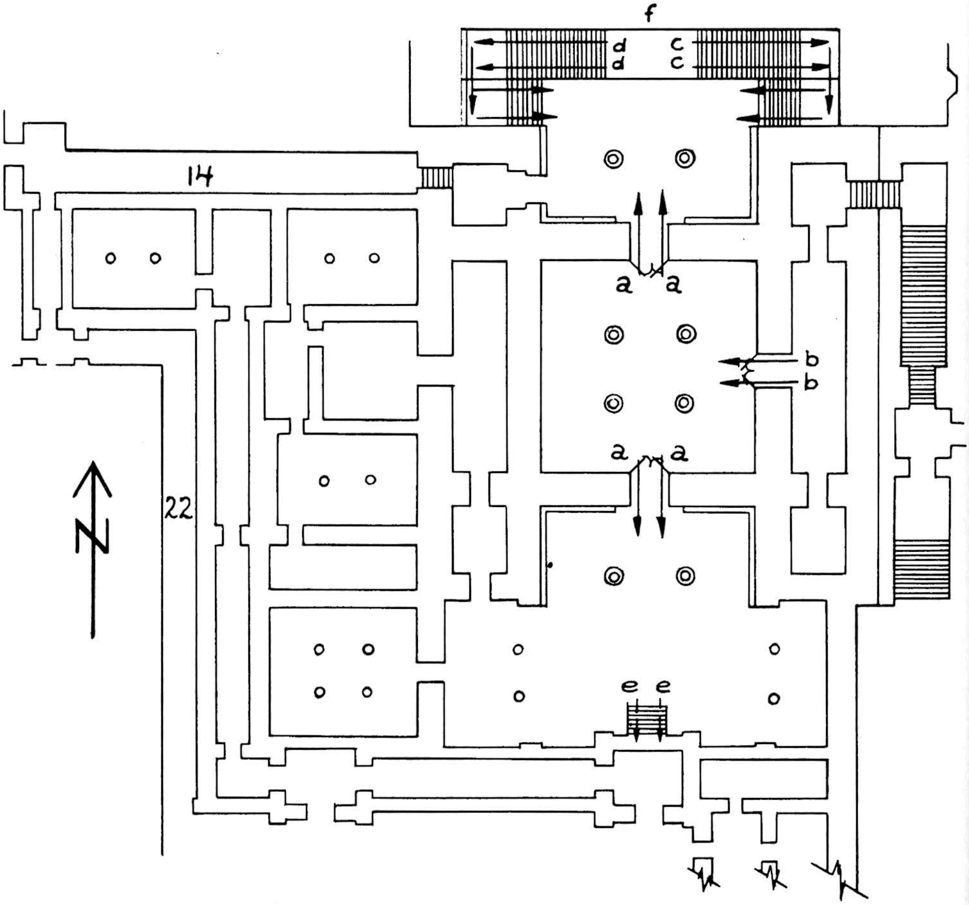


Fig. 12. — Reliefs of the Central Building:

(a) King, followed by two attendants holding parasol and flywhisk
(b) King enthroned, with crown prince, supported by subject peoples
(c) Dignitaries in court robe
(d) Dignitaries in riding costume
(e) Servants carrying banquet supplies
(f) Guards/inscription panels
—— = in situ
- - - - = Tehran Museum

of Darius toward which the dignitaries on the north stair were progressing. See also Krefter, *Persepolis Rekonstruktionen*, 61-62 (who prefers the name "Gate of the Kings"), and K. Erdmann, "Persepolis: Daten und Deutungen", *MDOG* 92, 1960, 28-30. Most recently, Trümpelmann, "Tore von Persepolis", 169, has also interpreted the Central Building as a monumental gatehouse. He has suggested (partly on the basis of the representation of personifications of the lands of the empire carrying the throne platform on the reliefs of the east door jambs) that the building served the function of the Gate of All Lands during the reign of Darius, before Xerxes' gate was built to the northwest.

Schmidt preferred to call it the "Council Hall", seeing in the north stair reliefs an indication that nobles gathered here for council with the king[164]. I prefer, however, to use the term Central Building because it expresses adequately the location of the structure without imposing a great deal of interpretation upon it [Fig. 8-9][165].

The Central Building is laid out with its main entrance on the north. A double staircase on the north leads to a portico which has a stone bench along its walls. Through a large stone doorway one enters a square hall. Piercing the east wall of this room is a large doorway which leads to a narrow passage and thence out to a set of back stairs running parallel to the building going south[166]. On the south of the central room there is another doorway, this leading out to a southern portico similar to the northern one and also lined with benches. A small stairway leads to the courtyard south of the building. Along the western side of the main complex just described lies a series of "private" rooms and passages. This area can be entered from the north portico or from the south, but not from the main hall.

The three major doorways of the Central Building have jambs decorated with reliefs[167]. On the northern and southern doorways the king is depicted walking out of the main hall followed by two attendants [Pl. 25b]. The king carries a staff in his right hand and a lotus blossom in the other. The attendants are smaller figures. One carries the parasol and one holds a flywhisk and a scarf or towel. Above this scene the figure of Ahuramazda within the winged disc faces in the direction of the royal entourage, holding a ring in his left hand while raising his right hand with palm parallel to the relief plane.

The reliefs on both jambs of the eastern doorway show the king enthroned facing into the hall with another person of royal rank (presumably the crown prince, wearing the same long beard as the king) who touches the back of the king's chair with his right hand [Pl. 25a]. This royal couple is shown under a tasseled canopy above which floats Ahuramazda, his hands held as on the north and south doorjambs. Once again he faces in the same direction as the king below. A dais supports the entire group of king and crown prince under the canopy. Twenty-eight figures, disposed in three tiers of 9, 10 and 9, lift up this platform so that its feet are actually raised off the ground line (the ledge of the doorjamb). These figures are much destroyed. Though they bear no identifying labels, their varied costumes indicate that they were intended as representations of peoples of different regions, as were also the labeled figures carrying the platform on the tomb facade of Darius at Naqsh-i Rustam.

---

[164] Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, 107. It is perhaps worth mentioning here that in the ancient Near East the concepts of gatehouse and council hall or hall of judgment were not necessarily mutually exclusive.

[165] Erdmann, "Persepolis : Daten und Deutungen", 28-30.

[166] Trümpelmann, "Tore von Persepolis", 169, postulates that originally the east door was planned to give access to a monumental staircase on this side. There seems, however, to be no archaeological evidence to support this assumption.

[167] Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, pls. 75-81.

The reliefs decorating the small southern stair depict a procession of servants bringing foodstuffs into the building and paired ushers on the redoubts. This staircase is now in the Tehran Archaeological Museum[168].

The more elaborate north stair has a double facade, the decorative scheme of which includes blank inscription panels flanked by files of alternating Median and Persian guards and two pairs of the lion and bull groups. Men in Median and Persian dress climb the stairs on the inner face of the facade and on the face of the platform of the building itself—Medes on the west wing and Persians on the east[169].

Date

There are no inscriptions associated with this building. The three facade panels of the north stair were obviously intended to bear texts, but none was ever applied.

Traditionally the dating of the Central Building to the reign of Darius has rested upon two considerations:

1) The placing of the building in relation to the Apadana suggests contemporaneity of planning [Fig. 9]. The platforms of the two buildings are the same height and are connected. Service passageway 14 of the Central Building connects the southern part of the Apadana to the northern portico of the Central Building. Similarly, passage 22

---

[168] Ibid., I, pls. 82-87.

[169] Ibid., pls. 62-74. For ease here I follow traditional usage of labeling as Medes any persons wearing the Iranian riding tunic and trousers and as Persians any persons wearing the robe. But, as will be discussed later in this study (Chapter VI), I do not find this distinction appropriate.

of the Central Building links the southern courtyard area of the Apadana to the area just south of the Central Building south stair[170]. It seems likely that the Central Building was laid out before the east wall of the Apadana was moved further east, encroaching slightly as it does upon the setting of the smaller hall[171].

2) The sculptures of the east doorjambs presumably depict a king, with his crown prince standing behind the throne. These figures were first identified as Darius and his son Xerxes by Herzfeld, who was later followed by Schmidt and Tilia[172]. Although the royal figures here are not labeled, it is worth repeating that history argues against any later Achaemenid king choosing to have himself represented in the company of a crown prince. And the adaptation of these reliefs made under Artaxerxes I for the south doors of the Throne Hall replaces the figure of the crown prince in favor of an attendant with flywhisk[173].

Recently, however, the Darius date has come into question from several quarters. Von Gall's work on crowns has led him to identify the main Central Building reliefs with Xerxes. For my discussion of this theory, see Catalogue Entry VIII. Independently, Roaf has suggested the possibility that the north stair of the Central Building dates to the reign of Artaxerxes I and the south stair to the end of Xerxes' reign[174]. His conclusions are based upon an analysis of the masons' marks and their correlation with those on more securely dated buildings[175]. But we still do not know exactly what these masons' marks stand for (e.g., individual artisans, headmen, paymasters, types of work groups, etc.). Indeed, the possibilities are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Most important, the marks were not necessarily linked to specific people in the sense that they would fall out of use with the death of a particular worker. The same marking patterns could conceivably appear in various periods[176].

---

[170] Ibid., 107 and 122. Krefter, *Persepolis Rekonstruktionen*, 97.

[171] Tilia, *Studies and Restorations*, 162-164.

[172] Herzfeld, in *Iranische Felsreliefs*, 108 and *Iran*, 261. Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, 116; Tilia, *Studies and Restorations*, 201-202.

[173] Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, pls. 104-113. See Catalogue Entry VIII for discussion of issues concerning the identity of king and crown prince in the Apadana and the Central Building.

[174] Roaf, unpublished manuscript on the masons' marks on Persepolis sculpture. Shahbazi assigns the whole building to Artaxerxes I, but gives no reasons for the attribution ("The Persepolis 'Treasury Reliefs' Once More", 155f).

[175] Roaf dates the north stair to Artaxerxes I because he has dated the replacement panels of the Apadana facades to that king on stylistic grounds; and the same groupings of masons' marks appear on both sets of reliefs.

But, unquestionably, the stylistic differences and qualitative discrepancies between the reliefs of Medes and Persians climbing the north stair and those of the figures on the doorjambs are confusing. Equally strange are the varying degrees of completeness of the reliefs on the exterior facade of the north stair and the extraordinary amount of piecing of stone blocks which characterizes the structure of these reliefs [Pl. 26b][177]. These features seem at odds with the rest of the building and suggest the possibility that the north stairway as it stands now does not reflect the same period of workmanship as the core of the building. Possibly a different stair existed here altogether in the time of Darius—a case analogous, in other words, to the situation with the west stair of the Palace of Darius. This hypothesis would help to explain the absence of inscriptions on the three panels of the facade set aside for them.

The balance of evidence suggests that the Central Building (probably with a different north stair) was planned during the reign of Darius and that the sculptures of the doorjambs were carved toward the end of his reign. The unit of Apadana with the Palace of Darius to the west and the Central Building balancing it to the east suggests strongly that they were originally conceived as an architectural composition. More important is, however, the cogent historical argument concerning the relationship of Darius to his crown prince. It cannot, in my opinion, be sheer coincidence that the very three buildings which bear such a striking formal relationship to one another in terms of setting would also be the same three buildings which are decorated with reliefs depicting king and chosen heir together.

Catalogue Entry X

THE PALACES OF DARIUS' SUCCESSORS

Introduction

The extant palaces of Darius' successors which were decorated with representations of the king and kingship offer us adaptations of representational types known already under Darius. These later Achaemenid structures may therefore be described quite briefly.

---

[176] On these problems see Nylander, "Masons' Marks in Persepolis", 216-222.

[177] Tilia, "A Study on the Methods of Working and Restoring Stone", 93 and figs. 141-145.

A. THE "HAREM" OF XERXES, PERSEPOLIS

Selected Bibliography :

Schmidt, E. *Persepolis*, I. OIP, LXVIII. Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1953, 255-264.

Krefter, F. *Persepolis Rekonstruktionen*. Teheraner Forschungen, III. Berlin : Deutsches archäologisches Institut, 1971, 21-28, 77-78, 101 ff.

Plan of Main Section : Fig. 13.
Photographs : Pls. 27-28.

Description

The so-called Harem at Persepolis is labeled as such only because of its relatively secluded position on a low level of the terrace, against the south fortification wall and because of its series of identical small compartments in the western extension. The nucleus of this building consists of a hall, with a porch which faces onto a courtyard. Today this section comprises the exhibition area of the Persepolis Museum.

As in the Palace of Darius, the portico is flanked by guardrooms. A relief of two guards in Persian court dress decorates the two jambs of each guardroom door. The guards (the foremost in each case bearing a wicker shield) all face out onto the portico.

The jambs of the north door of the main hall (leading out to the portico) are decorated with a relief showing the king (holding a staff and a flower) leaving the hall. Two smaller attendants follow : one carrying a parasol and the other a flywhisk and towel[178].

A southern door gives access from a southern courtyard into the main hall to the west of center. Here, the jambs are decorated with a relief depicting the king entering the hall. One attendant (who is beardless) carries the flywhisk and towel, while the other holds one hand crossed over the other in an attitude of respectful repose [Pl. 27][179].

The reliefs on the jambs of the north and south doors are mirror images one of the other, except that the king always carries his royal

---

[178] Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, pl. 194.

[179] Ibid., pl. 193.

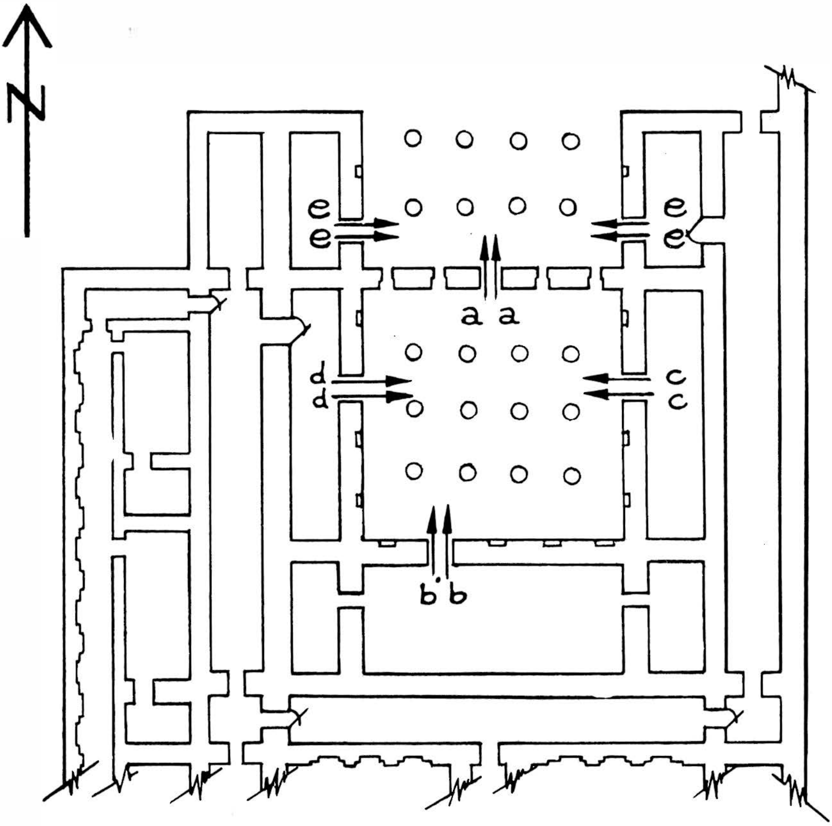


Fig. 13. — Reliefs of the "Harem" of Xerxes (Central Section):

(a) King, followed by two attendants with parasol and flywhisk (both bearded)
(b) King with two attendants, one holding flywhisk and towel, the other at parade rest (flywhisk carrier beardless)
(c) Royal hero stabs rampant lion monster
(d) Royal hero stabs rampant lion
(e) Guards

staff in his right hand. These reliefs bear no inscriptions. Although there are no attachment holes for applied ornaments on the garments of the royal figures, the robes are elaborately decorated with inscribed designs—presumably intended as guides to painters[180].

The jambs of the east and west doors to the main hall are decorated with a relief of the royal hero. On the east, he stabs a rampant lion monster while grasping his projecting horn in his other hand [Pl. 28a][181]. On the west, the hero stabs a lion while grasping the animal's forelock [Pl. 28b][182]. In each case, the hero faces into the hall.

---

[180] Ibid., 257.

Date

A foundation inscription (XPf) found in situ dates the Harem to the reign of Xerxes[183]. Also, a fragmentary inscription on a doorknob (?) from the Harem preserves the words, "... of Xerxes"[184]. Xerxes may have had the Harem begun very soon after he gained the throne—for the XPf text is a short apology for his accession.

B. THE PALACE OF XERXES

Selected Bibliography :

Schmidt, E. *Persepolis*, I. OIP, LXVIII. Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1953, 238-244.

Krefter, F. *Persepolis Rekonstruktionen.* Teheraner Forschungen, III. Berlin : Deutsches archäologisches Institut, 1971, 64-71.

Plan : Fig. 14.

Description

In layout the Palace of Xerxes bears a marked resemblance to the Palace of Darius, even though it lacks the twin apartments at the rear which characterize the Palace of Darius; but Xerxes' building covers almost twice the area of the earlier palace. Xerxes' palace stands on a platform of bedrock which raises it to about the same height above the terrace floor as the Palace of Darius. Two monumental stairways, one on the east and one on the west, give access to the courtyard in front of the palace portico which opens to the north. They are decorated with reliefs of servants and guards[185]. On the south, two functional stairways lead down to the level of the "Harem".

Once again, eastern and western guardrooms of the portico have doorways decorated with jamb reliefs of guards facing outward.

---

[181] Ibid., pl. 196.

[182] Ibid., pl. 195.

[183] Kent, *Old Persian*, 150; translation quoted in Catalogue Entry VII, *infra* (n. 118).

[184] Kent, *Old Persian*, 152 (XPi).

[185] Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, pls. 159-165 (western stair); pls. 166-173 (eastern stair).

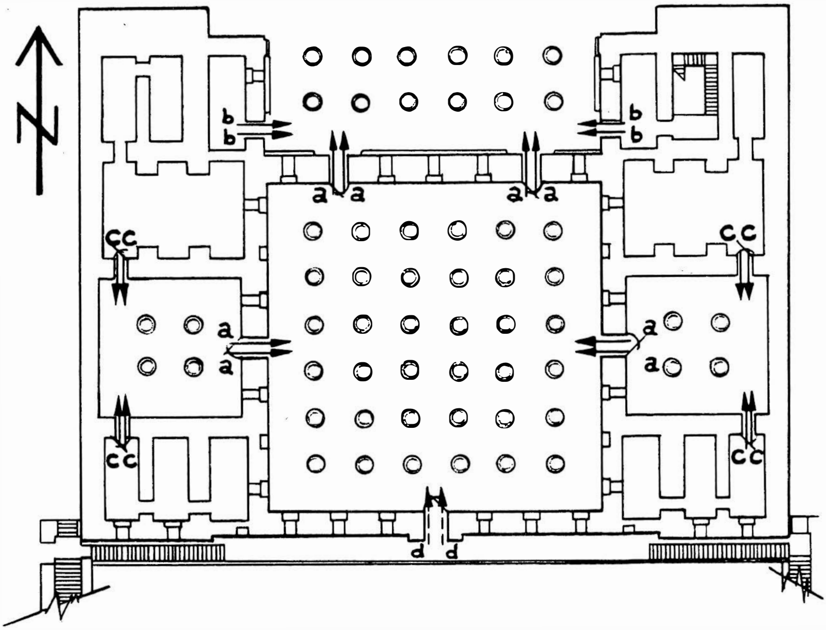


Fig. 14. — Interior Reliefs of the Palace of Xerxes :

(a) King followed by two attendants carrying parasol and flywhisk (both bearded)
(b) Palace guards
(c) Domestic attendants (apparently all beardless)
(d) Suggested reconstruction of reliefs similar to (a)

Leading from the main hall to the portico are two widely separated doors. Piercing the southern wall of the hall is one central doorway. Then the eastern and western walls of the hall are each pierced by a door leading to a side compartment.

The jambs of the southern door are not preserved. All the other jambs are decorated with a relief of the king with two beared attendants one of whom carries the parasol and one the flywhisk and towel[186].

The royal figure has attachment holes for applied necklace and bracelet. Lateral slots on the crown indicate that it was probably covered with gold sheeting.

Palace servant reliefs similar to those in the northern twin compartments of the Palace of Darius here decorate the jambs of doors

[186] Ibid., pls. 178-182.

in the east and west apartments[187]. In addition, reliefs of servants bearing foodstuffs decorate the stone jambs of the palace's windows[188].

Date

This palace is firmly dated to the reign of Xerxes by text XPe—inscribed on the robes of the royal figures, on doorjambs, doorway frames, window frames and by texts XPdb and XPda—inscribed on the monumental stairways[189].

C. THE THRONE HALL

Selected Bibliography :

Schmidt, E. *Persepolis*, I. OIP, LXVIII. Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1953, 129-137.

Krefter, F. *Persepolis Rekonstruktionen*. Teheraner Forschungen, III. Berlin : Deutsches archäologisches Institut, 1971, 57-59.

Tilia, A.B. *Studies and Restorations at Persepolis and Other Sites of Fārs*. IsMEO Reports and Memoirs, XVI. Rome : Istituto italiano per il medio ed estremo oriente, 1972, 46-52.

Plan : Fig. 15.

Photographs : Pls. 29-30.

Description

The so-called Throne Hall, or Hall of One Hundred Columns, is a massive square structure planned on a principle of strict symmetry. The portico opens out to a court at the north—leading to the unfinished gate which had been designed as a monumental entranceway to this great hall. At the south, a narrow functional stairway leads down to the level of the Treasury.

In essence the Throne Hall is an enormous room 68.50 m. square, with walls characterized by stone niches. The hall is surrounded on three sides by a network of narrow chambers which could only have functioned as storerooms of some sort.

It is noteworthy that no traces of any actual doors (e.g., pivot

---

[187] Ibid., pls. 183-184.

[188] Ibid., pls. 185-188. See Krefter, *Persepolis Rekonstruktionen*, Beil. 19 for plan showing all the servant relief positions.

[189] Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, pls. 238-239.

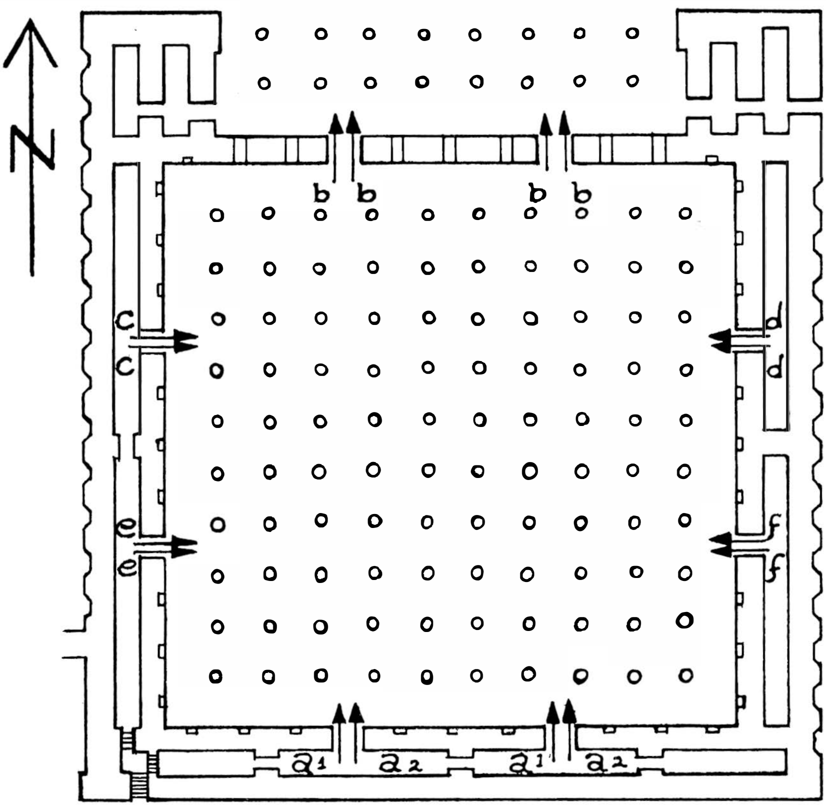


Fig. 15. — Reliefs of the Throne Hall:

(a) King enthroned, with attendant, supported by 14_1 & 14_2 personifications of the subject lands

(b) King enthroned, with one attendant, in audience above five registers of antithetically posed guards

(c) Royal hero stabs griffin monster

(d) Royal hero stabs lion monster

(e) Royal hero stabs lion

(f) Royal hero stabs bull

holes, floor scars) have been discovered in the hall. Fragments of cavetto moulding belonging to the lintels of the north doorways of the hall (leading to the portico) have been found to have bitumen-lined holes perhaps for the insertion of wooden curtain rods[190]. The lack of solid doors may not lend support to Schmidt's suggestion that the building functioned as a royal museum. But his theory does seem plausible on other grounds. There is also the possibility that it was intended as a great ceremonial pavilion.

---

[190] Tilia, *Studies and Restorations*, 48f.

Two doorways pierce each wall of the hall. On the south, the doorjambs are decorated with a relief showing the enthroned king facing north, into the hall [Pl. 29a]. Attending the king is a personage holding a towel and a flywhisk. The king sits under a canopy, above which is represented Ahuramazda facing in the same direction as the king. (On the doorjamb illustrated here, the top of the relief is missing.) In contrast to the Central Building reliefs, Ahuramazda holds a blossom in his left hand instead of the ring. The king and his attendant are placed upon a tall platform which is raised up by personifications of the subject lands. Twenty-eight lands (peoples) are represented, divided so that on each jamb of one doorway only fourteen are shown[191]. On these reliefs, the royal figure did not have added metal adornments.

The jambs of the two northern doors bear reliefs depicting an audience scene atop a six-registered relief of guards [Pl. 29b]. In each register below the audience scene the guards are divided into two groups, which face one another. In registers one through five the guards wear alternately the court robe and the tunic and trousers. In the top register all wear the robe. The audience scene shows the king enthroned under a baldacchino, facing the portico. Before him an official bows. This scene is clearly dependent for inspiration upon the original central panels of the Apadana stairs. The number of attendants is reduced, however; and instead of having the crown prince standing behind the king, an attendant holds the flywhisk over his head[192].

Slots beside the royal crowns on these reliefs indicate overlaid gold; similarly attachment holes indicate that the royal figure wore a necklace and bracelets and (at least in one case) earrings.

The jambs of the doors piercing the east and west walls are decorated with reliefs depicting the royal hero fighting four different beasts : a fantastic griffin monster not duplicated in relief elsewhere at Persepolis (north door, west wall)[193]; a lion monster, of the type also seen in the Palace of Darius and the Harem (north door, east wall)[194]; a lion (south door, west wall)[195]; and a bull (south door, east wall)[196].

---

[191] Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, pls. 102-113.

[192] Ibid., pls. 96-101.

[193] Ibid., pl. 114.

Date

The Throne Hall does not bear any inscriptions. A foundation record found among the debris in the main hall does, however, indicate that the building was planned, and its foundations laid, under Xerxes, while much of the construction actually took place during the reign of Artaxerxes[197].

D. PALACE H, PERSEPOLIS

Selected Bibliography:

Schmidt, E. *Persepolis*, I. OIP, LXVIII. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953, 280-282.

Tilia, A.B. *Studies and Restorations at Persepolis and Other Sites of Fārs.* IsMEO Reports and Memoirs, XVI. Rome: Istituto italiano per il medio ed estremo oriente, 1972, 253-392.

—. "Discoveries at Persepolis 1972-1973". *Proceedings of the IInd Annual Symposium on Archaeological Research in Iran.* Tehran: Iran Centre for Archaeological Research, 1974, 239-243.

Plan: Fig. 16.

Description and Date

The site of Palace H lies at the southwest corner of the Persepolis terrace. As a result of the painstaking work of the Persepolis restoration team, published by A.B. Tilia, we now know that the stairway facade of Artaxerxes III presently marking the site was moved here in post-Achaemenid times from the Palace G site on the terrace. In Achaemenid times the Palace H site was occupied first by a building of irretrievable plan—perhaps dating to the reign of Darius[198]. This was completely destroyed in the reign of Xerxes so that a larger building could be erected in its place. The date for the

---

[194] Ibid., pl. 116.

[195] Ibid., pl. 115.

[196] Ibid., pl. 117.

[197] Ibid., 129.

[198] A.B. Tilia, "Discoveries at Persepolis, 1972-73", *Proceedings of the IInd Annual Symposium on Archaeological Research in Iran* (Tehran: Iran Centre for Archaeological Research, 1974), 243.

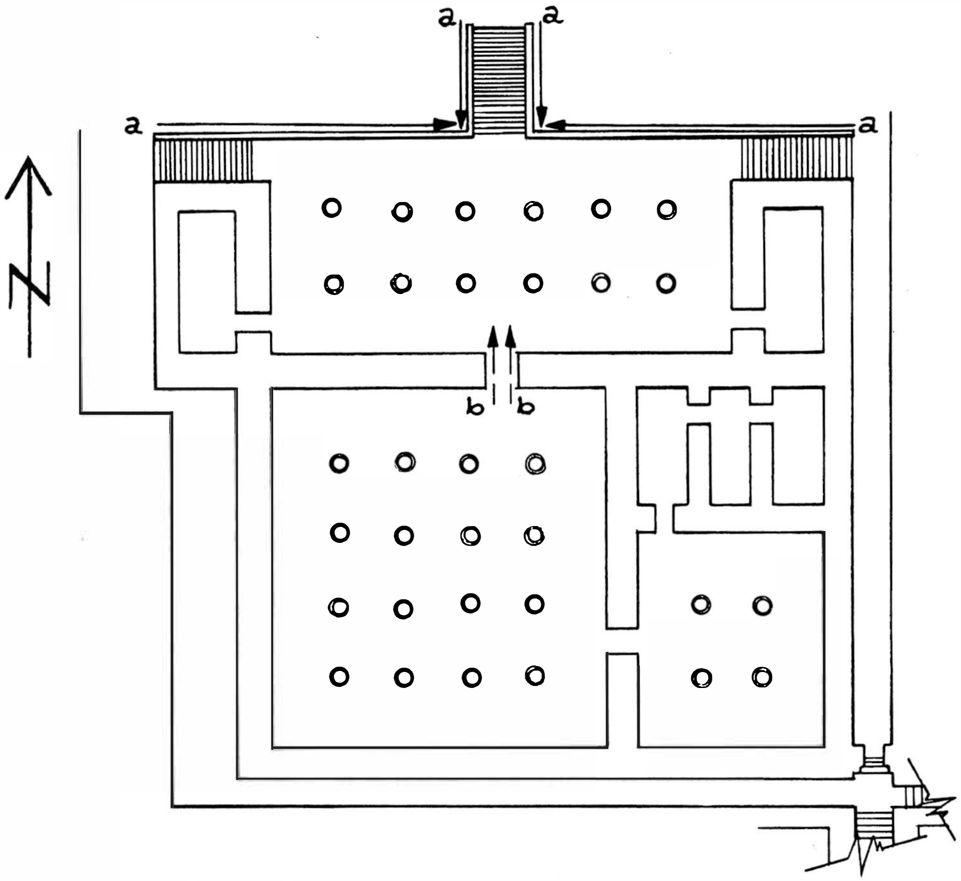


Fig. 16. — Reliefs of Palace H (Xerxes-Artaxerxes I): A Tentative Reconstruction.
(a) Files of tribute bearers
(b) King enthroned (suggested placement)

construction of the second Achaemenid palace is provided by a fragmentary inscription found on a relief block associated with the stair facade of this building. The text states that Artaxerxes I finished a palace begun by his father, Xerxes[199].

From what can be reconstructed of the plan of the palace of Xerxes-Artaxerxes I, it was distinguished by an unusual asymmetrical layout. A monumental, relief-decorated stairway led up to the level of the palace from the terrace floor. The plan of this stairway is unique---consisting of an eastern and a western wing *plus* a central flight of stairs converging perpendicular to the facade of the platform. This central staircase is symmetrically placed in terms of the palace exterior. Aligned with the central staircase, across a deep portico, is the doorway into the building's main hall. The layout of the palace interior is such that this doorway is off-center of the main hall. Flanking the main room is a smaller hall with an adjacent series of three interconnected chambers.

---

[199] Tilia, *Studies and Restorations*, 265.

The relief system of the monumental stairway consists of some thirty tribute groups converging toward center in an adaptation of the facade arrangement of the Apadana, likewise incorporating the triangular lion and bull panels and rectangular inscription panels[200]. Unlike the Apadana frieze, the Palace H facade relief includes no representation of nobles or of the king enthroned in audience[201].

At least one over life-sized figure of the king enthroned was represented in relief—apparently on an *interior* wall of the building. A fragment has been found preserving a royal footstool and the king's feet. The proportions are similar to those of the audience scenes on the original Apadana panels. This relief of the king rested upon a socle decorated in the fashion of the ubiquitous Persepolitan cavetto moulding. It is not known whether the relief decorated a doorjamb or whether we have here the first preserved instance of a real Achaemenid orthostat relief[202].

Catalogue Entry XI

A. STATUE FRAGMENTS FROM SUSA

Selected Bibliography :

Scheil, V. *Inscriptions des Achéménides à Suse*. MDP, XXI. Paris : Ernst Leroux, 1929, 57-58 and pl. XIII.

de Mecquenem, R. *Contribution à l'étude du palais achéménide de Suse*. MDP, XXX. Paris : Ernst Leroux, 1947, 47 and pl. V.

Schmidt, E. *Persepolis*, I. OIP, LXVIII. Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1953, 29-33.

Photographs : Pls. 31-32a.

---

[200] Tilia, "Discoveries at Persepolis", fig. 11; *Studies and Restorations*, for excellent photographs of the relief from the Xerxes-Artaxerxes I facade.

[201] Also, the inside faces of the Palace H stair facade were decorated with figures of servants bearing foodstuffs.

[202] Tilia, "Discoveries at Persepolis", 241 f.

Description

Four fragments from three, or perhaps two, large statues are known to have been found at Susa in the area of the Apadana[203].

A) Fragment of a dark grey limestone head [Pl. 31a]. Preserved are the mouth, a bit of the nose and one cheek, and part of the beard and moustache[204]. The height of this preserved fragment is 25 cm. If the head were complete, the statue to which it belonged would have to have measured about 3 m. in height.

B) Back half of a light grey limestone foot wearing an Achaemenid three-buttoned boot [Pl. 31b][205]. The length of the fragment is 24 cm.; the width, across the widest section of the heel is 11 cm.; the preserved height from heel to just above the tongue of the boot is 30 cm. Clearly this foot belonged to a colossal statue.

C) Two fragments of inscribed drapery from two separate light grey limestone statues of figures wearing the Persian dress:

1) Fragment from the bottom front of a Persian robe, preserving the hemline of an omega fold terminating a vertical pleat [Pl. 32a][206]. The maximum preserved width of the fragment is 25 cm.; the height, 23 cm.; width of the omega, 15.5 cm. On the left side of the vertical pleat appear parts of two cuneiform texts, the right in Babylonian and the left in Elamite. Scheil translates them as "(qu)'il a fait" and "et qu'il a fait", respectively[207]. The right half of the omega pleat is not inscribed.

2) A fragment of a light grey limestone statue preserving part of a vertical pleat of the Persian robe above the omega and the beginnings of two closely spaced curving folds radiating out and downward from the right side of the vertical pleat. On the left side of the vertical pleat

---

[203] de Mecquenem, "Contribution", 47, says simply that they were all found in the Apadana. Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, 31, says they were found in the "hadish", or palace area of the Apadana complex. See J. Perrot, "Le palais de Darius le Grand à Šuš", *Proceedings of the IInd Annual Symposium on Archaeological Research in Iran* (Tehran: Iran Centre for Archaeological Research, 1974), 91-107, for recent plans of the building complex on the Apadana mound at Susa.

[204] A. Parrot, "Tête royal achéménide (?)", *Syria* 44, 1967, 249, fig. 1, a-d, for good views of this head fragment. The illustrations in MDP, XXI and MDP, XXX (pls. XIII and V, respectively) give only the frontal view.

[205] Scheil, *Inscriptions*, pl. XIII, and de Mecquenem, "Contribution", pl.V (same view).

[206] Scheil, *Inscriptions*, pl. XIII (upper right), and de Mecquenem, "Contribution", pl. V, 4.

[207] Scheil, *Inscriptions*, 57.

enough of a flat section is preserved to show that a set of radial pleats corresponding symmetrically to those in the right did not appear here[208]. I was unable to measure this fragment in the Louvre store-room; Scheil gives dimensions of 40 cm. × 40 cm. for the preserved portion of the block as a whole. Again, this indicates a statue well over life-size. Part of an Old Persian text (DSn) in two lines is preserved on the right section of the vertical pleat. According to Kent's reconstruction it reads, "This sculpture Darius the King commanded to make; ... Darius the King may Ahuramazda protect, and what was made (by him)"[209]. This Old Persian formula may then be a complete version of the Babylonian and Elamite texts of drapery fragment no. 1 (which preserve only the final phrase).

Discussion

The head (A) is of a darker stone than the other fragments, and therefore presumably cannot be reconstructed as belonging to the same statue as any of the other pieces. The form of the beard on this fragment indicates, however, that it did belong either to a royal figure or else to a composite being with human head[210]. In style this beard appears flatter and less refined than those preserved on reliefs of the king at Persepolis[211]. It is, on the other hand, very similar in rendering to human-headed bull capitals, and may actually be a fragment of one[212].

The foot fragment (B) poses an interesting problem. Its colossal size suggests that it must belong to a statue of a king. Yet on all known monuments which unquestionably represent the king (or crown prince) the royal personage always wears shoes without buttoned straps in an apparently deliberate and systematic contrast to the non-royal figures around him who, if they wear the Persian robe, always wear buttoned shoes. The so-called royal hero, who is shown on reliefs at Persepolis slaying beasts, does consistently wear buttoned shoes, however. If we suppose that the foot belongs to a representation of the king-as-king (in spite of the unprecedented footgear), then it is possible that the foot originally formed part of the same monument as one of the two fragments of drapery to be discussed below. On the other hand, if we suppose that the king-as-king must never have been shown with buttoned shoes, then we might postulate that this foot fragment belonged to a colossal statue representing the royal hero. A statue group in the round of the same type as is seen in relief in the Palace of Darius on the doorjambs of the door connecting the two rooms of both east and west compartments would be feasible in stone [Pl. 16b][213]. In fact, a small-scale Achaemenid sculptural group of this compositional type is known[214]. The other more common royal hero combat composition seems a less likely one for stone sculpture in the round.

---

[208] Ibid., 58 and pl. XIII. (Better photograph in de Mecquenem, "Contribution", pl. V, 5).

[209] Kent, *Old Persian*, 145-146. Scheil, *Inscriptions*, 58.

[210] Compare with beard of the king on the original central panel of the Apadana north facade, Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, pl. 121. (A. Godard, *The Art of Iran*, trans. M. Heron [New York : Praeger, 1965], pl. 44, for an excellent photo of this figure). Here the king's beard has six rows of snail curls instead of the five on the Susa fragment from cheek to beginning of first set of vertical wavy strands. But otherwise, the format is basically the same. At Persepolis, only royal figures (and the royal hero), sphinxes and human-headed bulls have this type of long square beard.

[211] Compare the Susa fragment with the king's head as illustrated in Godard, *Art of Iran*, pl. 44, and with two attendants on the same relief, illustrated in Hinz, *Funde und Forschungen*, Taf. 29.

[212] Compare with Godard, *Art of Iran*, pl. 70.

The two drapery fragments (C) may belong to one statue which, on analogy with the Egyptian-made statue of Darius, would have had two inscribed pleats running down the front of the royal robe [Pl. 10]. Comparison with the Darius statue from the Susa gate shows that fragment no. 2 must have come from a position approximately mid-way up the left pleat of a similarly rendered Achaemenid robe. The radial folds which go around the back of the figure on the well preserved Darius statue are flatter and less closely spaced than are the heavily drooping central catenaries. This comparison thus explains the lack of symmetry in the projections preserved on either side of the vertical pleat of drapery fragment no. 2.

Fragment no. 1 would, then, preserve the terminating omega fold of the *right* pleat of the same garment. Interestingly, it is of a much more rounded and full type than is found on the Darius statue made in Egypt.

Date

Drapery fragment no. 2 (and, by inference, no. 1 as well) is securely dated to Darius by the inscription. It is likely that the colossal shoe fragment also belonged to a statue of this king, since all were apparently found in the same context[215].

---

[213] Hinz, *Funde und Forschungen*, Taf. 27; Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, pl. 147.

[214] A fragment of a statuette representing a human figure struggling with a lion was found in the Persepolis Treasury: Schmidt, *Persepolis*, II, 69 and pl. 35, 1.

B. THE "ROYAL HEAD" FROM HAMADAN

Selected Bibliography:

Parrot, A. "Tête royale achéménide (?)". *Syria* 44, 1967, 247-251 and pls. XIII-XIV.
Photograph : Pl. 32b.

Description

This white marble head, joined from two fragments, was presumably found at Hamadan and was purchased by the Louvre from the Swiss market[216]. Preserved in width from ear to ear, in depth from tip of nose to back of head at eye level, and in height from below the chin to mid-forehead at start of the hairline on the left, the piece measures 22 cm. in width, 29 cm. in depth, and 28.5 cm. in height.

The surface of the sculpture is polished smooth. The eyes, with the line of the upper lid extending beyond the outer corner of the eye and with smoothly modeled brows, are similar to eyes represented in Achaemenid sculpture[217]; so, too, with the mouth and nose[218].

The hair and beard are, however, less familiar. Behind the ear on the right side the hair falls straight down in a set of parallel wavy locks each of which terminates just below the level of the ear lobe in a spiral curl[219].

The beard is slightly different from other known royal beards. The cheek is outlined by a single row of snail curls. Then, instead of four or five more rows of these curls, a set of vertical locks extend down to the level of the moustache curls. Here another single row of snail curls terminates the vertical strands. This pattern of strands and curls is repeated completely once again before the piece breaks off just after the beginning of a third section of strands.

---

[215] Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, 31.

[216] Parrot, "Tête royale achéménide (?)", 247. Apparently no analysis of the stone has been made to determine its origin.

[217] Cf. Hinz, *Funde und Forschungen*, Taf. 29 and Godard, *Art of Iran*, pl. 45.

[218] We can form a good idea of what an Achaemenid royal head in the round would have looked like from the human-headed bull capitals at Persepolis: see Godard, *Art of Iran*, pl. 70 for a good photograph of one from the Central Building.

[219] Compare this hairstyle with that of Darius at Behistun (Luschey, "Darius-Relief", Taf. 33) and at Persepolis (Godard, *Art of Iran*, pl. 44).

The moustache and the whiskers fringing the lower lip seem at first glance typical of Achaemenid coiffure as it is known to us. But closer scrutiny reveals that the moustache is formed in a strange manner so that the top of it is merely a continuation of the straight line of the beard and does not curve up to the nostrils in an arc.

Date

P. Amiet, followed by A. Parrot, has proposed that the head may represent a Median king, perhaps Astyages, whom Cyrus defeated in about 550 B.C. This suggestion is largely based upon the rendition of the hair at the back of the neck. It is rather similar to the coiffure of Median tributaries on reliefs from Sargon's palace at Khorsabad [Pl. 60b][220]. And, of course, the fact that the head is said to have been found at Hamadan (the ancient Ecbatana, capital of the Median kingdom) makes this suggestion most appealing. If the head is Median, then this means that the sculpture style (especially in the rendition of the eye, mouth, and the moustache and chin whiskers, and in the polished finish of the hard stone) which we generally consider typical of Achaemenid sculpture actually reflects a direct continuity from Median art. The concept of a lost Median tradition of monumental art which profoundly influenced Achaemenid art is not a new one[221]. Frequently a lost Median tradition is seen as the primary means by which Assyrian sculptural motifs and stylistic conventions were passed on, with varying degrees of faithfulness to those ultimate Assyrian prototypes, to the Achaemenids. But if this Hamadan head is taken as an example of the Median tradition which is lost to us, it creates more problems than it solves. The Hamadan beard has less in common with the neo-Assyrian beards of all kings whose representations are extant than do any known Achaemenid royal beards[222]. Thus, for those who see the Behistun relief of Darius as representing a stage in stylistic development which passed from Assyrian art, through Median art and thence to Behistun before reaching its final stage of evolution (and distance from the ultimate Assyrian prototypes) in the canonical style displayed at Persepolis, the Hamadan head most certainly disrupts the continuity of this chain[223]. It should be noted, however, that if one espouses this evolutionary theory then the Hamadan head creates a problem no matter what period it is assigned to.

---

[220] Parrot, "Tête royale achéménide (?)", 250.

[221] Nylander, *Ionians*, 11-14.

[222] Neo-Assyrian royal beards always have several rows of spiral curls from cheek to chin. Assurnasirpal: A. Moortgat, *The Art of Ancient Mesopotamia*, trans. J. Filson (London: Phaidon, 1969), pl. 259 and A. Parrot, *Assur* (Paris: Librairie Gallimard, 1961), pl. 19; Shalmaneser III: Ibid., pls. 16-17; Sargon: Ibid., pl. 15; Assurbanipal: Ibid., pl. 65.

Regretfully, I am compelled to suggest that the Hamadan head may be modern. In particular, the anomalous rendition of the top of the moustache is a most disturbing feature which cannot be paralleled in Assyrian or Achaemenid art. It is difficult to suppose, therefore, that it would be found in a Median tradition of monumental stonework; and most unlikely that it could be found in a colossal sculpture commissioned by any Achaemenid king.

Catalogue Entry XII

ACHAEMENID COINS

Selected Bibliography:

Schlumberger, D. *L'argent grec dans l'empire achéménide.* Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1953.
Noe, S.P. "Two Hoards of Persian Sigloi". *NNM* 136, 1956.
Robinson, E.S.G. "The Beginnings of Achaemenid Coinage". *NC* 18, 1958, 187-193.
Photographs: Pl. 33.

Description

The following discussion concerns only those coin series struck by the Persian king[224].

---

[223] E.g., Farkas, *Achaemenid Sculpture*, 25, 31, 35-37, 84-86.

[224] Several provincial issues bear on their reverses types derived from Achaemenid art which may have been intended to allude to Achaemenid imperial authority. But these are not official Achaemenid imperial coins and cannot be considered part of the Achaemenid programmatic repertoire. In addition to variations on the standard types found on official Achaemenid coins, the reverse types on these provincial series show a crowned figure in Persian court dress engaged in the following activities: hunting from a chariot, standing in a chariot with an attendant behind the chariot, and fighting a lion. See B.V. Head, *The Coinage of Lydia and Persia* (San Diego: Pegasus Publishing Co., n.d.), 31-52, for a catalogue of these series. H. Seyrig, "Antiquités syriennes", *Syria* 36, 1959, 52-56, for a critique of the identification as the Persian King of the crowned figures on these reverse types. And D. Schlumberger, "La coiffure du grand roi", *Syria* 48, 1971, 375-383, for a refutation of Seyrig. Schlumberger maintains that the reverse types on these provincial issues do indeed represent the Achaemenid king, or king concept.

Achaemenid coinage of official imperial issue was developed during the reign of Darius, as Herodotus notes (IV. 166). The gold darics and the silver sigloi bore the same identifying symbols of the realm. There were four types—all struck only on the obverse, with reverse bearing only the incuse. The four types are: (1) royal figure carrying bow in l., spear in r.; (2) royal figure shooting bow; (3) royal figure carrying bow in l., dagger in r.; (4) royal figure carrying bow in l., two arrows in r.[225]

In all types the royal figure wears a crown with spike-like projections at the top, the Persian court robe, and a long beard[226]. Types (1)-(3) show the figure full length, either kneeling or in the archaic kneeling-running posture. Type (4) shows the figure half-length. In all cases the figure faces right.

Reflecting the limited nature of the Achaemenid numismatic repertoire, the Greeks sometimes referred to Persian imperial coin as "archers" much as Athenians sometimes called their own coin "owls" because of the type on its reverse.

I think there can be no doubt that the archers on Achaemenid coins are meant to represent the king, at least to the extent of symbolizing the concept of kingship[227]. On the other hand, it is clear that the Achaemenid kings had no interest in developing their coin as a vehicle for any *personalized* expression of kingship. In stark contrast are the portrait coins of the satrap Tissaphernes, for instance[228].

In point of fact, Achaemenid imperial issue did not circulate widely. The imperial coinage seems not to have functioned significantly in the internal economy of the Achaemenid Empire. Achaemenid kings needed it primarily to pay western mercenaries and to purchase allies[229]. Perhaps this is why the official coinage was never developed as an art form.

---

[225] G.K. Jenkins, *Ancient Greek Coins* (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1972), figs. 121, 116, 122, and 117, respectively.

[226] The one coin which shows a beardless figure is a frequently noted exception which is generally considered to have been an unofficial coin of Cyrus the Younger. Ibid., fig. 119.

[227] Though cf. Seyrig, "Antiquités syriennes", 54f., who implies that he questions the validity of the identification with the king of any representations of the crowned personage in Achaemenid glyptic and perhaps also in Achaemenid coinage. More will be said about this issue in the course of Chapter VIII.

[228] W. Schwabacher, "Satrapenbildnisse. Zum neuen Münzporträt des Tissaphernes". *Charites: Studien zum Altertumswissenschaft* (Bonn: Athenäum-Verlag, 1957), 27-32.

Date

None of the Achaemenid royal coin types bears an inscription. Thus stylistic analysis and the evaluation of hoard evidence are the only two potential means either of dating specific coins to specific rulers or of establishing precisely the dates by which each of the four coin types had been introduced[230]. For our purposes it is only the second aspect which is particularly relevant.

Recent hoard analyses have suggested that the types of the king shooting and the king half-length holding arrows had been introduced by 500 B.C., while the other two types appear to have been introduced after 490 B.C.[231]

Catalogue Entry XIII

"OFFICIAL" ACHAEMENID SEALS

Selected Bibliography:

Schmidt, E. *Persepolis*, II. OIP, LXIX. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957, 4-8.

Bivar, A.D.H. "A Persian Monument at Athens ...". *W.B. Henning Memorial Volume*. Edited by M. Boyce and I. Gershevitch. London: Lund Humphries, 1970, 43-61.

Photographs: Pl. 34.

Description

Admittedly we are faced with a problem when we attempt to define what constitutes an "official" Achaemenid seal. In point of fact, we have no seal which can be described as the actual seal of the Persian king or the Persian Empire[232]. It seems likely, however, that the king did possess his own seal—though we do not know whether or not this would have been a "dynastic seal" passed from one king to the next. A passage in the book of Esther creates a vivid scenario involving the use of the king's personal seal, as Ahasuerus [Xerxes I] agrees to authorize a "pogrom":

---

[229] Note D. Schlumberger, *L'argent grec dans l'empire achéménide* (Paris: imprimerie nationale, 1953), as an important analysis of circulation and hoard distribution.

[230] Note S.P. Noe, "Two Hoards of Persian Sigloi", *NNM* 136, 1956—a good example of how hoard evidence may be used in an attempt to refine our understanding of the dating of stylistic differences within coins of the same type.

[231] Ibid., and E.S.G. Robinson, "The Beginnings of Achaemenid Coinage", *NC* 18, 1958, 187-193. On the study of coin hoards in general see S.P. Noe, "Hoard Evidence and its Importance", Hesperia Supplement, VIII (Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1949), 235-242, and C.M. Kraay, *Greek Coins and History* (London: Methuen, 1969), Chapter Three.

> ... So the king took his signet ring from his hand and gave it to Haman the Agagite, the son of Hammedatha, the enemy of the Jews.
>
> Then the king's secretaries were summoned on the thirteenth day of the first month, and an edict, according to all that Haman commanded, was written to the king's satraps and to the governors over all the provinces and to the princes of all the peoples, to every province in its own script and every people in its own language; it was written in the name of King Ahasuerus and sealed with the king's ring. (Esther: 3.11-12)

But, though we do not have the king's personal seal or *the* Achaemenid state seal, we do have a significant number of seals (or, more often, sealings) which were used by high officials in the transaction of court business.Thanks to the corpora of impressions on dated administrative tablets from the Persepolis Treasury and Fortification, we now have the data with which to begin to correlate information on specific officials and their offices with the types of transactions they ratified using specific seals. Hallock has already suggested some aspects of the evidence offered by the Fortification tablets as these relate to their sealings[233]. It is clear that many of the seals used on these tablets are employed as *office* seals—not as the *personal* seals of the officials themselves. Of these office seals, some were obviously not commissioned by the Achaemenid court for this purpose, being a heterogeneous assortment of antique and foreign types. But many others may indeed have been so commissioned. I am presently preparing for publication a study of the Fortification tablet seal impressions. Once the wealth of information available within this corpus has been recorded and made accessible we shall be in a much better position to suggest possible relationships between seal motif and seal use in the Achaemenid Period.

---

[232] A.D.H. Bivar suggests that a variant of the royal hero motif was the emblem used on the king's seal: "A Persian Monument at Athens, and its Connections with the Achaemenid State Seals", *W.B. Henning Memorial Volume*, ed. M. Boyce and I. Gershevitch (London: Lund Humphries, 1970), 43-61. See Schmidt, *Persepolis*, II, 7; and G.G. Cameron, *Persepolis Treasury Tablets*, OIP, LXV (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948), 55 and 58.

[233] R.T. Hallock, "The Evidence of the Persepolis Tablets", *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Advance Fascicule of Vol. II (Cambridge: The University Press, 1971), and "The Use of Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets", in *Seals and Sealings in the Ancient Near East*, ed. M. Gibson and R.D. Biggs, forthcoming.

In the interim, it seems most appropriate here to propose a narrow criterion for what constitutes an "official" seal—a criterion which has the theoretical potential to insure our inclusion of only those seals which were apparently *commissioned* specifically for use as Achaemenid court *office* seals.

There are fifteen seal types known to me at present which definitely bear an Achaemenid royal name—including those impressed on Fortification tablets 1-2087. The following catalogue is limited to this small group of seal types—though various aspects of a wider selection of seals used at the Achaemenid court will also be discussed during the course of this study as they relate to problems of the representations of the king and kingship in monumental Achaemenid art.

(1) *Cylinder seal of Cyrus I, impressed on Persepolis Fortification tablets* 692-695 and 2033 (seal no. 93): Figure on horseback wearing riding tunic and trousers about to spear fleeing figure while two corpses lie under horse. Elamite inscription: "Cyrus of Anshan, son of Teispes".[234]

(2) *Cylinder seal of Darius I, from Thebes*: Figure in dentate crown wearing Persian robe engaged in lion hunt from chariot. Ahuramazda overhead faces right, as does the royal figure. Flanking palm trees. Scene placed on ground line. Trilingual inscription: "Darius the Great King"[235].

(3) *Cylinder seal of Darius I, impressed on Persepolis Fortification tablets 614, 672, 674-78, 1182, 1813-28, 2069 (Darius yr. 19-25; seal no. 11)*: Figure in Persian robe and dentate crown faces altar. Holds in l. a staff; r. raised in greeting/blessing. Same figure is shown in mirror image on other side of altar. Ahuramazda (pose indeterminate) above. Palm tree. Inscribed with name of Darius as king.

---

[234] See Amiet, "La glyptique de la fin d'Elam", fig. 28; and Hallock, "The Use of Seals". Though this seal dates to Cyrus I and is therefore pre-Achaemenid Empire I feel justified in including it here because it is such important evidence of a continuity of tradition from the period of pre-Empire Achaemenid vassal kings well into the Empire period (on levels of both form and use).

[235] J. Yoyotte, "La provenance du cylindre de Darius, [BM 89.132]", *RA* 46, 1952, 165-167. D.J. Wiseman, *Cylinder Seals of Western Asia* (London: Batchworth Press, 1958), pl. 100.

(4) *Cylinder seal of Darius I, impressed on Persepolis Fortification tablets 697-709, 711-27, 2034 (Darius yr. 19-27; seal no. 7)*: Hero in tucked Persian robe wears crenelated crown. Faces r. while grasping on either side a rampant winged bull (who faces hero) by the horn. Ahuramazda above. Framing palm trees. Inscribed with name of Darius as king. This seal is very similar to Persepolis Treasury seal no. 11—where the extant impressions of that corpus do not preserve an inscription (see Schmidt, *Persepolis*, II, 23 and pl. 5).

(5) *Cylinder seal of Darius I, impressed on Persepolis Fortification tablets 864-5, 879 (Darius yr. 27-28; seal no. 113)*: Hero in tucked Persian robe wears crown. Grasps on either side a rampant man-bull (crowned and winged) whose face is turned away. Palm tree. Inscription in name of Darius as king. This seal is identical with Persepolis Treasury seal no. 4, where no inscription is preserved in extant impressions. In the Treasury corpus it is identified as the seal of Baradkama, used on tablets dating from Darius year 32-Xerxes year 7. (See Schmidt, *Persepolis*, II, 20 and pl. 4).

(6) *Cylinder seal of Darius I, impressed on Persepolis Treasury tablets (Xerxes yr. 2-4; seal no. 1)*: Hero figure with~~out~~ crown in Persian robe stands on winged man-bull facing l., about to slay rampant lion monster also standing on winged man-bull. Palm trees behind monster, followed by inscription, trilingual: "I am Darius [the King]"[236].

(7) *Cylinder seal of Darius I, impressed on Persepolis Treasury tablets (Xerxes yr. 4-20; seal no. 2)*: Hero with dentate crown, in Persian robe, stands between two rearing lion monsters. Framed by palm trees. Ahuramazda over king. Inscription, trilingual: "I am Darius [the King]"[237].

(8) *Cylinder seal of Darius I, impressed on Persepolis Treasury tablets (n.d.; seal no. 3)*: Hero in dentate crown wearing Persian robe holds two lions each by a rear paw. Palm tree and trilingual inscription: "I am Darius [the King]"[238].

ADD PFS 1683*

OP

(9) *Cylinder seal of Xerxes, impressed on Persepolis Treasury tablets (Xerxes yr. 19 - Artaxerxes I yr. 5; seal no. 5)*: Hero in dentate crown, wearing Persian robe, holds two rearing winged man-bulls

---

[236] Schmidt, *Persepolis*, II, 7-8 and pl. 3.

[237] Ibid., pl. 3.

[238] Ibid., pl. 3.

each by one fore-hoof. Winged disc above. Palm tree; inscription, Old Persian only: "Xerxes the Great King"[239].

OP

(10) *Cylinder seal of Xerxes, impressed on Persepolis Treasury tablets (Xerxes yr. 15-18; seal no. 6)*: Hero in dentate crown wearing Persian robe stands on heads of two facing man-bulls (crouching). Grasps two lions each by a rear paw. Winged disc overhead. Framing palm trees. Old Persian inscription: "I [am] Xerxes the king"[240].

Tri

(11) *Cylinder seal of Xerxes, impressed on Persepolis Treasury label (n.d.; seal no. 7)*: Hero in dentate crown wearing Persian robe grasps two flanking winged bulls each by a horn. Flanking palm tree(s). Trilingual inscription: "Xerxes ... [the Great King?]"[241].

OP winged OP disk

(12) *Cylinder seal of Xerxes, impressed on Persepolis Treasury tablets (Xerxes yr. 20; seal no. 8)*: Hero in dentate crown wearing Persian robe appears twice in heraldic composition. Grasps rearing lion by forelock while stabbing him in belly. Flanking palm trees. Old Persian inscription: "I [am] Xerxes the king"[242] [Pl. 34a].

OP

(13) Cylinder seal of Xerxes, impressed on thirty bullae from Daskyleion: Royal hero in dentate crown holds rampant lion monster by horn with l., dagger at side in r. At left is palm tree and Old Persian inscription: "I am Xerxes, the king"[243].

(14) *Cylinder seal of Xerxes, impressed on several bullae from Daskyleion*: Two crowned man-bulls below a winged disc. Palm tree behind left man-bull. Inscription beside tree in alternating Old Persian and Babylonian: "I am Xerxes, the king"[244].

ADD: New Daskyleion OP [illegible]

(15) *Cylinder seal of Artaxerxes (III?) in Moscow.* Figure in crown (dentate?) wearing Persian robe and holding long staff pulls three bound prisoners behind him by a rope. Palm tree. Old Persian Inscription: "I am Artaxerxes the great King"[245] [Pl. 34b].

ADD Seal of Artaxerxes in Newell Coll. (See 1944 p. 100)

---

[239] Ibid., pl. 4.

[240] Ibid., pl. 4.

[241] Ibid., pl. 4.

[242] Ibid., pl. 5.

[243] K. Balkan, "Inscribed Bullae from Daskyleion-Ergili", *Anatolia* 4, 1959, 124f (1), pl. XXXIII, a. Eighty-six additional bullae are impressed with the apparently identical seal—where the left edge (with the inscription) is not preserved (pl. XXXIII, b).

[244] Ibid., 125f. (2), pl. XXXIII, c and d.

[245] A.S. Strelkov, "The Moscow Artaxerxes Cylinder Seal", *BAIIAA* 5, 1937, 17-21. Strelkov assigns the seal to the third Artaxerxes. Though cf. Dandamaev, who attributes it to Artaxerxes I: *Persien unter der ersten Achaemeniden*, trans. H.-D. Pohl (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert, 1976).

Catalogue Entry XIV

RELIGIOUS MONUMENTS IN EGYPT

The canal stelae of Darius and the Egyptian-made statue of Darius from Susa (Catalogue Entries IV and V, respectively) are monuments of a primarily imperial nature[246]. While they were made in Egypt, it is clear that the traditional iconography they present has been altered to suit Achaemenid political concepts. And the king himself is depicted as a Persian.

Other monuments do exist, however, which should be catalogued here, for the sake of completeness, since they too show representations of the king. These monuments are all religious. They consist of (1) two stelae from the Serapeum at Memphis (one of Cambyses and the other of Darius), and (2) Darius' Temple of Hibis in el Khargeh Oasis. The sculptures preserved on these monuments depict the Persian king as a traditional Egyptian pharaoh performing purely Egyptian rites. Thus they are in a class apart from the Achaemenid political monuments; and they suggest that in strictly religious matters the image-making of the king was left up to the temple authorities. The Persian king had no desire to impose his own religious beliefs upon the Egyptians. On the contrary, he knew well the political importance of assuming the traditional role of pharaoh in religious matters[247].

---

[246] Within the Egyptian context proper it is often misleading to distinguish sharply between the "political", the "imperial", and the "religious". But from what we can tell about the Persian kings in Egypt, a certain level of distinction is valid. The statue of Darius—though originally intended to stand outside a temple—was first and foremost a monument advertising the ethos and the glories of the Persian Empire.

[247] See Atkinson, "Legitimacy", 167-177, and esp. 168. Atkinson remarks on the importance to Cambyses of claiming legitimacy to the Egyptian kingdom by representing himself as the pharaoh. Atkinson's discussion on 176-177 of Darius not needing to base his claim to Egypt upon traditional grounds does not alter the fact that the archaeological evidence shows Darius to have been willing to have himself portrayed as the true pharaoh in full Egyptian style on religious monuments. Under Darius, then, we see an interesting mixture of trends. He imposed the Persian system of dating upon the temple scribes (see below, on the Apis-stele of Darius), thus tampering seriously with Egyptian tradition. But, on the other hand, he had no qualms about having himself represented as a worshiper of the Egyptian pantheon on the walls of the Temple of Hibis.

A. THE APIS-STELAE OF CAMBYSES AND DARIUS

Selected Bibliography:

Posener, G. *La première domination perse en Egypte.* Bibliothèque d'étude, XI. Cairo: Impr. de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1936, 30-35 and pls. II-III.

Atkinson, K.M.T. "The Legitimacy of Cambyses and Darius as Kings of Egypt". *JAOS* 76, 1956, 167-177.

Photograph: Pl. 35.

Description

Following Egyptian custom, Cambyses and Darius each had a stele made for the Serapeum at Memphis on the occasion of the death of an Apis bull. Both are now in the Louvre[248]. They are of approximately the same dimensions (Cambyses': H., 66 cm., W., 44 cm., Th., 9 cm.; Darius': H., 80 cm., W., 44 cm., Th., 10 cm.). And their general format, adhering closely to an earlier Dynasty 26 model commissioned by Amasis, is the same[249]. Likewise, their texts follow closely that of Amasis' Apis epitaph[250]. The upper third of each stele is occupied by a representation of the Persian king (in Egyptian dress) kneeling and facing right toward an offering table. The deceased Apis bull is shown approaching the table from the right. Above the figure of Cambyses three columns of hieroglyphs give his Egyptian titles as king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the good god, the lord of the Two Lands[251]. Behind him the pharaoh's "Ka" carries his Horus name[252]. The stele of Darius is similar, but here the banner reserved for the Horus name has not been inscribed[253].

---

[248] Cambyses': 354; Darius': 357.

[249] Posener, *Première domination perse*, 30. Posener notes that the workmanship is less refined on the Persian Period monuments. For the Amasis stele see E. Chassinat, "Textes provenant du Sérapéum de Memphis", *Recueil de Travaux* 22, 1900, 20.

[250] Posener, *Première domination perse*, 30.

[251] Ibid., 31.

[252] Ibid.

[253] Ibid., 37 and 176, and pl. III. Posener suggests that Darius had not yet arrived in Egypt when the stele was made and had therefore not yet had a Horus name composed. The conferring of a prenomen is considered to have been part of a coronation ceremony, so that unless (or until) a king actually came to Egypt to be crowned, he would in theory receive no Horus name. See H.E. Winlock, *The Temple of Hibis in el Khargeh Oasis*, I, PMMA, XIII (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1941), 7.

Date

The stele of Cambyses is dated on the basis of the date given for the death of the Apis bull being commemorated: "the sixth year of Cambyses, third month of 'summer', day 10 (?)"[254]. Posener placed Cambyses' sixth year in 524 B.C. But Atkinson, determining that Cambyses used the Egyptian method of reckoning regnal years on Egyptian monuments, suggests that it was 525[255]. The stele of Darius commemorates an Apis bull who died in year four of Darius (518)—reckoned by the Persian system of dating which Darius, unlike Cambyses, used also in Egypt[256].

B. THE TEMPLE OF HIBIS, EL KHARGEH OASIS

Selected Bibliography:

Winlock, H.E. *The Temple of Hibis in el Khargeh Oasis*, I. PMMA, XIII. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1941.

Davies, N. de G. *The Temple of Hibis in el Khargeh Oasis*, III. PMMA, XVII. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1953.

Schmidt, E. *Persepolis*, I. OIP, LXVIII. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953, 26-27.

Plan: Fig. 17.

Drawing of relief: Pl. 36.

Description

The ancient city of Hibis was situated in el Khargeh Oasis, about 200 km. west of the Nile in Upper Egypt. In antiquity, the temple of Amon stood in the center of this oasis caravan town—a settlement which thrived in the Persian Period as a result of extensive qanat irrigation[257]. Darius built his temple on the site of an earlier sanctuary. His construction was later added to by Achoris (c. 390), Nectanebo I and II (378-341) and Ptolemy II (c. 275).

The temple faces east. A shallow enclosed porch leads into the central hall—a roughly square court supported by four pillars. Smaller chambers open onto this hall from the north and south sides. Aligned with the front doorway of the temple is a sanctuary ("A" on the plan) at the back of the building. Flanking this sanctuary are addi-

---

[254] Atkinson, "Legitimacy", 170. (Posener, *Première domination perse*, 30).

[255] Atkinson, "Legitimacy", 169-171.

[256] Ibid., 170. Posener, *Première domination perse*, 36.

[257] Olmstead, *Persian Empire*, 224; Winlock, *The Temple of Hibis*, I, 8.

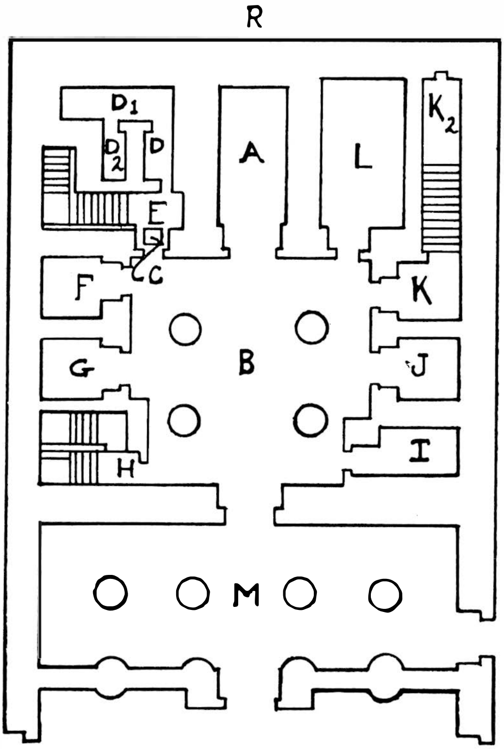


Fig. 17. — The Temple of Hibis: Persian Period.

tional rooms. Stairways in the northwest and southwest rooms lead to a second story. The basic groundplan of the temple has been compared to that of the Palace of Darius at Persepolis[258]; and in addition, it is noteworthy that the cavetto mouldings, the style of the sculpted winged discs and the floral decoration of some of the composite column capitals from the Hibis temple are closely related to forms which appear in Persia for the first time under Darius[259]. All of this suggests not that the Temple of Hibis itself influenced Darius' planning at Persepolis, of course—but that Egyptian temple architecture of the Late Period (of which Hibis is the best extant example) certainly did provide models for the designers of the Achaemenid palaces of Darius and his successors.

---

[258] Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, 26-27.

[259] Winlock, *The Temple of Hibis*, I, pl. XXXI: cavetto cornice; pl. XVIII, B: winged disc; pl. XIX, A: column capital (type of floral ornament transferred to bases of Achaemenid columns: e.g., Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, fig. 39, D).

The walls of the sanctuary (A) are covered with sculpture executed in coarse high relief[260]. In register after register Darius is shown as the Egyptian king presenting offerings to files of deities who appear in a multitude of variant guises. The scenes decorating the other rooms of the temple are in a shallow sunk relief.

In the central court the offering scenes continue, and scenes of the coronation of Darius, in the Egyptian manner, appear as well. In symbolic ways, Darius receives gifts from the gods—such as the breath of life with which Mut endows him on the east wall, south re-entrant[261].

The reliefs in Room F, off the central court, mainly concern investitures in which Darius receives power over all cultivated and desert lands; in which he has his name written on a leaf of the tree of life; and in which Ptah blesses the king for erecting "this beautiful and pure monument"[262]. In Room G Darius presents offerings to members of the pantheon[263]. Texts inscribed on the reveals of the door mention that Darius made the temple splendid with the products of the mountains[264].

Walls of the second floor rooms are also covered with reliefs. In Room K2, for instance, a composition represented on both the north and south walls shows Darius presenting more offerings to various gods, while below, two rows of twenty-four figures representing the nomes of Lower and Upper Egypt respectively kneel with baskets of plenty [Pl. 36][265].

It is impossible to present a comprehensive summary of the reliefs depicted on the walls of the Temple of Hibis. I have attempted only to give an idea of the type of representation found there. Aside from Davies' descriptive volume on the temple's sculpture, no study of it has been made. This is, perhaps, partly because the temple is often inaccessible for study for reasons of military security. An iconographical analysis of the reliefs is much to be desired. This sculpture (the only extant complete decorative system of religious reliefs stemming from the Saite tradition) must contain a great deal of information on the religious syncretism of the preceding dynasty[266].

---

[260] Davies, *The Temple of Hibis*, III, 72-73 and pls. 2-6.

[261] Ibid., pl. 13.

[262] Ibid., pl. 17.

[263] Ibid., pl. 18.

[264] Ibid., pl. 19.

[265] Ibid., pls. 24-25.

Date

Winlock systematically excludes the notion that any but the first Darius could be the king by that name who is heralded over and over on inscriptions as the builder of the temple[267]. Following Burchardt's theory on the evolution of the orthography of the name Darius in Egyptian (and the use of this theory as a chronological guide), Winlock suggests that the temple would not have been decorated before about 490 B.C.[268] Although this dating criterion is open to question on some points, Winlock's conclusions are probably correct nevertheless. Eleven inscriptions of Khaemibre (Chief of All Works under Darius and Xerxes) at the quarries of Wadi Hammamat are actually dated to the reign of Darius. Eight of the eleven give a specific year : two to year 26, three to year 27, one to year 28 and two to year 30[269]. It is likely that this spurt of activity in the Hammamat quarries which is suggested by Khaemibre's many graffiti there was directly related to the construction of the Temple of Hibis (though Khaemibre never mentions what building he is quarrying for)[270]. Thus construction may have started around 496 B.C. and continued for several years before the temple was ready to receive decoration.

---

[266] See remarks of J.A. Wilson, in a review of *The Temple of Hibis*, III, by N. de G. Davies : *AJA* 60, 1956, 70.

[267] Winlock, *The Temple of Hibis*, I, 7-9, for a discussion of dating.

[268] For a discussion of the dating criterion used by Winlock, see Catalogue Entry IV.

[269] Posener, *Première domination perse*, 88-116, for the graffiti of Khaemibre. Note that Khaemibre was already Chief of All Works at least as early as year 44 of Amasis.

[270] The Persian official Atiyaouahy (Governor of Coptos, a "Saris" of Persia) records two visits to Wadi Hammamat in the reign of Darius—once in year 26 and again in year 36. Nothing in his inscriptions betrays his reasons for stopping in the quarries, despite G. Goyon's unexplained statement (see below) that this Atiyaouahy was charged with supplying stone from the Hammamat quarries for construction of the Temple of Hibis. See Posener, *Première domination perse*, 117-119, for the year 36 graffito, and 179 (Posener suggests that perhaps Atiyaouahy was passing through Hammamat en route to the Red Sea). And see G. Goyon, *Nouvelles inscriptions rupestres du Wadi Hammamat* (Paris : Imprimerie nationale, 1957), 118-120 and 28, no. 109, for the graffito of year 26.

Addendum to the Catalogue

TEXTS REFERRING TO ROYAL ACHAEMENID SCULPTURE

(1) Herodotus VII.69 : Darius commissioned an image of hammered gold to be made of his wife Artystone[271].

(2) Herodotus III.88 : Darius' first act upon becoming king was to erect a stone monument with a carving of a man on horseback, and the following inscription: "Darius, son of Hystaspes, by the virtue of his horse and of his groom Oebares, won the kingdom of Persia".

(3) Aramaic letter from Prince Aršam, the Persian satrap of Egypt in the late fifth century, concerning his Egyptian sculptor (Driver, *Aramaic Documents*, no. IX): ordering the copying of sculptures previously made of a horse with its rider.

(4) Plutarch, *Alexander* 37.3: A statue of Xerxes was overturned by Alexander's soldiers at Persepolis.

Discussion

(1) This reference suggests that, as we might expect, statuary in metal was not uncommon at the Persian court. We would not expect to recover such monuments; and we can only speculate on the appealing possibility that Darius' statue of Artystone (or others of the royal family) may have continued the Elamite tradition of female sculpture so superbly exemplified by the cast bronze statue of Napirasu [Pl. 66].

(2) and (3) Whether or not Darius really commissioned a monument to his horse and his groom, Herodotus' story suggests that sculptural representations of a man on horseback (and perhaps specifically the *king* on horseback) might well have formed an important part of the Achaemenid repertoire. Herodotus tells us that every young Persian was taught three main things : to ride, to draw the bow, and to speak the truth (Herodotus I.136). And indeed Darius himself seems to echo a tradition of these virtuous activities in his tomb inscription :

> ... I am not a friend to the man who is a lie-follower.
>
> ...

---

[271] For references to Artaxerxes II's statues of the goddess Anahita, see Olmstead, *Persian Empire*, 471, n. 50.

> Trained I am both with hands and with feet. As a horseman I am a good horseman. As a bowman I am a good bowman both afoot and on horseback. As a spearman I am a good spearman both afoot and on horseback. (DNb)[272]

The seal of Cyrus I from the Persepolis Fortification tablet corpus (see Catalogue Entry XIII) may represent the king whose name is inscribed on the seal. On other *uninscribed* seals, satrapal coin issues, and luxury objects belonging to aristocratic Persians, the horse and rider motif is well documented[273]. The Aramaic letter of Aršam shows that the motif was rendered in monumental forms as well.

In this context it is interesting to note that we have no Achaemenid representations of the Persian king wearing the Iranian riding habit —except (possibly) for the representation on the Cyrus seal. The portrayal of Darius III on the Alexander mosaic documents the fact that the king did wear the tunic and trousers in battle[274]. And we know from Herodotus, as well as from the tribute procession reliefs at Persepolis, (Chapter VI, *infra*) that the riding habit was considered a gift of honor among the Persian aristocracy.

(4) The only free-standing Achaemenid sculpture recovered from Persepolis has been of animal figures: séjant canines, couchant lions, standing bulls, and standing ibexes. There may well have been royal statues also, however. Schmidt notes depressions in the Treasury porticoes 18 and 20—suggesting that they may have been prepared for statue bases at either side of the doors leading to Courtyard 17[275]; and four depressions in the top of the western wall of the Persepolis terrace[276].

---

[272] Kent, *Old Persian*, 140.

[273] See A. Farkas, "The Horse and Rider in Achaemenid Art", *Persica* 4, 1969, 57-76.

[274] G. Becatti, *The Art of Ancient Greece and Rome*, trans. J. Ross (New York: Harry N. Abrams, n.d.), fig. 207.

[275] Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, 171.

[276] Ibid., 81.

III

HIERARCHICAL ORDER : THE KING ON HIGH

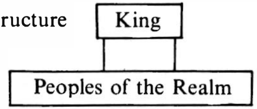
Representations of the king in some manner placed aloft, above personifications of the lands of his realm, occur on the following Achaemenid monuments : the statue of Darius from Susa [Pls. 10-11], the tomb facades of Darius and his successors [Pls. 12, 13a, 14], the Central Building of Darius (east doorjambs) [Pl. 25a], and the Throne Hall of Xerxes-Artaxerxes (two sets of south doorjambs) [Pl. 29a]. The representation on the Throne Hall north doorjambs, showing the king placed above his honorguards, may be considered a variation of the more common hierarchical theme [Pl. 29b]—more similar in symbolic impact to the representation of Darius above personifications of the nomes of Egypt, as seen in the Temple of Hibis [Pl. 36].

The conceptual essence of this representational type is, in most basic terms, the visual expression of a *particular relationship* of the king to the peoples of his realm, to the peoples whom he has brought under his control.

In Achaemenid art it will be seen that this relationship is consistently expressed as a cooperative effort of voluntary support of the king by the subject peoples. The internal imagery for these portrayals of the imperial relationship is, furthermore, carefully designed to convey the aura of a sacral covenant between king and subjects.

These Achaemenid sculptures stand in stark contrast to a Near Eastern tradition which also makes use of the basic representational structure of the king above figures symbolic of his domain in order to express a succinct vision of imperial ethos and hierarchy. The Near Eastern prototypes for the Achaemenid theme consistently stress the subjugation of the peoples by the king and express the relationship between the king and his domain below as one of antagonism.

Interestingly, neither the Achaemenid nor the traditional Near Eastern way of representing the imperial hierarchy and power relationship attempts to portray the actual complexities of the imperial situation. In each case we are dealing with art, and art designed to portray kingship as the king wished it to be viewed. In Fig. 18 I have presented visual paradigms for both the traditional Near Eastern

Given that the representational structure 

King
Peoples of the Realm

 expresses a hierarchical relationship in which King is more powerful than Peoples of the Realm, there are various ways in which the internalities of this relationship might be perceived/portrayed. (A) is the most realistic. (B) and (C) are perceptions/portrayals which stress only isolated aspects of the paradoxical complexities of the power relationship.

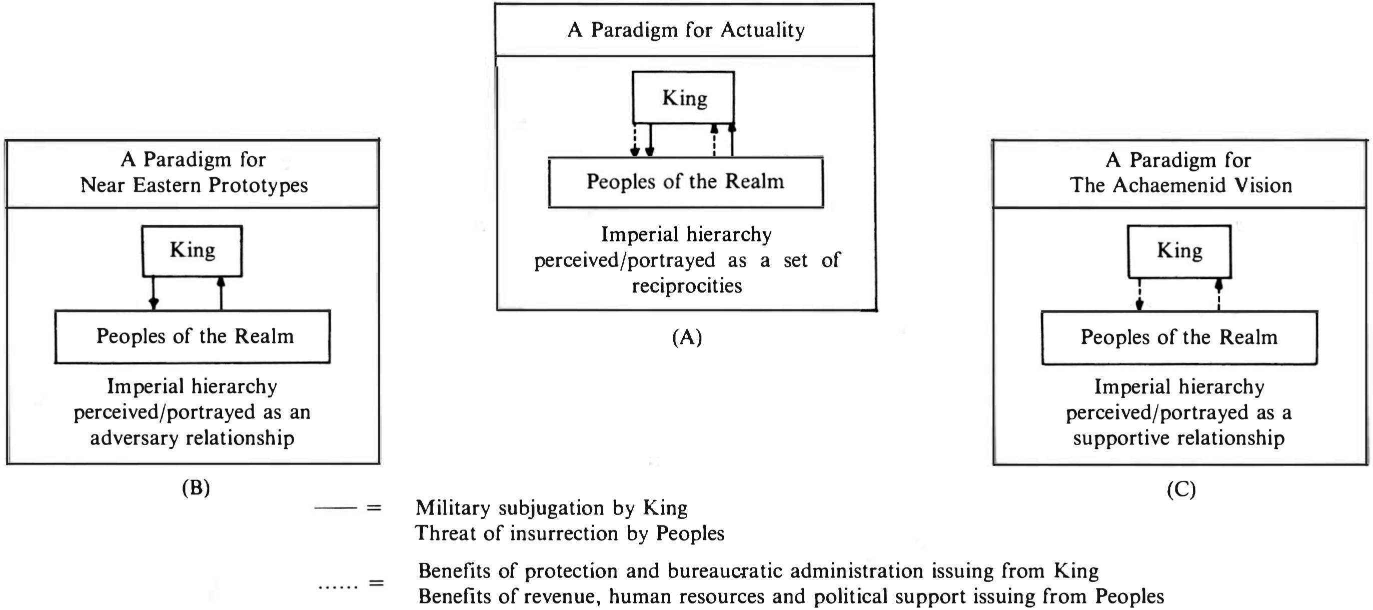

A Paradigm for Actuality
King
Peoples of the Realm
Imperial hierarchy perceived/portrayed as a set of reciprocities
(A)
A Paradigm for Near Eastern Prototypes
King
Peoples of the Realm
Imperial hierarchy perceived/portrayed as an adversary relationship
(B)
A Paradigm for The Achaemenid Vision
King
Peoples of the Realm
Imperial hierarchy perceived/portrayed as a supportive relationship
(C)
—— = Military subjugation by King
Threat of insurrection by Peoples
...... = Benefits of protection and bureaucratic administration issuing from King
Benefits of revenue, human resources and political support issuing from Peoples

Fig. 18. — Paradigms of Imperial Hierarchy

and the Achaemenid portrayals of the imperial power relationship—as these are diametrically opposed to one another and equally deviant from a suggested paradigm of actuality.

In this chapter I shall present a survey of Near Eastern representations of the king placed above figures symbolizing his imperial domain, in order to reveal the range of prototypes from which the Achaemenids might conceivably have derived their own vision. This will illustrate just how unique the Achaemenid conceptualization of the imperial relationship is within the Near Eastern tradition. Then I shall examine the Achaemenid representations themselves in order better to understand their symbolic language and the intended meaning of the sculptures.

Mesopotamian Prototypes : Pious Subjugation

A series of monuments from the Akkadian and neo-Sumerian Periods portray a monarch standing above figures of his defeated enemies.

Two statues from Susa, probably belonging to Manishtusu (2306-2292 B.C.), show the ruler in an attitude of piety which effectively foils the relief below. On the base of each statue the nude corpses of conquered foes lie dramatically at the feet of the monarch [Pl. 37]. The enemy figures are labeled as rulers of specific conquered states[1]. Monuments such as these were votive offerings to gods and were placed within the temple. Thus, although their purpose was not propagandistic in the sense we are accustomed to understand, they were designed to act as conveyors of an essentially political message directed where it mattered the most : they informed the patron deity of all the king had done in the god's name[2].

---

[1] P. Amiet, "Les statues de Manishtusu, roi d'Agadé", *RAssyr* 66, 1972, 97-109, for the latest publication of these monuments. See 103-106 for a description of the vanquished enemies and their labels appearing on the more completely preserved Sb48. Two other fragmentary monuments from Susa which are now in the Louvre are also of interest here. One is a cylindrical socle for a statuette mounted upon a base of mountain scales. Seven figures sit on the scales, backed up against the cylinder with their legs bent up and their hands (which may be bound together) placed on their knees. G. Contenau has noted that their hairstyle has a foreign appearance and that we should consider these figures as conquered enemies. He has assigned this piece to the end of the Akkadian Period or the beginning of the period of the reign of Gudea : *Manuel d'archéologie orientale*, I-IV (Paris : A. Picard, 1927-1947), 720 and fig. 512. Amiet ("Les statues de Manishtusu", 106 and figs. 9-11) publishes a fragment of a sculpted basin (?) (Louvre Sb9277) showing three nude figures seated with their wrists tied at their chests. They bear no inscriptions for identification and they do not seem to be ethnically differentiated by facial characteristics. After some debate, this monument has been attributed to the Akkadian Period.

The intended message of this type of sculpture (and the symbolism intended by the placement of the enemy figures underfoot) is explicitly articulated by information given in Babylonian copies of texts from the Akkadian Period which were originally inscribed on statues which must have been similar to those of Manishtusu[3]. A fragmentary copy of a text of Rimush (the brother of Manishtusu) preserves a list of several rulers followed by a tag phrase which seems to be the copyist's notation of the location of a representation of these defeated kings : "... Kikuid, priest-king of Lagash, Ushda, governor (On the lower pedestal, the step, the treading-place [?])"[4]. A similar inscription of Sargon, preserved only in a later copy, must also have originally belonged to a statue with its base carved in relief with labeled enemy figures :

> ... Lugalzaggisi king of Erech by an expedition he [Sargon] subjugated; into fetters he cast, at the gate of Enlil he placed him ... Whoever this image ... shall deface may Enlil his name destroy, his weapon may he break ! Before

---

[2] Cf. Frankfort, *Art and Architecture*, 45-46. The special political/religious nature of such votive statues with sculpted bases is noted by M.-Th. Barrelet, "La 'figure du roi' dans l'iconographie et dans les textes depuis Ur-Nanše jusqu'à la fin de la Ire Dynastie de Babylone", *CRRAI* 19, 1974, 36. Though cf. G. van Driel, "On 'Standard' and 'Triumphal' Inscriptions", *Symbolae Biblicae et Mesopotamicae Francisco Mario Theodoro de Liagre Böhl Dedicatae*, ed. M.A. Beek, et al. (Leiden : E.J. Brill, 1973), 105-106. Speaking of texts inscribed on Akkadian votive monuments, van Driel says, "Though the military bragging in these texts might suggest the term 'triumphal inscriptions', the inscriptions are dedicatory. Any suggestion that they are secular should be opposed". Yet I would still maintain that in ancient Mesopotamia the concepts of victory monument and religious monument were so intimately associated that van Driel's conceptual polarization of the triumphal and dedicatory aspects of a monumental text—a polarization brought about by labeling the former as secular (and therefore by implication as the *opposite* of religious)—is misleading. By the same token, neo-Assyrian annals written in the form of letters to the gods are undeniably political statements even as their literary genre suggests the ultimately dedicatory nature of the descriptions of political events. The political aspect of the relation of king to god in this context is illustrated by the fact that even in these epistles to the god the king might manipulate evidence deliberately to enhance his own image. See Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, 143-153.

[3] See E. Sollberger and J.-R. Kupper, *Inscriptions royales sumeriennes et akkadiennes* (Paris : Éditions du Cerf, 1971), 98, n. 1, and van Driel, "On 'Standard' and 'Triumphal' Inscriptions", 103-104.

[4] Barton, *Royal Inscriptions*, 122/123 (Rimush inscription G). E. Strommenger, "Das Menschenbild in der altmesopotamischen Rundplastik von Mesilim bis Hammurapi", *BagMitt* 1, 1960, 52, n. 340, has also drawn attention to the correlation of this text with the Akkadian series in a different context.

Enlil he has set it up. *Inscription on its pedestal in front of Lugalzaggisi written*: Sargon king of Agade, faithful overseer of Ishtar, king of Kish[5].

In the context of these texts and the Manishtusu statues with enemies underfoot, the famous victory stele of Manishtusu's son, Naramsin, seems less revolutionary than has often been suggested, and more comprehensible as a product of the Akkadian Period. On the stele, the abstracted metaphor of the Akkadian sculpture series with carved bases is transformed into a dynamic composition in which the act of conquest takes precedence over the pious and placid accounting of the victory to the god[6]. Although little is known of the dedicatory statuary of Naramsin, the meager evidence at hand suggests that his temple monuments carried on the traditions established by Sargon, Rimush and Manishtusu[7].

The famous statue of Ur-Ningirsu, now in the Louvre, stands apart in the Mesopotamian tradition of pious subjugation [Pl. 38][8]. Here again the royal figure is displayed with hands clasped. But beneath his feet, instead of slain enemies, two groups of four kneeling men converge toward the front of the circular statue base as they extend forward offerings in the form of baskets loaded with vessels. Details of hair and dress make it certain that these figures represent foreigners; but little attempt seems to have been made to differentiate the figures one from another as is done so assiduously on the Achaemenid reliefs. Only the last man in the right line distinguishes himself by being clean-shaven while the others wear short curly beards[9]. No labels accompany the representations. Thus we do not know whether these men were meant to depict anonymous "types" or specific rulers whose names were simply not inscribed.

It is difficult to interpret these foreign "ambassadors". The statue, as its brief inscription informs us, was dedicated to Ningirsu and set up in Ningirsu's temple (probably in Telloh). But the text offers no clue as to the identity or function of the figures in relief below the king[10]. Do the men bring gifts (tribute?) to Ur-Ningirsu or offerings to his patron deity?[11] In ancient Mesopotamia the distinction was perhaps not great—since any booty won by the king was gained for the glory of the god, in the king's persistent effort to be allowed a glorious and long life for himself[12]. The function of this type of statue as an intermediary between king and god is adequately summed up by a passage of text inscribed on a statue of Ur-Ningirsu's father, Gudea: "Gudea, the statue a word he spoke: 'may the statue (to) my king [i.e., Ningirsu] speak'."[13] And another sculptural inscription of Gudea might easily have found its place in an explanatory capacity on his son's carved statue base: "By the power of Nina [Nanshe], and by the power of Ningirsu, to Gudea, given the scepter by Ningirsu, Magan, Melukha, Gubi, and Dilmun brought great tribute"[14]. By the same token, the gift bearers could be thought of as bringing offerings to Ningirsu, the warrior of Enlil. This, in a way, would be the ultimate expression of Ur-Ningirsu's victory over the men below and his subsequent entitlement to praise from his god.

---

[5] Barton, *Royal Inscriptions*, 110/111-112/113 (Sargon inscription P). Cf. Sollberger and Kupper, *Inscriptions*, Sargon inscription IIAla, 97-98 and n. 5.

[6] Moortgat, *Mesopotamia*, pl. 155.

[7] We have part of a statue base with the feet of the ruler preserved (Ibid., 50 and pl. 152). The inscription (Barton, *Royal Inscriptions*, 142/143: statue A) describes and names the kings Naramsin subjugated and had bound. Possibly these foes were represented underfoot on the lower base, which is not preserved.

[8] Contenau, *Manuel*, 728 and figs. 509-511. Strommenger, "Das Menschenbild", 67. For good illustrations see Moortgat, *Mesopotamia*, pls. 175 and 176. For the head of this statue, which is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, see C.K. Wilkinson, "The Art of the Ancient Near East", *BMMA* 7, 1949, 190.

[9] F. Thureau-Dangin, "Statuettes de Tello", *Mon Piot* 27, 1924, 101 and pls. IX and X. It is to this beardless figure that Contenau must refer when he describes one man as having negroid characteristics (*Manuel*, 728).

Whatever the intended function of these gift bearers below Ur-Ningirsu, the visual scheme is apparently unique. Strommenger suggests that the figures on the base must be an archaizing feature—a deliberate recollection of the great Akkadian rulers' monuments[15]. But this does not explain the important difference between the naked, contorted Akkadian base figures and these foreign offering bearers. The latter approach a type of relationship with the figure above (and some relationship must be assumed) which we should expect to find between a royal worshiper and his god[16]. Thus we must view the

---

[10] Thureau-Dangin, "Statuettes", 104-105 for transliteration and translation of the text.

[11] Strommenger, "Das Menschenbild", 67, describes the figures as "knieenden Tributbringern (?)" but never elaborates on her parenthetical question mark.

[12] Barrelet, "La 'figure du roi'," 36.

[13] Barton, *Royal Inscriptions*, 187.

[14] Ibid., 191.

[15] Strommenger, "Das Menschenbild", 67.

[16] Cf. J. A. H. Potratz, *Die menschliche Rundskulptur in der sumero-akkadischen Kunst* (Leiden: Nederlands historisch-archeologisch Instituut, 1960), 9, who notes the thematic relationship between the sculpture on the base and the statue above. In this context note the unique statue of Gudea, Ur-Ningirsu's father, where again the ruler assumes a posture usually associated with deities: V. Scheil, "Nouvelles statues de

Ur-Ningirsu statue—at least in terms of present knowledge—as a unique departure from the mainstream of Mesopotamian art. It is not part of a representational *tradition* documented either in art or literature to which the planners of Achaemenid sculpture could have had access. The statues of Manishtusu were, on the other hand, treasured antiques displayed as war trophies at Susa, perhaps even until the destruction by Assurbanipal in 640.

Unfortunately, so little remains of the royal sculpture produced for the rulers of the Third Dynasty of Ur that we simply cannot say if the Akkadian penchant for carved bases like those of Manishtusu was revived by Ur-Nammu and his successors[17]. Information presently available indicates that after the statue of Ur-Ningirsu, the cultures of the Tigris/Euphrates Valley have yielded up no further instance of a ruler represented above human figures symbolic of his political domain or his subjugated enemies.

Noteworthy, however, are two neo-Elamite statue bases carved in relief as fortresses. Amiet has suggested the possibility that in both cases a figure of a king was placed upon the fortress base[18]. The base relief might well have been intended to represent the city wall of a specific enemy the victory over whom the ruler commemorated by the sculpture above. If so, this type of monument would represent an interesting variant upon the Mesopotamian theme.

Royal sculpture in the round is not well documented in the neo-Assyrian Period. Of the statues which have survived, none has a carved base[19]. What we know of Assyrian art in other contexts

---

Gudêa", *RAssyr* 27, 1930, 161-164 and pls. I-II. Here Gudea holds a water jar, while on the masking band which runs three-quarters of the way around the statue just above the socle between hemline and feet, four flowing vases are carved. The statue's inscription does not explain the unorthodox iconography—which ordinarily would accompany only a god's statue.

[17] Strommenger, "Das Menschenbild", 69-85, on the dated sculpture of the Third Dynasty of Ur. Of Ur-Nammu we have no sculpture in the round save foundation figurines. There are fragmentary sculptures of Shulgi, but none gives any information about socle reliefs since the bases are not preserved. (Ibid., 69-70). It is perhaps significant, however, that the rock relief at Darband-i Gawr probably dates to Shulgi. It bears such a striking similarity to the composition of the stele of Naramsin that one cannot help wondering whether Shulgi, at any rate, looked to the Akkadian Period also for models for sculpture in the round. See E. Strommenger, "Das Felsrelief von Darband-i-Gaur", *BagMitt* 2, 1963, 83-88; Moortgat, *Mesopotamia*, pl. 157.

[18] P. Amiet, *Elam* (Auvers-sur-Oise: Archée, 1966), figs. 411 and 412.

[19] See E. Strommenger's recent catalogue of neo-Assyrian sculpture in the round: "Die neuassyrischen Rundskulptur", ADOG, XV, 1970. She lists one statue representing Assurnasirpal II (from Nimrud: Taf. 1), and five sculptures of Shalmaneser III (from

suggests that the Assyrian kings would have been more apt to depict narrative scenes of conquest on the bases of royal statues than any abstract symbol of empire such as personifications of the conquered peoples.

Tending to substantiate this theory are two actual stone throne platforms from the neo-Assyrian Period which bear reliefs portraying specific historical events involving scenes descriptive of imperial control/defeat of distinct peoples[20]. In a sense these throne platforms function in relation to the *actual* person of the king much as statue bases do in relation to the sculpted image of the king (Pl. LVII].

The Assyrian conceptualization of the hierarchical power relationship, as evidenced by these actual throne platforms, perpetuates—albeit through a different artistic genre—the Mesopotamian legacy of an adversary portrayal[21].

Egyptian Prototypes: The Nine Bows

The symbolism of the "Nine Bows" played an extremely important part in both artistic and literary expressions of the Egyptian pharaoh's relation to his empire. As a metaphorical way of describing conquered or subjugated peoples, the Nine Bows could be illustrated in art either

Assur: Taf. 2-3; from Nimrud: Taf. 4-5; from Assur: Taf. 6a; from Nimrud: Taf. 6b-7; from Nimrud: very fragmentary). These are the only known extant examples of royal statuary from the neo-Assyrian Period.

[20] These are the only known Mesopotamian throne daises (actual, or represented in relief or painting) which bear figural decoration: 1) Shalmaneser III: Moortgat, *Mesopotamia*, 139 and pl. 269; P. Hulin, "The Inscriptions on the Carved Throne-base of Shalmaneser III", *Iraq* 25, 1963, 48-69; Mallowan, *Nimrud*, II, 444-450. On this remarkable monument, Shalmaneser III is shown confirming an agreement with the king of Babylon, Marduk-zakir-shumi, to whom Shalmaneser offered protection in 851 B.C. On either side of this scene men bring tribute to the Assyrian king. 2) Sargon II: Loud, *Khorsabad*, I, 65 and 79-80. This throne dais is decorated with graphic scenes of war (e.g., Assyrian soldiers piling up the heads of the vanquished). Moortgat notes (*Mesopotamia*, 147) that "without the example of Shalmaneser III he [Sargon] would probably not have decorated the outer surface of the throne pedestal at Dur-Sharrukin with a frieze in relief illustrating war scenes". But note that narrative scenes of events such as tribute presentations and battles carved on ivory inlays probably decorated furniture—and perhaps even throne platforms—as early as the time of Assurnasirpal II: e.g., M.E.L. Mallowan and L.G. Davies, *Ivories from Nimrud (1949-1963)*, II: *Ivories in Assyrian Style* (London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 1970), pls. XXI-XXV and XVI.

[21] Admittedly one might regard the Shalmaneser throne platform relief as exemplifying paradigm (C) in Fig. 18 more than paradigm (B). But, as will be seen in Chapter VI, Assyrian tribute processions are themselves distinguished by their emphasis on imagery of subjugation.

as nine actual bows or as anonymous individual captives depicted with ethnic characteristics and identified further by a written indication of native land or racial group[22]. The origin of the Nine Bows is obscure, but the symbolism must go back to the Predynastic Period when power struggles for unification were taking place all over the Nile Valley. E. Uphill, in his recent study of the changes in significance of the term Nine Bows in various periods, suggests that the earliest example of the motif may appear on a macehead from Hierakonpolis[23]. Here actual bows are represented opposite the rekhyt-birds. The latter are linked to the nome standards and symbolize peoples who have become part of Egypt proper[24]. If, as Uphill suggests, there is room to restore nine bows on the macehead the implication would be that already this number had become canonical for such representations[25].

The earliest known representation of a human figure personifying a whole group of people, combined with a sign for the group's general region, occurs on Narmer's palette [Pl. 39][26]. In the upper right corner of the Upper Egypt side appears Horus sitting atop a papyrus bundle out of which emerges a bearded human head with a rope strung through its nose. The falcon holds onto the rope with a human hand. We can read this group as representing Horus delivering the peoples of the Delta to the white-crowned King Narmer of Upper Egypt[27].

Later artistic tradition frequently places the Nine Bows—as bows

---

[22] E. Uphill, "The Nine Bows", *JEOL* 19, 1966, 394-395. Allusions to the Nine Bows in the Pyramid Texts suggest to Uphill that peoples rather than strictly delineated regions are to be understood by the term. Cf. Cameron, "The Persian Satrapies and Related Matters", 47-56.

[23] Uphill, "The Nine Bows", 393.

[24] The hieroglyph ("rẖ") is used as a phonogram and an ideogram in the word "rekhyt", which means "peoples", "peoples of the world", and sometimes even "enemy peoples". But the rekhyt-bird seems generally to be used in art for peoples who have been brought into the fold, as it were. See W.C. Hayes, *Glazed Tiles from a Palace of Ramesses II at Kantir*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Papers, No. 3 (New York : The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1937), 31.

[25] The reason that the number nine did become canonical for representations of the bows may be that this number could stand for *all* enemies or foreigners. In hieroglyphic script the plural is formed by adding the sign for three : ı ı ı. Thus the number nine is the plural squared.

[26] J.B. Pritchard, *The Ancient Near East; An Anthology of Texts and Pictures* (Princeton : Princeton Paperback Edition, 1965), pl. 84.

[27] Hallo and Simpson, *History*, 204; R.T. Ridley, *The Unification of Egypt* (Deception Bay : Shield Press, 1973), 47-53.

—under the feet of the pharaoh[28]. The symbolism of such a relationship is universally understood, and it is echoed in literary allusions[29]. Appearing concurrently with the abstract and formalized representations of the Nine Bows as bows, there is some evidence for a different type of representation under the feet of the king. Especially interesting in this regard are the two statues of Khasekhem (Dynasty 2/3). On the base of each appears a list of conquered chieftains which is illustrated by a series of incised figures of the stripped slain foes in contorted postures of death. The whole effect is strikingly similar to that produced with more sculptural sensitivity on the Manishtusu statue bases discussed earlier[30].

What is of special interest to us here, however, is the particular tradition of representing the Nine Bows as human figures *symbolic of whole groups*. In the pyramid temple of Pepy I, Dynasty 6, a group of prisoner statues have been found which represent people with differing physical characteristics from various regions[31]. These statues apparently lined the entrance hall of Pepy's tomb complex. They indicate that the idea of showing the traditional foreign enemies as human figures co-existed from Narmer's palette on, along with the more abstract symbolism of the bows.

---

[28] The earliest representation of this type seems to be on a statue base supporting a figure of King Zoser. See B. Gunn, "Inscriptions from the Step Pyramid Site", *ASAE* 26, 1926, 184-187, figs. 4 and 6 and pl. I A. This statue is now in Cairo. That this abstract tradition remained strong is attested by its appearance in all periods of Egyptian art. Notable examples include the glazed tiles of Ramses II decorating a throne dais at Kantir : Hayes, *Glazed Tiles*, 12 and fig. 1; the Nine Bows represented under the feet of a statuette of Re Montu belonging to Dyn. 25 : J. Leclant, "Une statuette d'Amon-Rê-Montou au nom de la Divine Adoratrice Chepenoupet", *Mélanges Maspero*, I/4, 1961 (Mémoires publiées par les membres de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, LVI); and the representations of bases supporting various gods to whom Darius presents offerings on the reliefs decorating the Temple of Hibis : Davies, *The Temple of Hibis*, III, pls. 30-31.

[29] Uphill, "The Nine Bows", 394-395.

[30] H.-W. Müller, *Ägyptische Kunst* (Frankfurt am Main : Umschau, 1970), Taf. 14, for a view of one of the Khasekhem statues in its entirety; and F.W. von Bissing, *Denkmäler ägyptischer Sculptur* (Munich : F. Bruckmann, 1914), No. 3A. For a discussion of the figures on the bases see H. Junker, "Die Feinde auf dem Sockel der Chasechem-Statuen und die Darstellung von geopferten Tieren", *Ägyptologische Studien Hermann Grapow zum 70. Geburtstag gewidmet*, ed. O. Firchow (Berlin : Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaft zu Berlin, 1955), 162-175. Note also the discussion by D. Wildung, "Der König Ägyptens als Herr der Welt?" *Afo* 24, 1973, 110. Wildung views the Khasekhem statues as conceptual forerunners of the New Kingdom lists of foreign people on statue bases. I would suggest, rather, that they represent two distinct traditions.

[31] J.-Ph. Lauer and J. Leclant, "Découverte de statues de prisonniers au temple de la pyramide de Pépi I", *RÉgypt* 21, 1969, 55-62.

But it is not until the New Kingdom that we see the clear antecedent for our Achaemenid representations. Starting in Dynasty 18 we have a series of royal throne daises depicted on tomb paintings and reliefs and also many actual royal statue bases which have representations upon them of human figures each emerging from or associated with a crenelated ring framing the name of the people or place suggested by the single figure [Pls. 40a-b][32]. The salient features of these figures are:

1) they relate to structural elements which support the king;

2) great interest was taken in their ethnic differentiation, though identification is often problematical[33];

---

[32] The earliest known detailed list of places in the form of name-rings with emergent personifications actually occurs on a stele of Sesostris I (Dyn 12). See J.J. Simons, *Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists Relating to Western Asia* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1937), 9, n. 9. But not until the New Kingdom does the representational format become commonplace. For personifications of enemies appearing on throne daises in New Kingdom tomb paintings and reliefs note the following representative examples: W. Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1914-1935), Taf. 88b (Tomb of Amenmose, Schech abd el Gurna no. 42, Tutmosis III/Amenhotep II); K. Lange and M. Hirmer, *Egypt; Architecture, Sculpture, Painting in Three Thousand Years*, 4th ed. rev., trans. R.H. Boothroyd (London: Phaidon Press, 1968), pl. 152 (Tomb of Khereuf, Thebes no. 192, Amenhotep III); Smith, *Art and Architecture*, pl. 115 (Tomb of Ramose, Thebes no. 55, Amenhotep IV). Note that similar representations are documented also as adornments of actual throne daises from the New Kingdom. See Hayes, *Glazed Tiles*, pls. II-IV and 13-14, nn. 49-50, and *The Scepter of Egypt*, II (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), 334-338 and fig. 211. For personifications of enemies appearing on New Kingdom statue bases (the so-called topographical lists) note the following representative examples: A. Varille, "Fragments de socles colossaux provenant du temple funéraire d'Aménophis III avec représentations de peuples étrangers", *BIFAO* 35, 1935, 173-179 (Amenhotep III, three different statue bases); A. Varille, "Nouvelles listes géographiques d'Aménophis III à Karnak", *ASAE* 36, 1936, 202-214 and pls. I-III; H.S.K. Bakry, "A Fragment of a Sphinx Found in the Mortuary Temple of Amenophis III", *MDAIK* 23, 1968, 68 and pl. 18b-c; A. Badawy, *A History of Egyptian Architecture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), pl. 41 (lists on the socles of two seated colossi of Ramses II, Abu Simbel).

[33] Note that the problem of making accurate regional attributions by the sole criterion of dress or accoutrements exists for these Egyptian enemy figures as well as for the Achaemenid platform supporters. See W. Hölscher, *Libyer und Ägypter: Beiträge zur Ethnologie und Geschichte libyscher Völkerschaften nach den altägyptischen Quellen*, Ägyptologische Forschungen, IV (Glückstadt: J.J. Augustin, 1937), esp. 36-37; Uphill, "The Nine Bows", 401; G.A. Wainwright, "Some Sea-Peoples", *JEA* 47, 1961, 71-90, and "The Meshwesh", *JEA* 48, 1962, 89-99; W. Helck, "Die Ägypter und die Fremden", *Saeculum* 15, 1964, 103-114 (esp. 105-107); Hayes, *Glazed Tiles*, 33-38. Similarly, attempts to correlate the unlabeled representations of platform carriers (on

3) the identity and number of the figures became flexible, responding to the political realities of a particular period—with the ultimate intent being to symbolize the concept that the pharaoh controlled all of the known world[34];

4) the figures are normally depicted as captives.

The first three features are particularly important, as they resemble so closely the special characteristics of the representation of the Achaemenid subject peoples. The fourth feature is equally significant in our discussion of Achaemenid art, by way of contrast. To the Egyptian way of perceiving/portraying, the concept of foreigner was closely associated with the concept of enemy. An indication of the pervasiveness of this mindset is found in the fact that the determinative for foreigner in hieroglyphic script is the same as that signifying enemy : a bound and kneeling figure (𓀏)[35]. By contrast, Achaemenid representations consistently show the personifications of foreign lands of the empire as unfettered, dignified men, who may even bear arms in the presence of the king[36].

Central Building and Throne Hall reliefs) and of foreigners on the three versions of tribute processions found at Persepolis with the labeled tomb figures have led to much scholarly debate : Barnett, "Persepolis", esp. 65-73; G. Walser, *Die Völkerschaften auf den Reliefs von Persepolis*, Teheraner Forschungen, II (Berlin : Deutsches archäologisches Institut, 1966); O.W. Muscarella, review of *Völkerschaften*, by Walser, in *JNES* 28, 280-285. Note especially the important reassessments of the evidence by Hinz in *Funde und Forschungen*, 95-113; Roaf, "Subject Peoples", and Cameron, "Darius the Great".

[34] On the Nine Bows assuming the meaning of all lands under the sun, see Uphill, "The Nine Bows", 396. Note especially the coronation text of Horemheb : "In order to hand over to him that which the sun's disk encircles, the Nine Bows being under his feet" (A. Gardiner, "The Coronation of King Haremhab", *JEA* 39, 1953, 15, line 20). The relationship between the traditional Nine Bows peoples, the "universalist" lists of peoples, and the New Kingdom and later geographical lists of peoples intended more specifically to relate current international activities is a complex Egyptological question which cannot be discussed here. See J. Vercoutter, "Les Haou-Nebout (𓇉𓎟𓎟𓎟)", *BIFAO* 48, 1949, 107-209.

[35] This is not to say that foreigners are always depicted as bound captives in Egyptian art. See Chapter VI, *infra*, for further discussion.

[36] On Darius' tomb facade all but the Babylonian wear a weapon. On the Central Building east door only nos. 1, 2, 11, and 22 seem to wear a weapon (Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, 118-120). And on the south doors of the Throne Hall, nos. 1, 2, and possibly 18 and 22 are armed (ibid., 135-136). The addition of weapons for some peoples and not for others on these reliefs suggests that the arms were used artistically simply as identifying characteristics—so that the presence or absence of a weapon on a particular personification cannot be taken as a statement about his particular political status. But, on the other hand, the fact that the subject peoples *may* be shown bearing arms in the representational context of these reliefs does signify that the basic intent was to present them as cooperative allies rather than subjugated foes who would certainly never be armed in the presence of the king.

This standardized way of showing personifications of foreign peoples which had been subdued by royal might continued to be used, at least sporadically, during the Third Intermediate Period[37]. In Dynasty 25 Taharqa (690-664) had a statue of himself erected in the temple of Mut at Karnak which stood atop a socle adorned with a topographical list copied directly off the colossi of Horemheb at the same site[38]. Fragmentary ivories of Shebitka (701-690) preserve captives emerging from name-rings. They perhaps once decorated a piece of furniture used by this Ethiopian ruler of Egypt[39]. From Dynasty 26 we have no evidence of this type of representation on an official monument[40]. But an unofficial representation appears on the wall of a painted chapel in the Bahria Oasis. Here six captives emerge from name-rings in a row under an image of Bes[41]. Thus it would appear that the type remained alive in its traditional format into Dynasty 26. In the Ptolemaic Period as well we find use of topographical lists in the form of the foreigner—as captive—attached to his name-ring in the New Kingdom tradition. As on the Taharqa statue, some of these Ptolemaic lists are mere copies of, or excerpts from, New Kingdom ones[42].

---

[37] Note the important topographical list of Sheshonq I (c. 945-924) of Dyn. 22 at Karnak with ten rows of name-rings and emergent captive figures : The Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak*, III : *The Bubastite Portal*, OIP, LXXIV (Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1954), pls. 2-4. See K.A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt* (Warminster : Aris & Phillips Ltd., 1973), 432-447, on historical implications of the list. Kitchen (432) points out that this list, far from being an uninspired reflection of the great monumental lists of the Rameside era, is actually the most non-derivative of any known example.

[38] Taharqa statue base : A. Mariette, *Karnak : Étude topographique et archéologique* (Leipzig : J.C. Hinrichs, 1875), pl. 45, a, 2, for a drawing of the captives on the base (14 to a side) and a, 1, for the royal title; B. Porter and R.L.B. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*, II, *Theban Temples*, 2nd ed., rev. (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1972), 269, describe the base as having the binding of the Sma-symbol on the front, with Nubian and Asiatic captives on the sides. Thus it is very similar in format to the base of the statue of Darius from Susa.

[39] W.S. Smith, *Ancient Egypt as Represented in the Museum of Fine Arts*, 3rd ed., rev. (Boston : Museum of Fine Arts, 1952), 152 and fig. 98.

[40] But given the small number of official Saite monuments extant—especially from the seat of political power in the north, as opposed to the semi-independent religious establishment of Amon at Karnak—this is perhaps not a fact of great significance.

[41] A. Fakhry, *Bahria Oasis*, I (Cairo : Government Press, 1942), 167 and pl. LXb. The tops of the captives are destroyed, but the arms, bound behind each figure, are still visible.

[42] Three basalt blocks from Sakha (Xoïs) in the northern Delta preserve foreigners as captives emerging from crenelated cartouches : G. Daressy, "Notes et remarques", *Recueil de Travaux* 24, 1902, 160. Note also the Ptolemaic list engraved on a block

But for Dynasty 27, the first period of Persian domination, we know of no examples of the use of the traditional format of bound foreigners emerging from name-rings. Instead, we find the lists of subject peoples on the canal stelae and the Susa statue base of Darius I [Pls. 9-11][43]. These lists, composed of crenelated name-rings with personifications of peoples kneeling atop them, are clearly related to the standard Egyptian type whose course we have traced in its established form from Dynasty 18 into the Ptolemaic Period[44]. Yet just as clearly they betray a deliberate, well thought-out reworking of the age-old Egyptian format in order to make it consonant with the kind of relationship between king and subject peoples which the Achaemenids apparently wished to have expressed.

The Achaemenid Vision: I. The Canal Stelae and the Statue of Darius

The figures of the peoples on the Persianized Egyptian monuments of Dynasty 27 are depicted as the subjects of all the lands of the empire who, unfettered, do dignified homage to their king. As fully clothed unbound men, perched atop their name-rings rather than growing out of them, they acquire a certain integrity. Thus it is not merely the geographical *list* of peoples which was altered to suit the demands of a different imperial situation. The spirit of the representations was also changed, by means of formal readjustments, to meet the demands of a new ideology. No prototypes for this Persianized format are known[45]; and the new type did not survive the end of

of stone incorporated into the so-called Colonnade of Taharqa at Karnak. It is actually a Ptolemaic copy of part of the great list recording Tutmosis III's Palestine campaign. See Simons, *Handbook*, 28-44, for the Tutmosid lists and this Ptolemaic copy.

[43] For the canal stelae see Catalogue Entry IV. For the statue of Darius see Catalogue Entry V.

[44] Olmstead, *Persian Empire*, 147, noted the connection between the canal stelae representations and the topographical lists of the New Kingdom. W. Childs, still before the discovery of the Darius statue, has remarked upon the relationship more recently: "The Lycian City-Reliefs and their Mediterranean Traditions" (Ph.D. dissertation: Princeton University, 1971), 192 and n. 138. But I cannot follow his contention that these cartouches inscribed in the Persian Period represent a continuation in abbreviated form of the city-siege scenes of the New Kingdom. Rather, it is clear from the Egyptian tradition I have documented that the Darius name-rings relate directly to the earlier Nine Bows representations in Egypt. They are not condensed versions of episodic city-landscaped siege scenes. Such scenes may be found in the New Kingdom alongside the Nine Bows type representations. But the rendition of cartouche/figure groups did not owe its existence to the narrative reliefs of the New Kingdom. Rather, it partakes of a traditional concept going back ultimately to prototypes such as the sign group on Narmer's palette.

[45] First noted by Yoyotte, in Kervran, et al., "Une statue de Darius", 261.

the period of Achaemenid rule in Egypt. As has already been noted, the Ptolemies reverted to traditional New Kingdom models.

The most significant Persian deviation from the traditional type of foreign peoples representation occurs in the use of hand gestures which in Egypt connote specifically religious concepts. On the canal stelae all the figures raise their hands in a posture of praise directed at the centrally placed cartouche of the king. In hieroglyphic script a figure assuming just this hand gesture is used as a determinative to express the idea of praise[46]. And in art this gesture is found frequently, made by figures addressing an object of reverence such as an offering table[47]. Most interesting in this context is a series of New Kingdom representations of the rekhyt-birds. Endowed with arms and hands, these birds, which symbolize "the people", raise their hands toward the king or a god (as the case may be) in this gesture of praise and adoration. Placed thus, above the basket sign ◡ ("nb" meaning "all"), they then become a monogram signifying "all the peoples of the world in adoration". In this format they are used frequently on the bases of statues of kings and on the floors and sides of throne daises. They are sometimes placed near the bottom of a window or doorjamb as part of a registered composition in which the king is on top, the frieze of adoring rekhyt-birds is directly beneath him, and then the band of foreign captives on cartouches runs along the very bottom[48]. It is possible that the use of the praise gesture by the subject peoples on the canal stelae is the result of a deliberate conflation of the idea of foreign captives emerging from name-rings and the adoring rekhyt-birds perched atop their basket signs.

The subject peoples on the base of the Darius statue are very similar to those on the canal stelae in proportions and physical characteristics (at least in so far as the latter can be evaluated from the poorly illustrated squeezes)[49]. But their different hand gesture suggests a different expression of laudatory behavior—connoting, as the gesture does in Egyptian artistic language, ideas of holding up, carrying forward, and presenting[50]. In monumental art as well as in hieroglyphic writing the gesture of upturned palms is used in Egypt to convey the idea of symbolic support and/or presentation. Note, for instance, the two subsidiary gods helping Shu to support the sky goddess Nut on a papyrus dated to the tenth century B.C.[51]; the four figures of Taharqa in relief on his altar from Gebel Barkal, who are shown supporting, in the same fashion, the conventionalized representation of the heavens[52]; and the image of Psammetichos I kneeling before a god and holding forth the ritual incense[53].

---

[46] A.H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 3rd ed., rev. (London: Oxford University Press, 1957), 32. Though this determinative can also be used for contexts of supplication, the posture as a whole which is assumed by these subject peoples is clearly of a distinctly different spirit from the attitude of groveling supplication sometimes assumed by captive figures of Egyptian Nine Bows representations and topographical lists.

[47] Note the following, for instance: 1) Queen Nofretari in her tomb (Dyn. 19): Smith, *Art and Architecture*, pl. 159B; 2) A man before offering table in tomb (Dyn. 26): Smith, *Ancient Egypt*, fig. 102; 3) Relief of Petamenopet doing homage on front skirt of his cube statue (Dyn. 25): Müller, *Ägyptische Kunst*, Taf. 168.

[48] See Hayes, *Glazed Tiles*, 31-32, fig. 9 and pl. XI.

[49] For a discussion of the dress and ethnic characteristics of these cartouche figures, see Roaf, "Subject Peoples".

It is thus apparent that the representational format for the subject peoples under the king on the Darius statue base is a conscious reworking of a traditional Egyptian scheme. The types of changes made by the Achaemenids suggest a deliberate effort to infuse the old pattern with a distinctive aura of religiosity and pious dignity. Most interesting for our purposes is the manner in which the socle figures are represented as *supporting/presenting* the king. They are shown to support the king not only metaphorically, simply by virtue of being beneath his feet in the hierarchical scheme, but they do it also literally—through their assumption of the palms-up gesture with its important ritual/symbolic associations of supporting and presenting. We shall return to this issue in the context of our ensuing

---

[50] Variations of the sign as an ideogram have the value of holding, offering, presenting, protecting. See Gardiner, *Grammar*, 454. In this connection the word "njnj", to do homage, is especially instructive. Here there is a conflation of the pictorial concept and the actual writing. stands for "njnj" by itself; but it is often written with the addition of the pictogram . Thus the human figure actually holds the phonetic signs for "n", —signs which also can stand by themselves as a pictogram for water. The offering of water was a traditional way of doing homage in ancient Egypt. See A. Erman and H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der aegyptischen Sprache*, II (Leipzig : J.C. Hinrichs, 1928), 203.

[51] Pritchard, *The Ancient Near East*, fig. 158.

[52] Smith, *Art and Architecture*, pl. 175. The same motif is found on the socle of Ramses II's bark of Amon from Luxor: S. Schott, "Das Löschen von Fackeln in Milch", *ZÄS* 73, 1937, 1-24, Taf. IV b; and the socle of the bark of Amon found in the Temple of Khonsu of Herihor: Ibid, Taf. IV c. Also note a similar example in which Seti I is shown supporting the sign for heaven ( ) with his hands in this gesture: L. Habachi, "Sethos I's Devotion to Seth and Avaris", *ZÄS* 100, 1974, 95-102, Taf. V and Abb. 1.

[53] Müller, *Ägyptische Kunst*, Taf. 173. This relief, found at Rosetta in the Delta, is now in the British Museum.

discussion of the representations on Iranian soil of the Achaemenid vision of the king and subject peoples.

The ways in which the Egyptian tradition of the Nine Bows was deliberately changed for the Achaemenid monuments in Egypt indicate that Achaemenid planners understood the concept behind the Nine Bows idea; these changes further indicate that the Achaemenids had a clear perception of just how that idea and form had to be adapted in order to suit the Persian politic.

The Achaemenid Vision: II. Throne Platform Supporters

The representations of the king above the peoples of his realm which are found at Persepolis and Naqsh-i Rustam differ greatly in important ways from the representation on the Darius statue. In the final analysis it will be apparent, nevertheless, that the statue and the reliefs exemplify the same imperial vision—a vision which could be translated into a variety of artistic languages depending upon the specific political context of a given monument.

On the tomb facades, on the Central Building, and Throne Hall reliefs of the south doors, the subject peoples are depicted in the so-called atlas posture—with bodies disposed frontally, heads and feet in profile, and arms, bent at the elbows, raised up to support the throne platform overhead. The bottom row of figures stands on the groundline of the relief—the groundline off of which the legs of the platform are in each case shown to be raised. But in order to show all the personifications of lands, additional rows of figures are stacked above the bottom row. These figures are disposed along the rungs of the furniture. They are, however, meant to represent in their tiered disposition parallel rows of human figures all of whom may be understood to be standing on the same horizontal plane. Thus they lift the platform according to a common convention of ancient art whereby figures meant to be thought of as standing in parallel files are shown in art as standing in vertical registers in order that all the figures may be visible.

The Atlas Pose: Near Eastern Prototypes

The atlas pose assumed by the platform supporters has a long history in ancient Near Eastern art. In Mesopotamia it is assumed almost exclusively by mythical beings such as bull-men, scorpion-men and genii who support the winged disc[54]. The association of bull-men and scorpion-men with the winged disc is not fortuitous. Both creatures are known to have had roles relating to cosmic phenomena[55]. There is some evidence, however, to suggest that the atlas pose in the neo-Assyrian Period gradually began to appear in a variety of contexts which were more ornamental than strictly symbolic. This seems to have been the case not least in pre-Achaemenid Iran, where the atlas motif had already been assimilated into the repertoire of the minor arts[56].

That the traditional Mesopotamian use of the pose lived on in Achaemenid Iran (at least as a pattern, if not as a meaningful allusion to cosmic functions) is shown by numerous examples of Achaemenid seals decorated with variations on the theme of bull-men supporting the winged disc. [Pl. 41a][57]. Thus the Achaemenid use of the atlas posture could easily have been the result of the selection of a well-known pose (derived ultimately from Mesopotamia, but long assimilated into Iran in the minor arts) which appealed to the sculpture planners at Persepolis and Naqsh-i Rustam primarily by virtue of its obvious potentials for aesthetically pleasing patternization.

---

[54] The motif is attested in the seals of the Middle Assyrian and neo-Assyrian Periods : H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* (London : Macmillan and Co., 1939), fig. 57 and pl. XXXIII b-c, pl. XXXIV b, and pl. XXXV h. We find it also in the neo-Babylonian Period : Ibid, figs. 66-67. That the motif was popular also in Anatolia and Syria (where it was used in the same contexts and by mythical creatures) is shown by the Hittite rock relief at Eflatun Pinar : J. Mellaart, "The Late Bronze Age Monuments of Eflatun Pinar and Fasillar near Beyşehir", *Anatolian Studies* 12, 1962, 111-117, fig. 2; by an ivory plaque from Megiddo : G. Loud, *The Megiddo Ivories*, OIP, LII (Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1939), 10 and pl. 11; and (from Syria) by the orthostat relief from Tell Halaf : Parrot, *Assur*, pl. 97.

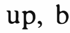
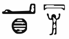
[55] Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, 201; J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *Symbols and Values in Zoroastrianism* (New York : Harper and Row, 1966), 90-96.

[56] Amiet, "La glyptique de la fin d'Elam", 3-32. Amiet notes (9) that especially in "peripheral areas" the atlas figures show signs of becoming decorative fillers especially in the minor arts. He cites late Elamite sealings on which the bull-men have nothing to support, and similar renditions on a gold pectoral from Ziwiye as well as on pieces from the Oxus treasure. Examples of the pose apparently used as mere ornament can be found in Assyria as well, however. Amiet (9, n. 9) mentions the sealing from Nimrud. And other examples can be added to this : 1) figures impressed into a coarse vessel from Nimrud (A.H. Layard, *The Monuments of Nineveh* [London : J. Murray, 1849], pl. 95a, 10); 2) bull-men on a cylinder seal in the British Museum (B.M. 130865); 3) bull-men decorating a limestone altar of Assurnasirpal from Nineveh (R.C. Thompson and R.W. Hutchinson, "The Site of the Palace of Ashurnasirpal at Nineveh, Excavated in 1929-30 on Behalf of the British Museum", *AAA* 18, 1931, 83 and pl. XXVII—though here perhaps the figures were meant to be thought of as "supporting" the top surface of the altar.

[57] Compare, for instance, an Assyrian seal of the ninth century (Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, pl. XXXIIIe) with a similar Achaemenid cylinder seal representation (Wiseman, *Seals*, pl. 102, here Pl. 41a). An interesting perversion of the Assyrian type appears on another Achaemenid cylinder seal also in the British Museum (Ibid., pl. 103). Here we see Bess occupying the center of the composition directly below a winged disc. Supporting the disc on either side is not a bull-man, but a man in Achaemenid court dress.

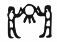
On the other hand, it is far more likely that the selection of the pose for the Achaemenid monumental reliefs was the result of a conscious reaffirmation of the original symbolic impact of the atlas posture in Near Eastern art.

In Egyptian art, as in Mesopotamian art, the atlas pose is well documented through all periods. Its role in Egyptian art was strictly defined by its religious associations. The pose is used in monumental painting and relief compositions exclusively by cosmic creatures, gods and kings (themselves gods, of course) enacting rituals of symbolic support, most frequently of some astral significance [Pl. 41b][58].

In a culture like that of Egypt's, where the written word as a means of expressing a thought was so closely bound to pictorial conventions, it is impossible to ignore the profound interdependence of intellectual perception and visual representation[59]. Note, for instance, that the sign is a hieroglyphic determinative signifying ideas of ceremonial raising up, being high and being joyous. Thus,  "(ḥʿj)" means "to rejoice", while  "(ʿḫj)" means "to lift up, support". Here, then, the use of a figure in the atlas posture as a determinative serves as a check on our understanding of the intent of the artistic representations in which the pose is employed in Egyptian art.

---

[58] Note the following examples: 1) Relief from the tomb of Queen Nefru at Thebes (Dyn. 11) showing a funerary bark held aloft: W.C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, I (New York: Harper & Bros., 1953), fig. 95; 2) The figure of Nut, as heaven, supported by Shu on a tenth century papyrus: Pritchard, *The Ancient Near East*, fig. 158; 3) The figure of Atlansera twice repeated on his altar supporting the sign for heaven: Smith, *Art and Architecture*, pl. 176 and *Ancient Egypt*, 148 and fig. 90; 4) The figure of Shu raising the waters of the sky on two Dyn. 26 wall paintings: Fakhry, *Bahria Oasis*, pls. XXV and XXVII and pl. XXXIX; 5) Figures supporting the constellations on the zodiac of Denderah dated to the late Ptolemic Period: Musée du Louvre, *Antiquités égyptiennes: Catalogue-Guide*, I (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 1932), 130 and pl. XIV—here, Pl. 41b.

[59] This interdependency reaches its most elaborate form during the later period, as pictograms start being used to replace phonetic signs in certain words. Thus, for instance, by the Ptolemaic Period the pictogram  can replace the phonetic signs composing the word "dw" meaning "morning". The pictogram can stand for the word "dw" all by itself by virtue of showing two people praising the sun. For this sign see Erman and Grapow, *Wörterbuch*, V, 402. Also see H.W. Fairman, "An Introduction to the Study of Ptolemaic Signs and their Values", *BIFAO* 43, 1945, 51-138.

The strong traditions in both Egypt and Mesopotamia attesting to the persistent ritual and cosmic associations inherent in the atlas pose suggest that its use on the Achaemenid reliefs of the king held aloft by the peoples of his realm could not have been anything but a deliberate quotation of the pose for well thought-out reasons. This seems particularly plausible when we recall the deliberate use of a similar pose of ritual/cosmic support for the figures of the subject peoples on the base of the Darius statue.

But a different explanation for the use of the atlas pose on the Achaemenid reliefs is generally accepted and must be discussed here before proceeding to further articulation of a new idea. At this point we must take into consideration a series of actual Babylonian, Assyrian, and Urartian thrones of kings and deities (and thrones represented on Assyrian reliefs) which have vertical struts in the form of figures of mythical creatures and minor deities who, assuming the atlas posture, are disposed along the horizontal cross-pieces of the furniture[60]. Particularly in the case of the throne which Sennacherib is depicted as using at the surrender of Lachish, the tiered disposition of the strut figures along the rungs of the throne bears a striking formal resemblance to the disposition of the upper rows of subject peoples along the cross-pieces of the Achaemenid throne platforms [Pl. 42][61]. Because of this formal resemblance, the Assyro-Babylonian thrones with atlas struts are frequently described as the direct prototypes for the Achaemenid representations of throne platforms supported by peoples of the realm. This conclusion is reached in discussions which do not attach strong enough significance to two crucial points: (1) that the subject peoples in the atlas pose on the Achaemenid reliefs do not represent the carved struts on a piece of furniture —but that they are, rather, part of a scene in which actual men are shown actually to raise a piece of furniture off the ground[62]; and (2) the atlas figures on the Achaemenid reliefs are indeed personifications of the lands of the realm.

---

[60] A. *Extant actual thrones with atlas struts.* The Toprak Kale Throne may have had two of these atlas figures, though Barnett does not include them in his tentative reconstruction. See R. D. Barnett, "The Excavations of the British Museum at Toprak Kale near Van", *Iraq* 12, 1950, fig. 22 and pl. XV, 1-2, for the two ivory figures in atlas pose which were found at the site and may have decorated a piece of furniture. G. Azarpay dates the Toprak Kale Throne to the seventh century: *Urartian Art and Artifacts: A Chronological Study* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), 64.
B. *Thrones with atlas struts represented on Assyrian reliefs.* (1) Sargon, Khorsabad: P.-E. Botta and E. Flandin, *Monument de Ninive* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1850), pl. 18; (2) Sennacherib, Nineveh (The Lachish Throne): H. Kyrieleis, *Throne und Klinen*, JDAI Ergänzungsheft, XXIV (Berlin: Deutsches archäologisches Institut, 1969), Taf. 5/2; (3) Sennacherib, Nineveh: H.S. Baker, *Furniture in the Ancient World* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1965), fig. 301; (4-6) Sennacherib, Maltai rock relief (thrones of three divinities): A. Paterson, *Assyrian Sculptures: Palace of Sinacherib* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1912-1913), pl. 106.

[61] Compare Kyrieleis, *Throne und Klinen*, Taf. 5/2 with Walser, *Völkerschaften*, Taf. 5-7.

The general trend in discussions of this motif has been to see the whole *conception* of the differentiated subject peoples, who are shown on the Achaemenid reliefs actually to lift up the platform, as an interesting but purely secondary reworking of a formal pattern for the disposition of vertical figured struts which was copied directly from the Assyro-Babylonian thrones.

Now, to be sure, the atlas struts were not a necessary iconographic accoutrement of Assyro-Babylonian royal or divine thrones; and structurally they were clearly superfluous[63]. Yet the throne type *was*

[62] E.g., Barnett, "Excavations at Toprak Kale", 29; G. Azarpay, "Crowns and Some Royal Insignia in Early Iran", *Iranica Antiqua* 9, 1972, 109-111; Eddy, *The King is Dead*, 43; Farkas, *Achaemenid Sculpture*, 56; Krefter, *Persepolis Rekonstruktionen*, 100. Kyrieleis, *Throne und Klinen*, 70, also stresses the concept that the Achaemenids were directly inspired by the Assyrian thrones. But in another context (81), he does articulate the importance of distinguishing between figured struts (actual members of the furniture-proper) and beings represented as supporting the furniture who are not themselves structural members of that furniture. Herzfeld (in *Iranische Felsreliefs*, 17), senses, quite correctly, that the platform supporters on the Achaemenid reliefs were related in some way to Egyptian prototypes. But he is led off of a productive course of inquiry by thinking alway s of the Achaemenid figures as structural parts of the furniture itself. Thus he states that the idea of the throne supporters goes back to Egyptian representations of bound enemies between throne stuts—e.g., those on the throne of Amenhotep III represented in the tomb of Chaemet; Wreszinski, *Atlas*, Taf. 88b. He leaves the issue confused by observing that, "Die persischen Throne [and note that he says the *throne* rather than *the lifting up of the throne platform* by the peoples] stellen in bewussten Symbolismus die vielen Völker dar, auf denen die persischen Herrschaft ruht", and that the Central Building representation should be seen as evidence that *throne furniture decorated with subject peoples* must actually have existed in Achaemenid Iran. In *The Persian Empire*, 354, Herzfeld perpetuates his earlier misunderstanding: "To make the symbolism quite clear, these figures [the Achaemenid platform carriers]—*sculptural ornaments of a piece of furniture*—lift the solid legs of the throne ... from the ground" [Emphasis mine].

[63] A. *Representations of thrones with no figured struts.* Assurnasirpal I or II (White Obelisk): Kyrieleis, *Throne und Klinen*,. Taf. 3/1. Assurnasirpal II (NW Palace): Ibid., Taf. 1. Shalmaneser III (Balawat Gates): L.W. King, *Bronze Reliefs from the Gates of Shalmaneser* (London: British Museum, 1915), pls. XX, upper and lower, and LII. Tiglathpileser III (Nimrud): Baker, *Furniture*, fig. 293; R.D. Barnett and M. Falkner, *The Sculptures of Aššur-nasir-apli II*, etc. (London: British Museum, 1962), pls. VIII, LIII, LIX, LXIII, and XCII-XCIII—thrones of three divine images. Sennacherib (Nineveh): Baker, *Furniture*, fig. 302; Gadd, *Stones*, pl. 23. Assurbanipal's Queen (Nineveh): Kyrieleis, *Throne und Klinen*, Taf. 6.

B. *Representations of thrones with only caryatid supports.* See n. 64, *infra.*

certainly prevalent enough to have provided available models which Achaemenid planners might have drawn upon for the pose and formal disposition of the Achaemenid platform supporters. Elaborate thrones with atlas struts may have been still used as the seats of divine statues in the temples such as that of Marduk at Babylon—the god whose prestige was restored by Cyrus after his defeat of Nabonidus. Thus it is conceivable that the Achaemenids may even have wished consciously to recall the elaborate throne type of the Babylonian and Assyrian gods by their use of the atlas pose for the rendition of the subject peoples supporting the king's throne platform. But, whatever the inspiration for the use of the atlas pose—whether specifically from Mesopotamian thrones of deities with atlas struts or from the general realm of Mesopotamian and Egyptian representational tradition, the sense remains that the Achaemenids clearly adapted a pose previously found almost exclusively in ritual/cosmic contexts for a decidedly political representation[64].

In summary then, the atlas posture was laden with symbolism in both

---

[64] P. Calmeyer has recently suggested that the vertical figured struts on certain Assyrian relief representations of royal thrones depict not mythical creatures such as genii, but, rather, human figures who must be associated with the acutal courtly milieu. See Calmeyer's review of *Völkerschaften*, by Walser, in *ZDMG* 123, 1973, 174-179. The thrust of Calmeyer's brief discussion is that these throne figures are conceptually akin to the Achaemenid platform carriers and are perhaps even conceptual prototypes for the latter—in the sense that they may depict royal predecessors (?) and/or subordinates whose representations on the throne are meant to advertise the power of the king deriving from their freely given support. I do not believe that the significance of these "secularized" furniture struts was politically specific enough (or universally recognizable enough) to have inspired the Achaemenid platform carrier representations. And in any case, struts of this type always assume the caryatid pose—with their heads supporting the "weight" of the furniture cross-piece above—rather than the atlas pose: *Representations of royal thrones with "secular" caryatid struts*: (1) Sargon (?) (Til Barsib): Parrot, *Assur*, figs. 113 and 266; Kyrieleis, *Throne und Klinen*, Taf. 5/1; (2) Sargon(?) (Til Barsib): Parrot, *Assur*, fig. 112; (3) Sargon (Khorsabad): B. Hrouda, *Die Kulturgeschichte des assyrischen Flachbildes* (Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 1965), Taf. 17, 2; (4) Sargon (Khorsabad): Layard, *Nineveh*, 301, right; (5) Sargon (Khorsabad): Baker, *Furniture*, fig. 296. Note that all of these known representations seem to date to Sargon. Though the date of the Til Barsib paintings is open to some question, Hrouda (*Kulturgeschichte*, 114) and J.E. Reade ("The Neo-Assyrian Court and Army: Evidence from the Sculptures", *Iraq* 34, 1972, 89) suggest a date during the reign of Sargon. Calmeyer, in *ZDMG* 123, 178, suggests that the strut figures on Sargon's thrones represent former kings and that their presence was a deliberate attempt specifically by the usurper Sargon to establish his claim to the throne through the depiction of the willing "support" of the past kings of Assyria. It is possible that these strut figures in the form of kings (?) may relate in some way to ancestor worship in Assyria. See M. Bayliss, "The Cult of Dead Kin in Assyria and Babylonia", *Iraq* 35, 1973, 115-125, esp. 122-125, for a recent survey of the state of our knowledge of this subject.

Egypt and Mesopotamia. It seems probable that the use of the pose on the Achaemenid reliefs represents the deliberate selection of the posture for this new context precisely because of the iconographical impact it still conveyed. The unique way of rendering the hands of the supporting figures, combined with the interlocking of their arms in a meticulously controlled rhythm, strengthens the suggestion that the posture had meaning to the Achaemenids[65]. Both of these formal aspects seem calculated to enhance the aura of dignity and effortless, one might almost say joyous, cooperation with which these subject peoples are imbued. The men hardly seem to bear any weight on the tips of their fingers; and the platform they lift up in each case thus appears to be virtually self-levitating. All in all, the Great King himself captures the essence of the message conveyed by the interlocking figures of his subjects when he declares in his tomb inscription, "The man who cooperates, him according to his cooperative action, him thus do I reward"[66].

The King Carried by the Subject Peoples: Actuality or Metaphor?

There is yet another aspect of the Achaemenid motif of platform supporters which must be explored.

On the Achaemenid reliefs the subject peoples not only lift up the king, but they appear also to be represented as actually carrying the king forward on his throne platform. All figures face in the same direction. According to the antithetical principles upon which so much of Achaemenid art functions one would expect to find the men supporting the platform divided into two confronting groups—unless the representation of unified movement in one direction were a crucial element in the design. Furthermore, on the tomb facade, the figure to the outside of the right leg of the throne platform stands in a manner which is inexplicable unless he is understood to be walking and looking forward (to the right) while carrying the platform leg *behind* him (as furniture movers are wont to do) [Pl. 14][67]. Contrast with this the Persian and Median guards shown below the audience scenes of the Throne Hall doorjambs which pierce the north wall of that building [Pl. 29b]. These guards support the king in a metaphorical sense by being underneath him; but they are not shown actually to *lift* or to *carry* him[68]. Here, where their presence under the king is clearly symbolic (and where their contextual relationship to the king within the relief composition exists solely on a metaphorical level), the men pose antithetically.

---

[65] On all the Achaemenid reliefs except the Throne Hall south doors and Tomb VI at Persepolis, note that the hands of the supporters are rendered in a peculiar fashion with palms and inner side of stiffened fingers turned directly toward the viewer. Thus each figure carries the weight of the dais on only the tip of his thumb and the tip of his index finger. The adjacent arms of adjacent figures cross at the elbow. Their thumbs touch but do not cross. On the Assyrian throne representations the hands of the atlas strut figures are rendered very differently and their arms are never crossed. [Cf. Pls. 13a and 42] A good parallel for the interlocked arms on the Achaemenid reliefs occurs on the Denderah Zodiac: Pl. 41b.

[66] Kent, *Old Persian*, 140 (DNb).

The text inscribed on Darius' tomb facade may lend support to the suggestion that the accompanying relief was intended to show the king being transported on his platform. It also helps to explain the significance of the men shown below him. Kent's translation of Darius' admonition to the viewer goes as follows:

> If now thou shalt think that 'How many are the countries which King Darius held?' look at the sculptures (of those) who bear the throne, then thou shalt know, then shall it become known to thee: the spear of a Persian man has gone forth far; then shall it become known to thee: a Persian man has delivered battle far indeed from Persia[69].

In lieu of the ambiguous word "bear" with which Kent has rendered the Old Persian version of the text, we should perhaps supply the more explicit "carry". In the Elamite and Babylonian versions of the DNa text the verb used here is commonly used in contexts which describe a carrying from place to place as well as a holding up in place. Interestingly, the verb used in the Old Persian is found also in contexts which imply the sense of "to esteem" as well as "to bear"[70].

The intent of the Achaemenid relief seems to have been to suggest the idea that the subject peoples are actually carrying the throne platform forward. But the atlas pose of the supporting peoples clearly does not represent the stance of figures as they would in actuality lift and carry a monumental platform. Rather, it is a pose selected, as we have seen, for its symbolic associations and its artistic value.

---

[67] Schmidt, *Persepolis*, III, pl. 27B, for a view of the Carian subject on the tomb of Darius I. He is almost completely destroyed, however. See pl. 43B [here Pl. 14, right] for the well preserved example on the tomb of Xerxes.

[68] P. Amiet, "L'art achéménide", Acta Iranica, I (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974), 165-166, also suggests that we understand the Throne Hall guards as metaphorical supporters of the king. While one might interpret the registers of guards as figures meant to be thought of as ranged heraldically in two opposing groups in one plane, the guards were nonetheless meant to be understood as *underneath* the scene of royal audience—not beside it. This type of composition build up is strikingly paralleled in a neo-Elamite rock relief at Kul-i Farah (Amiet, *Elam*, fig. 424).

[69] DNb: Kent, *Old Persian*, 138.

[70] I am very grateful to Professor Hallock for his willingness to advise me on this and other matters concerning the interpretation of the Achaemenid royal inscriptions. On the Old Persian, see Kent, *Old Persian*, 200 (under "bar-").

Within the context of a scene depicting the actual lifting or transporting of a king, the Achaemenid use of the atlas pose and disposition of the figures assuming it are unprecedented in artistic representations and in literary allusions to such activity from Mesopotamia and Egypt.

There are no known scenes from Mesopotamia showing a king carried on his throne or in a litter. Textual evidence suggests, however, that in the Assyrian coronation ritual he was in fact carried from one place to another, even though we have no representation of such a ceremonial activity. According to the text, the carriers of the king supported their burden on their necks. Thus they were clearly not assuming for this *actual* ritual any posture associated with effortless, joyous support such as the atlas posture connotes on the Achaemenid reliefs; and there is no reason to suppose that they would have been represented as doing so were the ritual to have been depicted in relief. K.F. Müller interprets the textual reference to the carrying of the king as describing him carried in a litter[71]. Note, however, that on a relief from the reign of Tiglathpileser III which represents the transport of enthroned divine images, supporting beams placed under the thrones of the statues are hoisted up to rest on the soldiers' shoulders as they march forward in profile[72]. The Assyrian king may have been carried in a similar fashion—seated on his throne which was likewise set onto some specially designed bed of parallel beams.

Scenes of transport of the pharaoh in Egypt are common enough; and in some examples the king is carried in a sort of canopied kiosk and accompanied within by another figure[73]. Such depictions are similar in that sense to the compositions on the Central Building and Throne Hall doorjambs. But in the Egyptian scenes no symbolic support posture is used by the soldiers who carry the king. Each man bears the weight of a carrying pole on his shoulder and grasps the pole firmly in one hand or two. Similarly naturalistic poses are assumed by the dignitaries who are represented as carrying the shrine of Amon out of his temple on occasions of public appearance, such as oracular events. In fact, J. Cerny has shown that such scenes of divine transport used as models the New Kingdom representations of *royal* processions[74].

---

[71] K.F. Müller, "Das assyrische Ritual, I: Texte zum assyrischen Königsritual", *MVAG (E.V.)* 41, 1937, 9 (1.26) and 19.

[72] Barnett and Falkner, *Sculptures*, pls. 92-93.

[73] J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, IV (Paris: A. & J. Picard, 1964), 328-363. Note particularly fig. 183—the representation of the enthroned Ramses III carried under a baldacchino accompanied by two goddesses.

The Achaemenid scenes depicting the king carried in procession were thus not dependent for formal inspiration upon any known ways of representing royal (or divine) processions, for these seem always to have been treated realistically in the ancient Near East. Thus, the pose and figure disposition on the Achaemenid reliefs becomes even more significant as representing a deliberate rejection of contextually similar models in favor of forms previously associated with a different realm of activity entirely.

This brings us around to the important question of how form relates to function on the Achaemenid reliefs of throne platform carriers. It is evident that the platform with the king on it is, in every case, *represented* as actually being carried. But do these reliefs depict (according to a set of sculptural and iconographical principles) an actual ceremony involving the transporting of the king or, rather, a purely metaphorical vision of the monarch's relation to his subject peoples?

On the basis of Al Bērūnī's description of a Sasanian throne carrying ceremony, H.P. L'Orange, followed recently by Gnoli, has explored the possibility that the Achaemenid reliefs depict an actual rite symbolically related to the movement of astral bodies[75]. Ghirshman also reads the reliefs as an illustration in stone of an elaborately choreographed No Ruz procession[76]. Unfortunately, we know next to nothing about the No Ruz festival during the Achaemenid Period, so that attempts to explain the sculptures with reference specifically to that celebration are problematical at best[77]. Nylander has recently pointed out the conflicting relationship of the Persepolis architecture and its surrounding terrain to the progression of the reliefs upon it, stressing the impossibility of negotiating a large podium and throne through the extremely awkward passageways which happen to lead to the doorjambs of Central Building and Throne Hall which bear throne carrying reliefs[78]. Nylander's cogent arguments suggest compelling reasons to reject Ghirshman's brilliantly conceived, but unfortunately untenable, interpretation of the reliefs—to the extent that the sculptures can no longer be taken as literal illustrations of specific ceremonies and processions[79]. But just because a procession could not have taken place precisely in those places where the motif appears in relief on the architecture at Persepolis and Naqsh-i Rustam does not, in itself, exclude the possibility that some ceremony involving the carrying of the king may have taken place somewhere on the terrace and at the site of Darius' tomb. It is important to remember that we are dealing with artistic representations which were not necessarily intended to portray either actuality or metaphorical fantasy, one to the exclusion of the other[80].

---

[74] R.A. Parker, *A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes* (Providence: Brown University Press, 1962). See pl. I for this beautiful Dyn. 26 rendition of the Amon shrine in procession. And note especially the chapter by J. Cerny, 36.

[75] H.P. L'Orange, *Studies in the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship in the Ancient World* (Oslo: H. Aschehoug, 1953), 80-89; G. Gnoli, "Politique religieuse sous les Achéménides", Acta Iranica, II (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974), 125.

[76] Ghirshman, "À propos de Persépolis", followed recently by Krefter, *Persepolis Rekonstruktionen*, 96-102, who develops elaborate theories about the function of various buildings based upon the reliefs decorating them, and then suggests a week's worth of No Ruz ceremonies in and among the buildings of Persepolis.

Whether, on the other hand, we should follow L'Orange in reading into a *hypothetical* Achaemenid ritual an indigenous ceremony of cosmic kingship corresponding to later Iranian practice still seems a matter for speculation. Calmeyer has recently put forth the theory that the Elamite rock reliefs at Kul-i Farah (III and VI) portray the ritual carrying of a king[81]. They had previously been interpreted by E. de Waele as showing the transport of divine images[82]. Following Calmeyer's theory, the Achaemenid reliefs would portray a ceremony which finds its roots in Elamite tradition as represented at Kul-i Farah. Calmeyer's intriguing interpretation of the Elamite scenes may be correct, though this is by no means certain. They remain problematical even on their own terms. Furthermore, the differences between these Elamite reliefs and the Achaemenid ones are so many, existing on levels not only of form but also of basic conception, that an attempt to interpret the Achaemenid monuments through the earlier ones is not really productive at this point[83]. That the Elamite heritage played an important part in the cultural achievements of the Achaemenids cannot be denied, however[84]. And possible interrelationships are always worthy of investigation, even if they do not in every case yield definable results because of an unfortunate gap in available information.

---

[77] C. Nylander, "Al-Bērūnī and Persepolis", Acta Iranica, I (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974), 137-150.

[78] Ibid., 149, and the same author's lecture, "Ritual Persepolis—a Critical Discussion", delivered at the 6th Congress of Iranian Art and Archaeology, Oxford, 1972.

[79] And yet, in spite of all the difficulties, see Krefter's functional analysis of the architecture at Persepolis: *Persepolis Rekonstruktionen*, esp. 96-102. Other important discussions of the functions of the buildings at Persepolis in connection with the ceremonial use of the site include: Erdmann, "Persepolis: Daten und Deutungen", 21-47; Gropp, "Beobachtungen in Persepolis", 25-49; W. Lentz and W. Schlosser, "Persepolis: Ein Beitrag zur Funktionsbestimmung", ZDMG Suppl., I, 1969, 957-983, and "Persepolis: Weitere Beiträge zur Funktionsbestimmung", *ZDMG* 121, 1971, 254-268; A.U. Pope, "Persepolis as a Ritual City", *Archaeology* 10, 1957, 123-130.

[80] Problems presented by trying to reconstruct a No Ruz festival program from the reliefs at Persepolis are in many ways analogous to those encountered in a study of the Egyptian Heb Sed rites. See C.J. Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals*; *Enactments of Religious Renewal* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1967), 96-123, esp. 97. Bleeker warns that it is far from certain that the intent of artistic representations of the Heb Sed was to portray the rituals in their entirety rather than simply to select main episodes for depiction. And it seems evident that there were significant discrepancies between the Heb Sed as it was actually celebrated and as it was shown in relief.

But returning to the Achaemenid reliefs, it is probable that the throne platforms themselves represent quite accurate portrayals of actual royal paraphernalia—as do other objects on Achaemenid sculpture, such as the incense burners of the "Treasury reliefs". Kyrieleis is convinced of this[85]; and Schmidt even suggests that actual throne platforms of this type would have been permanently installed fixtures in the palatial structures at Persepolis[86]. That the grandiose proportions necessary for such platforms could have been feasible (supporting the enthroned king and standing crown prince, or the king alone, before a fire altar) is suggested by a description of a similar dais made for King Solomon:

---

[81] For Calmeyer's interesting discussion of the platform carriers motif and how it may relate to Elamite rock reliefs, see "Zur Genese altiranischer Motive [I]", esp. 140-147 and Taf. 34-37.

[82] E. de Waele, "Les reliefs rupestres d'Izeh-Malamir", *Archéologia* 60, 1973, 31-45. De Waele interprets the figures supporting the platforms on the Kul-i Farah III and VI reliefs as people carrying a statue of a deity. He compares these Elamite reliefs with the Nimrud relief of Tiglathpileser III (Barnett and Falkner, *Sculptures*, pls. 92-93; Pritchard, *The Ancient Near East*, fig. 145) showing soldiers removing images from a conquered city. I disagree with de Waele when he wants to make the Elamite supporting figures participants in a scene of pillage such as we see on the Assyrian relief. These small figures of the Elamite sculptures are kneeling antithetically in a ceremonial pose, whereas the Assyrian soldiers are obviously meant to be shown marching forward with the idols lifted to their shoulders. I do agree, however, that the Elamite figures are supporting a statue of a divinity rather than the actual living figure of a king.

[83] Calmeyer, notwithstanding, suggests that in conception they are similar. He determines that the *formal* differences between the Elamite and the Achaemenid representations are due simply to the Achaemenids' deriving of the *form* for their portrayals from the Assyrian throne type with atlas struts. ("Zur Genese altiranischer Motive [I]", 146).

[84] The use of the Elamite language for administrative documents indicates the pervasiveness of Elamite influence on the Achaemenid imperial organization. Clearly, Elamite civilization did not die with the fall of the Assyrian Empire in 612. And in many ways the Achaemenids must have absorbed the heritage of Mesopotamia through the filter of Elam—by direct observation of a culture which survived and kept producing into the 6th century. Note the observations of de Waele ("Les reliefs rupestres", 45) and Amiet ("La glyptique de la fin d'Élam", 24-26).

> Then Solomon stood before the altar of the Lord in the presence of all the assembly of Israel, and spread forth his hands. Solomon had made a bronze platform five cubits long, five cubits wide, and three cubits high, and had it set in the court; and he stood upon it[87].

Solomon's dais was then about 1.33 m. high by 2.25 m. wide and 2.25 m. long. These proportions correspond remarkably with those of the platforms represented on the Achaemenid reliefs of the tomb facade and the Central Building.

Whether or not a platform of this type (with or without the king standing upon it) would actually have been carried around by twenty-eight or thirty men is another question. Xenophon's description (*Cyrop.* VIII. iii.12) of men carrying fire on a great altar (πῦρ ὄπισθεν αὐτοῦ ἐπ᾽ ἐσχάρας μεγάλης ἄνδρες ἕιποντο φέροντες) during a royal parade does not include mention of a platform such as we are discussing here. It is, nevertheless, possible that the "great altar" was really an altar set upon a great platform.

If the core of Darius' platform were of wood, perhaps revetted in bronze or gold, a carrying ceremony involving the king would certainly have been possible. One might reconstruct the dais as being carried in actuality by men disposed in groups of about seven on each of the four sides of the platform. In actuality these men would perhaps have hoisted the dais to shoulder level; they would not, of course, have carried it on the tips of thumbs and index fingers, with arms interlocked.

This re-creation of a feasible *actual* scenario thus highlights some of those elements of the Achaemenid reliefs which are necessarily pure art, elements which must appear solely by virtue of their aesthetic and/or symbolic appeal. In other words, the Achaemenid king may or may not have been carried around on an elaborate dais during certain ceremonies. But in either case, the way in which the artistic representation of such an activity is conceived reveals a great deal about the symbolic impact which the Achaemenids wished the *representations* of such an activity to elicit.

---

[85] Kyrieleis, *Throne und Klinen*, 37. The height of the platform represented in the Throne Hall (Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, pl. 107) is, however, undoubtedly exaggerated in proportion to the length.

[86] Schmidt, *Persepolis*, III, 80-81 and 85.

[87] 2 Chronicles: 6. 12. On Solomon's platform see W. F. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, 6th ed. (Garden City: Anchor Books, 1969), 148-149.

It is my opinion that the portrayal of the platform carriers as personifications of the specific lands/peoples of the empire is one such symbolic device, a visual metaphor of the way in which the king wished to have his relationship to the subject peoples perceived. This aspect of the artistic conception, of the symbolic language of the art, is very similar to the traditional Egyptian metaphor of the Nine Bows beneath the feet of the pharaoh[88]. And it is certainly possible that, while in Egypt during 519/18, Darius and his courtiers were impressed by the concept of universal empire expressed so succinctly in the ubiquitous Egyptian representational tradition.

But the whole thrust of the Egyptian metaphor is radically adjusted to suit the Achaemenid vision. On the statue of Darius the changes are easy to appreciate—for here the Egyptian artistic language was retained, though the vocabulary and cadence of the message was changed to read as a song of praise instead of a prisoner's lament.

Most interesting, the Achaemenid vision of imperial hierarchy structured on harmonious voluntary support and cosmic praise was clearly a pervasive one which the Achaemenids found suitable in a variety of representational contexts and artistic languages.

We must, indeed, be struck by the parallel conceptualization of the relationship of king to subjects found in the poetic metaphor of Psalm 22, where the king is Jahwe—no earthly monarch:

[88] Though cf. Azarpay, "Crowns" 110, who describes the Achaemenid personifications as "real individuals who participated in the political scene of the Achaemenid age". In fact, the Behistun relief is the only known Achaemenid monument which depicts *subject peoples* as specific historical personages. On the other reliefs the figures represent categories—as the labels on Darius' tomb facade suggest: "This is the Mede", etc. See Cameron, "The Persian Satrapies and Related Matters", 47-56, for a relevant discussion—from a philological point of view—of the Achaemenid monuments showing subject peoples. Cameron discusses the philological evidence supporting the idea that the cuneiform texts refer to "peoples" rather than to administrative divisions and thus correlate closely with the sculptures in conception. Also, cf. S. Satō, "Miscellanea on the Achaemenid Empire", *Orient* 10, 1974, 21-24.

> Yet Thou [Jahwe] are holy, enthroned on the praises of Israel[89].

As O. Keel has put it so well (without perhaps even realizing the full symbolic value of the Achaemenid representations),

> Wie der Perserkönig auf der Loyalität seiner Untertan, so thront Jahwe auf der Anerkennung und dem Lobpreis Israels[90].

Darius' own reference to the relief of platform carriers lacks the metaphorical lyricism of the Hebrew psalm:

> If now thou shalt think that, "How many are the countries which King Darius held?" look at the sculptures (of those) who bear the throne, ...[91]

And yet, by telling us to look at the *sculptures* of those who bear the throne, Darius may be suggesting implicitly the symbolic nature of the representation.

Perhaps we shall never be able to determine absolutely whether the Achaemenid reliefs should be read as a pure metaphor of royal power or as a metaphorical description of an actual ceremonial display of imperial might. But, whether they show pure metaphor or some metaphorical vision of an actuality, the motif of the king carried by anonymous representatives of the subject peoples of the empire who act in graceful, effortless harmony was certainly designed to convey in its role as art a political message of calculated significance. The symbolic language of its sculptural representation was the product of a creative process of informed selection and adaptation of very specific traditional ideas and formal prototypes for the portrayal in monumental terms of a new vision of hierarchical order and kingship-on-earth: a vision which was discreetly, but deliberately, couched in an aura of religiosity.

---

[89] Psalm 22: 3.

[90] O. Keel, *Die Welt der altorientalischen Bildsymbolik und des Alte Testament: am Beispiel der Psalmen* (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1972), 328.

[91] Kent, *Old Persian*, 138 (DNa).

IV

THE KING BEFORE AHURAMAZDA AND THE FIRE ALTAR

Introductory Remarks and Description

The rock-cut tomb of Darius at Naqsh-i Rustam is, in structural conception as well as in the decoration of its exterior, a new type of funerary monument in Iran which was apparently introduced under the patronage of Darius[1]. Cyrus (and probably also Cambyses) was buried in a freestanding stone structure resembling a house with a gabled roof set on a platform of six receding tiers[2]. Thus Darius' tomb type departs radically from the type used by earlier Achaemenid kings[3]. The exterior of the old house-like structure with steeply pitched gabled roof seems to be reflected in the negative, as it were, by the actual shape of the sepulchral compartments carved out of the rock behind Darius' tomb facade[4]. But the fact remains that the form of the facade and its sculptural decoration are apparently without precedent in Iran, and must have been the result of a deliberate process of selection and "invention" of ideas and forms specifically in order to create a funerary monument reflective of the wishes of the Great King himself. This monument, certainly of symbolic importance to Darius, was apparently constructed early in his reign. Thus the tomb and its sculpture must pre-date any of Darius' architectural reliefs at Persepolis.

---

[1] See n. 66, *infra*, for a discussion of the so-called Median rock-cut tombs which were once thought to pre-date Darius' tomb.

[2] Cyrus' tomb: D. Stronach, "Excavations at Pasargadae: Second Preliminary Report", *Iran* 2, 1964, 27; Nylander, *Ionians*, 91-102. Cambyses' tomb (Takht-i Rustam): Stronach, "Pasargadae: Second Report", 27. The recent discovery of remains of an Achaemenid palace near Takht-i Rustam which resembles more closely the architecture of Pasargadae than that of Persepolis suggests the possibility that Cambyses II had chosen this area as the site for his own royal constructions. This would add support to the identification of the unfinished Takht-i Rustam with Cambyses. For the palace remains near Takht-i Rustam see Tilia, "Discoveries at Persepolis, 1972-73", 243-44; and "Discovery of an Achaemenian Palace near Takht-i Rustam to the North of the Terrace of Persepolis", *Iran* 12, 1974, 200-204.

[3] Interestingly, however, the old house-type tomb has now been shown to have persisted in Iran in spite of the introduction during the reign of Darius of the rock-cut tomb type. The Buzpar tomb (Gur-i Dokhtar), long considered pre-Cyrus, has been shown by Nylander to date to the fifth century or later: "Clamps and Chronology (Achaemenian Problems II)", *Iranica Antiqua* 6, 1966, 144-45. Also see D. Stronach, "Achaemenid Village I at Susa and the Persian Migration into Fars", *Iraq* 36, 1974, 247.

[4] This relationship between the shape of the interior of the tomb of Darius and the steeply gabled roof line of the tomb of Cyrus was observed by Stronach ("Pasargadae: Second Report", 27). On the form of the Achaemenid rock-cut tomb type, and its possible relation to a non-funerary architectural tradition indigenous to Iran (esp. Urartu), see P. Calmeyer, "Zur Genese altiranischer Motive III. Felsgräber", 99-113.

Discussion

The motif of the platform carriers, an important element of the tomb relief, has been discussed at length already, with emphasis on the political and religious symbolism inherent in the conception. Although an effort will be made in summation to view the entire tomb facade as a whole, this chapter is devoted particularly to a study of the scene represented as taking place upon the uplifted dais. This tableau depicts the king facing a blazing fire altar and, in the field above, an image of Ahuramazda turned toward him[5]. There can be no doubt that this scene is of some religious significance. In fact, it is one of the few primary sources available for a study of the religion of the Achaemenids (that is, the religion practiced by the Achaemenid court in Iran)[6]. Unfortunately, the inscription accompanying the relief (DNa-b) does not explain whatever may be the religious significance of the sculpture[7].

---

[5] The identification of the figure within the winged disc will be discussed shortly.

[6] Very little is *known* (though much has been *assumed*) about the religion practiced by the Achaemenids. For a recent appraisal of the state of our understanding see J. Duchesne-Guillemin, "La religion des Achéménides", in *Beiträge zur Achaemenidengeschichte*, ed. G. Walser, Historia-Einzelschriften, XVIII (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1972), 59-82. Note also, M. Dandamaev, "La politique religieuse des Achéménides", trans. J. Duchesne-Guillemin, Acta Iranica, IV (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975), 193-200. Although we have few primary sources on the religion practiced by the Achaemenids, what we *do* have is tantalizing and important. In addition to the monumental inscriptions and the royal tomb reliefs, information provided by the mortars and pestles from Persepolis and by the Persepolis Fortification and Treasury tablets and sealings has yet to be fully understood on a primary level—much less integrated into the more broadly based scholarly syntheses of the historian of religion. See R.A. Bowman, *Aramaic Ritual Texts from Persepolis*, OIP, XCI (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), and the important critiques by J.A. Delaunay, "A propos des 'Aramaic Ritual Texts from Persepolis' de R.A. Bowman", Acta Iranica, II, 193-217, and W. Hinz, "Zu den Mörsern und Stösseln aus Persepolis", Acta Iranica, IV, 371-385. For a recent discussion of certain religious themes represented on Achaemenid seals see A.D.H. Bivar, "Religious Subjects on Achaemenid Seals", in *Mithraic Studies*, ed. J.R. Hinnells (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1975), 90-105.

[7] Kent, *Old Persian*, 137-140. The one reference made to the reliefs is of a political nature, concerning the significance of the platform carriers.

There are no known prototypes for the scene as a whole from other Near Eastern cultures. And the rite which is depicted—or, rather, the set of images which were intended to represent either an actual ritual or the impression of one—seems to be specifically Iranian. At the same time, certain of the artistic images used in the Achaemenid representation are clearly dependent upon earlier Babylonian and Assyrian religious representations. The extent to which the Achaemenid relief relies upon or diverges from earlier models for specific images may reveal aspects of the intended significance of these images. In an effort to gain a fuller understanding of the meaning of the tomb facade tableau I shall, therefore, analyze the usage of key images—especially as their usage on the tomb tableau relates to antique prototypes.

The King as Bowman

On his tomb facade Darius stands holding a bow in his left hand, while he extends his right hand, with palm turned inward, in the same gesture as that made by the figure of Ahuramazda facing him [Pl. 13b]. The bow must be a symbol of the king's military and hunting prowess —as it must also be understood on the Behistun relief of Darius[8]. The tomb inscription corroborates this interpretation, as Darius, in the very personal second section of this text, gives an accounting of his philosophy of kingship and then an evaluation of his abilities as a man :

> ... Trained am I both with hands and with feet. As a horseman I am a good horseman. As a bowman I am a good bowman both afoot and on horseback. As a spearman I am a good spearman both afoot and on horseback. And the (physical) skillfulnesses which Ahuramazda has bestowed upon me and I have had the strength to use them—by the favor of Ahuramazda what has been done by me, I have done with these skillfulnesses which Ahuramazda has bestowed upon me ...[9]

In view of the nature of the text, it seems fitting that Darius should be shown bow in hand as he faces Ahuramazda. And the tomb relief suggests that a passage in *The Persians* of Aeschylus may indeed reflect the playwright's accurate knowledge of a Persian tradition, when he calls Darius the "τοξαρχος", or first bowman, of his people[10].

---

[8] On the Behistun relief see Cat. Entry III and Chapter V.

[9] DNb : Kent, *Old Persian*, 140.

[10] Aeschylus, *The Persians*, 1. 536.

The fact that the figure of the royal archer was chosen for the obverse type on Achaemenid imperial coinage supports the idea that the image of the king as archetypal archer carried a symbolic value of real significance to the Achaemenids [Pl. 33][11].

In the Elamite culture, with which the Achaemenids had such strong ties, the bow seems to have had an especially clear symbolic association with the warrior's manhood and personal identity. At least we receive this impression from a poignant vignette contained within the narrative reliefs of Assurbanipal's victory over the Elamites[12]. Here, the Elamite soldier, Ituni, is about to be executed by an Assyrian. A large open area has been reserved from the hectic battle scene for the portrayal of this special tableau. As Ituni faces death at enemy hands he is shown in the act of cutting his own bow in half. It is possible that the relief of Ituni breaking his own bow reflects Assyrian interest in a tradition of the warrior's symbolic identification with his bow which was considered by the Assyrians to be characteristic of the Elamites. Possibly, then, the Achaemenids assimilated an indigenous Elamite concept of the symbolism of the weapon which they expressed through this image of the king holding his bow on the tomb of Darius[13].

But while the Achaemenids' associations of the bow with manhood and prowess may well have been derived from, or at any rate intensified by, an Elamite tradition, it is noteworthy that in the very form of the bow depicted on the Achaemenid reliefs the influence of a specific late neo-Assyrian form is apparent[14]. It seems likely (in view of the consistency with which this duck head terminal bow type is rendered on various Achaemenid reliefs) that the form depicted reflects a type actually in use in the Achaemenid Period[15]. This very bow type was perhaps adopted from Assyria in actuality by the Medes and Persians back in the late eighth-seventh centuries. By contrast, other weapons and paraphernalia shown on Achaemenid reliefs are quite different from Assyrian types and must, to a great extent, reflect a specifically Iranian heritage. It is, thus, particularly interesting that in this apparently very important emblem of power —the bow—the Persians would not have displayed (or would not have possessed for purposes of display) a distinctive type of traditional Iranian weapon of their own. Possibly the Persians in actuality adopted an Assyrian form for the bow back in the late eighth-seventh centuries precisely because of the powerful symbolism of this weapon. It is conceivable that by adopting the Assyrian bow as their own, the Persians felt that they had, in a metaphorical sense, placed Assyrian military might in their own hands.[16]

---

[11] Cat. Entry XII.

[12] R. D. Barnett, *Assyrian Palace Reliefs and their Influence on the Sculptures of Babylonia and Persia* (London : Batchworth Press, 1960), pl. 128. This same scene type occurs again in the course of the narrative reliefs of Assurbanipal's campaign against the Elamites—but is not again inscribed or set off compositionally from the surrounding mêlée. The inscription above the scene of Ituni's death reads, "Ituni, ..., saw the great battle and with the iron dagger of his girdle his own hands cut the bow carried at his side". (Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, II, 397, n. 1058).

[13] This is not to deny the universality of the symbolism of the bow. Note, for instance, that in Egypt the Nine Bows concept must also have developed because of the symbolism of the bow as an emblem of the warrior.

[14] Compare the Achaemenid bow type, as illustrated also on the Behistun relief (Luschey, "Darius-Relief", Taf. 36) and on the Apadana tribute relief (Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, pl. 28) with a type used during the reigns of Sargon and Assurbanipal (Botta and Flandin, *Monument*, pl. 117, and Barnett, *Assyrian Palace Reliefs and their Influence*, pl. 53). Also see Hrouda, *Kulturgeschichte*, Taf. 20. The ninth century bows with duck head terminals had the string looped around the bow below the terminal head. But the Sargon-Assurbanipal type shows the string passing over the top of the duck's head and then looping around its beak.

The way the Achaemenids represented the motif of the king standing ceremonially with his bow in hand suggests exposure to Assyrian sculptural prototypes. Within the Iranian sphere representations of figures holding the bow in roughly the same manner as is seen on the tomb of Darius are known; but they are relatively rare[17]. On the other hand, kings on Assyrian reliefs frequently hold the bow in this way in ceremonial contexts [Pls. 43-44b][18]. Most commonly in Assyrian art this image occurs in the context of scenes depicting specific military or hunting victories. The king may hold his bow while receiving the submission of conquered enemies (as similarly at Behistun) or while pouring a libation over lions just killed in the hunt.

---

[15] Where objects on Achaemenid reliefs can be compared with preserved actual objects of the period the reliefs are found to render them faithfully. An incense burner in the Hittite Museum at Ankara is, for instance, very similar to those represented on the original central panels of the Apadana facades (Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, pl. 121).

[16] No comprehensive study of objects represented on Achaemenid reliefs has been made, though note an interesting contribution in this area by R.S. Ellis: "A Note on Some Ancient Near Eastern Linch Pins", *Berytus* 16, 1966, 14-48. See Kyrieleis, *Throne und Klinen*, for furniture; and P. Amandry, "Toreutique achéménide", *Antike Kunst* 2, 1959, 38-56, for metalwork.

[17] E.g., the warrior figure on the Hasanlu Bowl: Porada, *Ancient Iran*, pl. 24 (dated by Porada to the 12th or 11th century). Interestingly, the placement of the bow resting on the top of the foot is a typical Achaemenid usage (found also with spear carriers) which is paralleled on the Hasanlu Bowl but not on Assyrian reliefs. In 2nd and 1st millennium Elam the image was not common (though cf. Amiet, "L'art achéménide", 168). It does not figure at all in the catalogues of seals from Susa and Tchoga Zanbil. See E. Porada, *Tchoga Zanbil*, IV: *La glyptic*, MDP, XLII (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1970), and P. Amiet, *Glyptique susienne des origines à l'époque des Perses achéménides*, MDP, XLIII (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1972). Furthermore, the image seems not to have been popular on Luristan situla reliefs—not entering into any of Calmeyer's categories of representational types catalogued in *Reliefbronzen in babylonischem Stil* (Munich: Beck, 1973). And the image of the king or a warrior holding his bow seems not to have been popular as an emblem even on Achaemenid seals. Persepolis Treasury seal no. 17, showing two apparently non-royal figures grasping

From the period of Assurnasirpal II reliefs have been preserved, however, which depict the king standing and holding his bow in an apparently ritual context which is not obviously associated with scenes of his military and hunting exploits. In one scene Assurnasirpal, flanked by genii, holds arrows in his left hand and a bow in his right[19]. This vignette occurs in the minor arts of the period of Assurnasirpal as well[20]. In a second scene type Assurnasirpal holds a small bowl in his other hand as he faces an attendant [Pl. 44b][21]. A series of ninth century cylinder seals depict the same theme with only minor variations[22]. The Assurnasirpal reliefs and the contemporaneous group of minor arts representations offer the only known Mesopotamian *tradition* of the use of the bow as an abstract symbol of the king's power and prowess which is not linked contextually to a specific episode of victory. Thus, if for the idea of creating a sculptural rendition of the image of the king standing emblematically while holding his bow Mesopotamian models were in fact directly drawn upon (or indirectly acquired by the Achaemenids through a

---

their bows as they flank the winged disc, seems to be unusual: Schmidt, *Persepolis*, II, 25 and pls. 2 and 6 (PT4 704 and PT4 550a). Admittedly, the study of the Persepolis Fortification tablet seals may change this picture somewhat.

[18] E.g., Assurnasirpal: Moortgat, *Mesopotamia*, pls. 261 and 266; Shalmaneser: ibid., pl. 270; Tiglathpileser III: Barnett and Falkner, *Sculptures*, pl. LXXXV; Assurbanipal: Barnett, *Assyrian Palace Reliefs and their Influence*, pl. 97.

[19] E. A. W. Budge, *Assyrian Sculptures in the British Museum: Reign of Ashur-nasir-pal*, 885-860 B.C. (London: British Museum, 1914), pl. XXXIII.

[20] As a garment decoration on reliefs (presumably imitating actual textile patterns): J.V. Canby, "Decorated Garments in Ashurnasirpal's Sculpture", *Iraq* 34, 1972, pls.XVIb and XIXa-b; decorating an actual bronze quiver cover: A. Godard, *Le trésor de Ziwiyè (Kurdistan)* (Haarlem: J. Enschedé, 1950), fig. 12.

[21] R.D. Barnett, *Assyrian Palace Reliefs in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1970), pl. II. E. Porada suggests that perhaps this scene type represents some ritual act complete unto itself: *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections; The Collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library*, The Bollingen Series, XIV (Washington: Pantheon Books, 1948), 79.

[22] Ibid., 79-80 (seal nos. 664-672). The figure holding the bow and the cup is not always the king on these seals. This motif seems to have enjoyed great popularity in the ninth century but not later.

"lost" Median art), these models are likely to have been Assyrian ones of the ninth century[23].

It is, however, interesting to note that the Achaemenid representations of this image (on the royal tombs and on the Behistun relief) differ from their otherwise close ninth century Assyrian prototypes in the way the bow is held. On Assyrian reliefs of all periods there are basically two distinct ways for the king to hold his bow. He may hold it vertically by one end (as Darius and his successors do), with the other end resting before his foot or upon it. He may, otherwise, grasps the bow by the middle. When the bow is held vertically by Assyrian kings it is almost invariably held so that the string is turned away from the king's body[24]. On the other hand, the Achaemenid representations (where the bow is also held vertically) consistently show the bow with the string toward the king's body[25]. The Assyrian way of showing the bow held seems less natural than that depicted on the Achaemenid representations, since the arc of the bow must in the former case interfere with the forward leg of the figure holding the bow. This suggests the possibility that for the Assyrians this pose with the bow reflected an actual usage which may even have had some significance within court protocol[26]. In any case, it is clear that the Achaemenids did not copy Assyrian models in this aspect.

Thus, we seem to have here a situation in which the idea, the emblematic, symbolic concept of the Achaemenid sculptural image of the king standing in a non-narrative context while holding his bow, may have its roots in neo-Assyrian art of the ninth century—either as a result of direct exposure, through then-extant reliefs, wall paintings, seals, bronzes, ivories, or even embroidered textiles; or indirect exposure, through Iranian works of art which were themselves ultimately derived from the ninth century Assyrian tradition. But while the emblematic image may have been derived ultimately from ninth century prototypes, certain internal iconographical details of the rendition as it was portrayed by the Achaemenids differ from extant examples of possible ninth century models (i.e., the type of bow depicted, which is a seventh-sixth century type, and the way it is held).

---

[23] As always, such a statement must be qualified with the understanding that in later generations some themes which under Assurnasirpal were executed in relief may have remained in the active repertoire of palace wall painters whose work is now almost completely lost. But if the subjects preferred for orthostat reliefs may be taken as an indication of current trends, then the observation is certainly valid that in general emblematic and ritual representations of the king are less common under the kings succeeding Assurnasirpal; and the particular motif of the king, posed out of a narrative exploit context while holding his bow, is not documented later at all.

[24] The one exception seems to be on a relief of Assurbanipal: Barnett, *Assyrian Palace Reliefs and their Influence*, pl. 97.

[25] This is true also of the figures on the Achaemenid Treasury sealings mentioned above (on PT4 704 and PT4 550a) as well as the figure of Darius on the Behistun relief.

[26] See Chapter VI for a discussion of textual evidence for the use of certain gestures which suggest the existence of a rigidly defined etiquette of diplomacy at the Assyrian court.

The King and Ahuramazda

The figure within the winged disc who faces Darius on his tomb relief (and on his relief at Behistun) most probably represents Ahuramazda [Pls. 8 and 13b][27]. While this is a widely accepted interpretation, and the one which I follow as well, there are divergent opinions which suggest important areas for discussion here.

The Parsee scholarly community in general favors the interpretation that the figure within the winged disc represents the "fravashi" of the king—his spirit. This is because orthodox Zoroastrians do not believe in making images of their god. Thus, under the assumption that the Achaemenids were in fact Zoroastrians themselves and that Zoroastrianism has not evolved or changed in this respect since the sixth century B.C., the Parsees are inclined to reject the idea that the Achaemenids would have represented Ahuramazda in their art[28]. But the Parsees' assumption of a strict Zoroastrianism (and one practiced then as now) is not borne out by the Achaemenid textual sources themselves[29].

Other scholars have been troubled by Herodotus' assertion (I.132) that the Persians made no images of their gods—seeing his remarks as proof that the figure in the winged disc cannot possibly represent

---

[27] The representations on the tomb and on the Behistun relief must be dealt with together here; but specific aspects of the Ahuramazda figure on the Behistun relief will be discussed in Chapter V.

[28] See J.M. Unvala, "The Winged Disk and the Winged Human Figure on Ancient Persian Monuments", *Dr. Modi Memorial Volume* (Bombay: Fort Printing Press, 1930), 488-513, for the Parsee theory; and the discussion by Duchesne-Guillemin in "La religion des Achéménides", 76, of the Parsee position.

[29] Dandamaev presents some of the evidence from the Persepolis Treasury and Fortification tablets as well as the imperial inscriptions which shows that Ahuramazda was the most important god worshipped at the court—but not the *only* one: "La politique religieuse des Achéménides".

Ahuramazda[30]. I do not believe that we can trust Herodotus' reliability on this point. All that we can discern from Achaemenid imperial inscriptions referring to Ahuramazda suggests that it is Ahuramazda who should be associated with the figure within the winged disc, who hovers overhead looking toward the figure of the king and holding forth the ring symbol. By the favor of Ahuramazda, Darius became king. Ahuramazda is the omnipresent spirit whose very existence is the seal of approval on all of the king's actions.

Nevertheless, there is a sense in which the Parsee scholars, by interpreting the figure of Ahuramazda as, rather, an image of the "fravashi" or spirit of the king, have touched upon a most important issue. Judging by the imperial inscriptions we must suppose that the relationship between the Achaemenid king and Ahuramazda was one of fluid reciprocity. As Gnoli has noted,

> Ahuramazda est le dieu du roi: sa relation avec Darius est très étroite et pourrait être dite quasi-personelle ... il est à Darius, comme Darius est à lui[31].

The question of whether or not the Persians (including the king himself) actually considered the king to be a god—perhaps the incarnation of Ahuramazda—is well beyond the scope of this discussion. In any case, we have no evidence of such a thing. But it is interesting to note that, although Darius was most probably not considered to be Ahuramazda incarnate, he functioned under the protection of his patron deity; and he could do no wrong because everything he did was done by the favor of Ahuramazda. As Duchesne-Guillemin has observed:

> Darius se dit roi par la volonté d'Ahuramazda; mais si Ahuramazda le protège, c'est parce qu'il est un roi juste: une sorte de pacte lie la politique à la religion[32].

Thus, for our understanding of the extent of the king's ability to sanctify his power and his deeds, the nature of his status as god or mortal is perhaps not as important as is the nature of his reciprocal relationship with Ahuramazda on a pragmatic level. To worship

---

[30] E.g., A.S. Shahbazi, "An Achaemenid Symbol, I. A Farewell to 'Fravahr' and 'Ahuramazda'," *AMI* n.F. 7, 1974, 141-142.

[31] Gnoli, "Politique religieuse", 167.

[32] J. Duchesne-Guillemin, "Religion et politique, de Cyrus à Xerxès", *Persica* 3, 1972, 7. Note also the discussion by Duchesne-Guillemin in "À la recherche d'un art mazdéen", Vth Congress on Iranian Art and Archaeology (Tehran, 1968), 265-271.

Ahuramazda seems to have been, by obvious extention, to acknowledge the power and the virtue of the king[33].

Given this almost symbiotic relationship between god and king it is not surprising that in art the two should be portrayed in each other's image. And yet, P. Calmeyer has recently suggested that the figure in the winged disc must represent the "daimon" of the king's ancestor rather than Ahuramazda. Following von Gall's theory of individualized crowns meant to identify specific kings, Calmeyer attempts to identify the winged figures on the various tombs as portraits of specific royal spirits on the basis of the type of crowns they seem to be wearing[34].

In another context, I have already expressed my skepticism as to the viability of von Gall's theory[35]. Here, acceptance of the idea leads Calmeyer into serious difficulties. On the basis of historical considerations one might suppose that Cyrus was the "daimon" represented on Darius' tomb. But this would mean that on the tomb Cyrus wore the same crown as Darius—and according to the von Gall theory this should not be so. Calmeyer also identifies as Cyrus the winged figure on the Behistun relief. And yet here the winged figure clearly wears a horned polos—no *royal* crown at all.

The Achaemenid texts do not speak of worship of deceased kings—but they do speak over and over again of Ahuramazda. In the face of so much primary textual evidence suggesting that Ahuramazda, as the king's everpresent divine helper and alter ego, is the figure represented in the company of the king at Behistun and on the tomb reliefs, it seems unnecessary to try to understand the Achaemenid reliefs rather in terms of Polyaenus' story of worship of the dead Alexander (as Calmeyer has done)[36]. Instead, I believe it is more fruitful to return to the Achaemenid monuments themselves in an attempt to understand how the image of the winged figure found its way into Achaemenid art and what its history may tell us about its meaning to the Achaemenids.

---

[33] The reverse may have been true as well. Although we have no Achaemenid sources attesting to the actual worship of Ahuramazda through the worship of the king, the impression conveyed by the tomb tableau suggests this concept. (See below for further comments on this idea). At any rate, it is perhaps this reciprocity of function which is sensed by Shahbazi and convinces him that the figure within the winged disc can be neither Ahuramazda nor the king's fravashi, but must rather be "a certain power primarily concerned with the Great King" (Shahbazi, "An Achaemenid Symbol", 136). Ahuramazda, as we know him from Achaemenid texts, conforms well to Shahbazi's definition of a power concerned primarily with the king.

[34] P. Calmeyer, "The Subject of the Achaemenid Tomb Reliefs", *Proceedings of the IIIrd Annual Symposium on Archaeological Research in Iran* (Tehran : Iran Centre for Archaeological Research, 1975), 233-242.

[35] Cat. Entry VIII.

[36] Calmeyer, "The Subject of the Achaemenid Tomb Reliefs".

There can be no doubt but that the sculptural rendition of Ahuramazda on the tomb (and on the Behistun relief) stems directly from neo-Assyrian iconography, where the god represented within the winged disc is apparently Assur (though never actually labeled). The form of the figure of Ahuramazda and of the winged disc is clearly descended from the neo-Assyrian representational type of Assur within the winged disc as it appears in the classic form it evolved into during the neo-Assyrian Period—even though the Achaemenid form does not *exactly* parallel any one known Assyrian representation of Assur[37]. In the minor arts the figure of the winged Assur survives through the late neo-Assyrian Period[38]. But as a "participant" in some sense in the action shown on monumental reliefs it is found in the ninth century, but not (according to information presently available) later [Pls. 45b-46b][39].

Assur appears in six separate scenes dating to the reign of Assurnasirpal II from the throne room of the Northwest Palace at Nimrud [Pl. 45a][40]. In one of these scene types the king is shown twice, flanking the sacred tree. Over the tree Assur hovers, grasping a ring in his left hand and facing to the right [Pl. 45b][41]. This scene may show a type of investiture. The figure of the king on the left holds his mace down at his side, while the royal figure on the right —the one whom Assur faces—has raised his mace as if to signify that he has received power through Assur's symbolic extension toward him of the ring[42]. The ring is an ancient Mesopotamian symbol which, until the neo-Assyrian Period, is always held by deities in conjunction with the rod—these two emblems together perhaps originally having been derived from the ideas of a measuring rod and line (the latter coiled into a ring) which the god would have to pass on to the king before the king could build a temple[43]. Whatever the original significance of the emblems, they seem gradually to have taken on a metaphorical aspect as symbols of the measuring out of justice[44]. And in the neo-Assyrian Period when on seals and reliefs Assur holds only the ring, it appears likely that the significance of the ring alone has been further generalized to stand for the idea of power and kingship[45]. In no period is the king ever shown actually in possession of the ring himself; but the investiture of Zimrilim on the famous wall painting at Mari clearly shows the king reaching out for the rod and ring which Ishtar proffers in a symbolic gesture[46]. And about 1,500 years later the same symbolic message is conveyed on a Sasanian rock relief right at Naqsh-i Rustam, when Ardashir I is depicted extending his hand toward the ring which Ahuramazda (in his Sasanian realization) thrusts forward [Pl. 47][47]. The image of the king confronting Ahuramazda on Darius' tomb relief at Naqsh-i Rustam must then be seen as part of a chain—linking various scenes such as the investiture of Zimrilim, and the representation of Assurnasirpal raising his mace in response to a symbolic receipt of power from Assur, to the later

---

[37] Luschey, "Darius-Relief", 80-83. B. Pering, "Die geflügelte Scheibe in Assyrien", *AfO* 8, 1932, 281-296. Also see Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, 207-215. During the period of Assurnasirpal II the type (known from monumental reliefs as well as from seals) always seems to present Assur as hardly emerging above the ring (Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, pl. XXXIII,a; Moortgat, *Mesopotamia*, pls. 257 and 267). In the later neo-Assyrian Period examples show a tendency for the figure of Assur to rise slightly higher out of the ring (Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, pl. XXXV, d; Porada, *Corpus*, pl. CXVII, 771e and 773e). On Achaemenid reliefs and seals the figure's whole torso rises above the ring.

[38] For seals, see n. 37, *supra*.

[39] The known reliefs of Tiglathpileser III, Sargon, Sennacherib and Assurbanipal do not include the figure of Assur within the winged disc as helpmate of the king—even in those compositions which structurally provide a suitable space above and before the king. This may be a reflection of a tendency toward increasing abstraction of religious concepts in the late period combined with a tendency toward literal historicity and emphasis on secular themes and the secular role of the king in art. Compare the remarks of Reade, "The Neo-Assyrian Court and Army", 93. It should be pointed out, however, that there is some evidence that the use of Assur within the winged disc in action scenes did continue in glazed tile decorations (and probably also in wall paintings) which were placed above the relief orthostats on palace walls. Note the small-scale Assur figure in glazed brick from Khorsabad, which seems to have been part of a battle scene : Botta and Flandin, *Monument*, pls. 155-156.

[40] J. Meuszyński, "The Throne-Room of Aššur-nasir-apli II. (Room B in th North-West Palace at Nimrud)", *ZA* 64, 1975, Pls. I-VIII (slabs B-23, B-13, B-11, B-7, B-5, B-3).

---

[41] Moortgat, *Mesopotamia*, pl. 257.

[42] Mallowan, *Nimrud*, I, 97.

[43] E.D. Van Buren, "The Rod and the Ring", *Archiv Orientální* 17, 1949, 434-435.

[44] Ibid., 435.

[45] Ibid., 447. Van Buren notes that on seals of the ninth through seventh centuries divinities almost invariably hold the ring without the rod.

[46] Ibid., 434-435 and 439-440; Moortgat, *Mesopotamia*, 69-71; E. Strommenger, *5000 Years of the Art of Mesopotamia*, trans. C. Haglund (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1964), pl. 165; A. Haldar, "On the Wall Painting from Court 106 of the Palace of Mari", *OrSu* 1, 1952, 51-65.

[47] Hinz, *Funde und Forschungen*, 126 and Taf. 60 and 67.

Sasanian tradition[48]. On the tomb facade Darius is, in effect, shown to be the direct recipient of the favor of Ahuramazda, as the god holds forth the ring—the symbol of a power which only the god can bestow upon an earthly ruler. Thus the relief parallels in visual terms the constant refrain of Achaemenid royal inscriptions. In this sense Darius and Ahuramazda must be understood to be relating directly to one another on the tomb relief—even as Darius is also clearly portrayed as standing before the fire altar.

This is not to say, however, that Darius is necessarily shown in the act of praying to or adoring Ahuramazda. In fact, one aspect of the tomb representation suggests otherwise. Both god and king make the same gesture with the right hand [Pl. 13b]. It is the same gesture which in Assyrian tradition carries the sense of greeting or blessing [e.g., Pl. 44a][49]. It is perhaps impossible to determine whether Darius is directing his gesture to Ahuramazda, to the fire altar, or to both. But in any case, the gesture which Darius makes is not one which an Assyrian king would make before either a god or a sacred cult object. In Assyrian art, when the king faces Assur in the winged disc or when he is shown before the statue or symbol of a deity, he normally makes a specific gesture with his right hand. The hand is clenched, with the index finger pointing out toward the deity or cult symbol [Pl. 45b][50]. Thus, although the Achaemenid representation of king before Ahuramazda is clearly derived from Assyrian representations such as that of Assurnasirpal before Assur, the Assyrian gesture used in this context has been rejected by the Achaemenids. In its place, we find the greeting/blessing gesture, which in Assyrian art is not used by a king when he is relating to cult symbols or divine images[51]. It is, of course, possible that the Achaemenids in actuality used the Assyrian greeting/blessing gesture as a prayer gesture and thus intended to portray Darius in the act of prayer on his tomb facade. But if we accept this, we must postulate that Ahuramazda is also praying, and that, similarly, the figure of the crown prince on the original central panels of the Apadana at Persepolis (who also holds his right hand in the traditional greeting pose) is praying rather than simply making a royal gesture of acknowledgment.

---

[48] This is true also of the Behistun representation—for which the relationship with antique Mesopotamian models is even clearer. This will be discussed further in Chapter V.

[49] See the discussion under "karabu", 4a-b, in *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, VIII, ed. M. Civil, I.J. Gelb, A.L. Oppenheim, and E. Reiner (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), 197. Herzfeld (in *Iranische Felsreliefs*, 14) misinterprets Darius' gesture, calling it the "uralte orientalische Adorationsgestus, das nîš ḳâti (Handerhebung) der Babylonier". And R.N. Frye mistakenly describes the gesture of Darius on the tomb as identical with his gesture on the Behistun relief ("Gestures of Deference to Royalty in Ancient Iran", *Iranica Antiqua* 9, 1972, 102-107), referring to both as a gesture of adoration before a deity. For a discussion of the Behistun gesture, see Chapter V.

[50] E.g., Moortgat, *Mesopotamia*, pl. 257. See M. Falkner, "Gebetsgebärden und Gebetsgesten", *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie*, III (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1957-1971), 176. P. Abenda suggests that this gesture be considered not so much one of "adoration before the gods" as, rather, "the transmission of divine sanctions of leadership given by the deities ... to the Assyrian ruler" ("Expressions of Kingship in Assyrian Art", *JANES* 2, 1969, 49).

[51] The relief (Moortgat, *Mesopotamia*, pl. 258) which shows Assurnasirpal making this gesture to a winged demon figure is not meant to represent the king praying to this creature. Rather, the king is greeting the helpful demon much as he is frequently shown to greet his crown prince. Similarly, when two genii flanking the sacred tree hold their right hands out in the greeting/blessing gesture, or when such figures are

An alternative suggestion would be that the Achaemenids knowingly rejected the Assyrian prayer gesture in favor of the greeting/blessing gesture, which on the tomb facade was used to convey the blessing aspect[52]. In my opinion this change in the traditional Assyrian prototypes (prototypes which clearly must have been known first-hand to the Achaemenids) may well reflect a deliberate alteration by the Achaemenids of the Assyrian image of the king in relation to his patron deity. The degree to which such an important alteration of this relationship for sculptural representations may reflect either a difference in actual religious beliefs or, rather, a difference in the image of the god/king relationship which the king may have wished to have projected for strictly political reasons can only be conjectured at this point. Perhaps, in the final analysis, it is impossible to separate these two levels of conception when discussing the religion of the Achaemenid court.

Duchesne-Guillemin has suggested that Achaemenid politics and religion were reciprocally determined[53]. Indeed they seem, from what

---

shown in this pose as they flank gate colossi, they must be understood to make a gesture of blessing or acknowledgment—not of "prayer". See Budge, *Assyrian Sculptures in the British Museum*, pl. XLII2; and Gadd, *Stones*, pl. 5.

[52] The two figures flanking a fire altar on the facade of a rock-cut tomb at Kizkapan pose just as Darius does on his tomb. Since presumably they are not meant to be shown greeting each other, but, rather, relating to the fire, the use of the gesture here also suggests stress on the concept of blessing. H. von Gall has shown that this relief must date to the early fourth century B.C. : "Zu den 'medischen' Felsgräbern in Nordwestiran und Iraqi Kurdistan", *AA* 81, 1966, 36-38 and Abb. 21.

[53] Duchesne-Guillemin, "Religion et politique", 1.

can be gathered from royal inscriptions, to have functioned symbiotically on the pragmatic level of international affairs of empire. And according to the evidence of Achaemenid relief sculpture—not least the evidence of the tomb facade—it would seem that emphasis in court religious practice may have been placed upon the person of the king and upon Ahuramazda rather more through the medium of the king. Gnoli has suggested that there was a tendency toward the emergence of a "culte public, destiné à soutenire la nouvelle monarchie unitaire et supranationale"[54]. It may be, then, that the tomb relief, with its depiction of the king and Ahuramazda apparently blessing each other—relating to one another as peers at least in terms of the visual language of Assyrian prototypes—reflects a difference in the actual conception of the relationship between king and god. This difference could have made it important for Achaemenid planners to rework the antique Assyrian models in order that they might more accurately mirror the particular demands of the Achaemenid religio-political conception.

In this context, it should be reiterated that the figure of Ahuramazda on the tomb reliefs does not wear the horned Assyrian divine polos crowned by a star symbol which he wears on the earlier Behistun relief. Porada has suggested that this change is one of several indications of an "intentional assimilation of the royal image to the divine" on Achaemenid reliefs during the reign of Darius[55]. The use by the Achaemenid king of the Assyrian greeting/blessing gesture rather than the prayer gesture when depicted as facing Ahuramazda (and this in a sculptural representation which clearly indicates direct access to the traditional models) lends support to Porada's stimulating observations on the intertwining of the traditional functions of god

The King Before the Fire Altar: Compositional Prototypes

The image of Darius standing alone before the fire altar must be handled independently of the image of the king relating to Ahuramazda because the dual focus of the king found on the tomb relief is, in effect, the product of a combination of two normally distinct scene types. The sculptural rendition of the image of the king relating to Ahuramazda and being symbolically invested with the power inherent in the ring is, as we have seen, directly dependent upon neo-Assyrian prototypes. The image of the king alone before an altar is not, on the other hand, paralleled in neo-Assyrian art[56]. But this image is common on neo-Babylonian stamp and cylinder seals of the modeled style, where, however, the figure standing before the altar is not necessarily a king [Pl. 47b][57]. On these seals, the altar or platform usually supports the emblems of Nabu and Marduk. Frequently on the neo-Babylonian seals, as also on the tomb tableaux of Darius and his successors, an astral symbol of a divinity is placed in the free space above the altar.

---

[54] Gnoli, "Politique religieuse", 182.

[55] E. Porada, review of *Persepolis*, II, by Schmidt, in *JNES* 20, 1961, 68.

The significance of the astral emblem represented on Darius' tomb relief is, at this point in our understanding of Achaemenid religion, still a matter for speculation. It seems likely that the emblem symbolizes both solar and lunar powers in the one form consisting of disc with inscribed crescent[58]. Opinions differ, however, as to which gods were intended to be represented by the solar/lunar symbol[59]. It is most unlikely, in any case, that for the important tomb relief these astral symbols were copied from Babylonian or Assyrian monuments simply as decorative fillers. Rather, they must have meant something to the Achaemenids. Gnoli, Duchesne-Guillemin and Segall clearly agree on this point.

Thus, although compositional similarities between the neo-Babylonian seals and the Achaemenid tomb relief suggest that the seal type may have been used as a compositional model for the Achaemenid portrayal of the king before a fire altar, the Achaemenid relief cannot in any sense be called a copy of the neo-Babylonian scenes. The planners of the tomb tableau drew freely from neo-Babylonian glyptic prototypes which were well within their immediate and active iconographic repertoire. But the skeletal compositional framework was cast in a new political and religious context[60].

---

[56] The relief on the altar of Tukulti-Ninurta I (Moortgat, *Mesopotamia*, pl. 246) is apparently unique. The representational type did not, as far as extant monuments indicate, persist into the neo-Assyrian Period. (In any case it is quite different from the Achaemenid relief).

[57] Porada, *Corpus*, 95-96 and 98-99; pls. CXIX (esp. no. 781E)-CXXI.

[58] Duchesne-Guillemin, "Religion et politique", 6. Though cf. Schmidt, *Persepolis*, III, 85 and n. 44; and Calmeyer, "The Subject of the Achaemenid Tomb Reliefs", 238, n. 21.

[59] Compare Duchesne-Guillemin, "Religion et politique", 6-7, and Gnoli, "Politique religieuse", 126-139, for recent discussions of this issue. Segall ("Notes on the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship", 77f) discusses the deliberate syncretic revival of the sun and the moon symbol by Nabonidus, suggesting "how intimately late Babylonian and Achaemenid syncretism were interwoven...".

The King Before the Fire Altar: An Actual Rite?

To some extent the tomb tableau, minus the divine symbols, must illustrate a scene of the king before a blazing fire altar as such an activity would have taken place in actuality. The blazing fire atop the altar is too realistic a detail to have been a mere artistic device. And, indeed, the altar itself is very similar in form to an actual fire altar found in the Median temple at Nush-i Jan and to a blazing fire altar represented on Persepolis Treasury seal #20[61]. Thus, while we have stressed the fact that it is often difficult to separate religious and political image-making as they are portrayed in official Achaemenid art and inscriptions, we must suppose that Achaemenid kings did, on occasion, stand before fire altars of just this type. It is, furthermore, not unlikely that the platform upon which Darius and the altar are standing illustrates a furniture type actually used in such rituals[62].

There is no reason to follow Herzfeld and Schmidt in suggesting that the unarmed witnesses flanking the tomb tableau on the right represent mourners and that the figure of the king represented on the platform is, in fact, a depiction of the king deceased[63]. While it is possible that this interpretation is correct, there is no real evidence to support it. Given that the relief was not carved posthumously, but, rather, quite early in Darius' reign, an acceptance of the theory would necessitate assumptions about Achaemenid practices and beliefs for which our sources supply no factual basis. The gesture adopted by the unarmed men in robes on the right flank of the tomb facade need not imply mourning. It may, as Hinz suggests, be related to the importance of not contaminating the fire with human breath; but it may also be related to the fact that these figures are shown looking toward the face of the king[64]. The gesture is similar to that made by the bowing officials on the "Treasury reliefs" and on the north door reliefs of the Throne Hall—save for the fact that on the tomb relief the figures wear the court robe, with the voluminous sleeve camouflaging the hand.

---

[60] Note that neo-Babylonian seal impressions with precisely this motif of figure before an altar have been found on Persepolis Treasury tablets. Schmidt, *Persepolis*, II, pl. 13: seals no. 61 (PT6 215) and 62 (PT6 293 and PT4 774). A group of Achaemenid seals impressed on Treasury tablets are, similarly, related to the Babylonian seal tradition, but clearly representing *Iranian* customs: e.g., Treasury seals no. 22 and 23: ibid., 27 and pl. 7.

[61] Roaf and Stronach, "Tepe Nūsh-i Jān", fig. 6 and pls. VIb-VIIb. Though the Nush-i Jan altar does not have a stepped base, it does have the characteristic upper steps graduating outward toward the top. Schmidt, *Persepolis*, II, 9 and pl. 7, for the seal. That the altar form lived on is shown by the altar representations on the reverses of Sasanian coins (viz., Porada, *Ancient Iran*, pl. 53).

[62] See Chapter III; and Calmeyer, "The Subject of the Achaemenid Tomb Reliefs".

[63] Herzfeld, *Iran*, 263; Schmidt, *Persepolis*, III, 81.

In summary, then, the representation of the king before the fire altar on the monumental platform may depict a type of rite which the king actually performed. The composition of the sculptural representation of this rite may owe its inspiration to neo-Babylonian models; but the content displays specifically Iranian features in the reverence of fire and in the actual form of the altar depicted. Herzfeld and Schmidt have both asserted that the depiction of the king before the fire altar was borrowed from rather similar reliefs represented on a group of Iranian rock-cut tombs which they assumed to be Median in date[65]. These tombs have, however, been shown to post-date the tomb of Darius[66]. In fact, we must conclude that the chain of influence went in the opposite direction from that which Herzfeld and Schmidt supposed.

Conclusion

Far from being an adaptation of the rock-cut tombs of Median kings of the seventh century, as was once thought, the tomb of Darius was an "invention" of its planners. Darius' tomb was itself the model for the tombs of later Achaemenid kings; and once established, this tomb type (with architectural facade and superimposed relief) became the model also for the so-called Median rock-cut tombs.

---

[64] Hinz, *Funde und und Forschungen*, 63, n. 4. Cf. Frye, "Gestures of Deference", 102-107; and Calmeyer, "The Subject of the Achaemenid Tomb Reliefs", 234 and n. 13. In either case, the flanking figures of honor guards on the left and unarmed figures on the right are, presumably, meant to be thought of as all standing on the ground level (on the same level as the lowest row of platform carriers). The stacking upward in vertical registers is then an artistic convention for rendering many figures.

[65] Herzfeld and Sarre, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, 57-66; Schmidt, *Persepolis*, III, 79. Also followed by Ghirshman, *Persia*, 87-89.

[66] von Gall, "Zu den 'medischen' Felsgräbern", 19-43; "Neue Beobachtungen zu den sog. medischen Felsgräbern", *Proceedings of the IInd Annual Symposium on archaeological Research in Iran* (Tehran: Iran Centre for Archaeological Research, 1974), 139-154.

The relief carved on Darius' tomb facade is complexly formulated. Are we to understand the compositional build-up of the facade literally—so that the platform and the assembly of witnesses to the king's ceremonial/religious act are taken to have actually been standing on the roof of the building represented in the facade below? Schmidt is, perhaps, too categorical in his assertion of the absurdity of such an idea[67]. In Iran to this day a great deal of activity takes place on the flat roofs of buildings, so the idea should not be dismissed unconsidered[68]. Another possibility is that we are meant to understand the platform as being carried into the building represented in facade, or perhaps into the tomb itself (the actual door of which is also the door of the illusory building facade). In actuality this would, of course, have been impossible in the case of an entrance into the tomb itself; and in the case of an entrance into a building, it would have been possible only if the building's doorway were very large. Schmidt has suggested that the relief shows a scene taking place *within* a building, the facade of which is rendered below the tableau[69].

While these speculations are interesting, they tend to obscure the most important aspects of the relief: that it is a sculptural representation which was meant to be seen and which was calculated to convey a certain impression of the king and kingship.

The tableau of the king standing, bow in hand, before the fire altar on a large dais and in the company of his countrymen could easily represent some religious rite more or less as it may have taken place in actuality; while the figure of Ahuramazda and the solar/lunar emblem are of course symbolic images. The idea of selecting this type of theme for depiction may have been derived from neo-Babylonian seals which show a standing figure alone before an altar, with divine emblems overhead. But the divine symbols on the tomb relief have been changed to conform to Achaemenid political/religious demands. Ahuramazda, hovering overhead and extending the ring toward Darius in a gesture symbolic of investiture, harks back to Assyrian models of Assur. This may indicate a calculated attempt to syncretize the concept of Assur to the concept of Ahuramazda. But whether or not this is the case, the Achaemenids made significant changes in the way of representing the interaction of god and king. The Achaemenids seem to have adapted the Assyrian model deliberately in order to express a different relationship between the king and the god—a relationship which seems to have been typified by a merging of political and religious concepts of power.

---

[67] Schmidt, *Persepolis*, III, 80.

[68] Amiet has also suggested the possibility that the relief depicts a rite taking place on the roof of the building depicted below the tableau: "L'art achéménide", 168.

[69] Schmidt, *Persepolis*, III, 80.

The platform carriers thus become, in this context, a further expression of the visual fusion of political and religious concepts. They convey symbolically an eminently political message—as Darius' DNa inscription states in no uncertain terms. And yet, they are cast (no doubt as a result of calculated planning) in the image of the age-old cosmic helpers—the demi-gods and genii whose task it is effortlessly to raise on high the solar disc or to lend metaphorical support to the cross-pieces of divine and royal furniture.

All in all, Darius' tomb relief, taken together with its accompanying inscription, is a most remarkable monument which, eclipsed by the epigraphically and historically important Behistun inscription and relief, has not received the attention it deserves[70]. Both the inscription (particularly DNb) and the relief are crucial sources for our understanding of the concept of personal ethics, of religion, of kingship and of empire which Darius claimed as his and so offered to posterity.

---

[70] Most recently, Farkas (*Achaemenid Sculpture*, 31) has dismissed the need for further analysis of the tomb relief by remarking that "... it no doubt was derived from Behistun, the main difference being the magnified and isolated image of the king and the substitution of throne bearers for prisoners".

V

BEHISTUN : THE KING VICTORIOUS

Military Victory in Achaemenid Art

Scenes depicting the king triumphant over enemies in any explicit "historical" sense are extremely rare in Achaemenid art. The Behistun relief of Darius is the only known sculpture from this period which can be so described.

The only other Achaemenid representational type bearing any thematic resemblance to the Behistun victory relief appears on the Moscow seal inscribed with the name of Artaxerxes [Pl. 34b][1]. Several additional seals plus one seal represented by numerous impressions on bullae found at Persepolis [Pl. 48] bear designs which are closely related to the Artaxerxes seal composition[2]. Though differing in details, all these seals show several bound captives attached by a rope to a victor who wears the Persian court robe but whose headdress is often difficult to determine; this victor either holds his spear ceremonially or slays an enemy with it[3]. Whether the victor should in *any* of these cases be identified as the king, or perhaps rather as a personification of the abstract idea of "a Persian man", or even as the actual owner of the seal, is a difficult question. In a sense the king seems to have perceived himself as the epitome of "a Persian man"—at least as Darius presents himself in his tomb inscription (see Chapter VIII). And in that sense one might conceivably argue that for our purposes the distinction between "the king" and "a Persian man" should not be of great significance. On the other hand, those surely official Achaemenid representations which are definitely literal depictions of the king *as king* (as opposed to mythical personage) invariably show the ruler wearing a crown. Representations such as that on the Zvenigorodsky cylinder seal, where the victor clearly wears a regular headdress rather than a crown, may, rather, have been commissioned by nobles who had themselves cast in the role of victor. Quite possibly such seals were commissioned following actual military engagements in which the patrons were active.

---

[1] Strelkov, "Artaxerxes Cylinder", 17-21 and fig. 2.

[2] (A) The Zvenigorodsky cylinder seal, in the Hermitage: ibid., 20-21 and fig. 3; Olmstead, *Persian Empire*, 312; W.H. Ward, *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia* (Washington: Carnegie Institution, 1910), 327, #1049; P.J. Junge, *Saka-Studien*, Klio Beiheft, XLI, n.F. Heft XXVIII (Leipzig: Dieterich, 1939), 63-64, n. 4. Victor, apparently wearing the tall Persian headdress rather than a crown, leads four bareheaded Egyptian captives by a rope tied to his belt. Victor spears a figure wearing Egyptian type crown.

(B) Cylinder Seal: Ward, *Seal Cylinders*, 327, #1048. Victor in tall Persian headdress or perhaps a crown leads three captives dressed in Iranian riding habit by rope tied to his belt. Victor holds spear, point up. Winged disc above.

(C) Cylinder Seal: Ward, *Seal Cylinders*, 328, #1052. Victor in Persian headdress or dentate crown leads bound figure in Iranian riding habit by rope tied to his belt. Victor spears a kneeling figure in riding habit and pointed cap, who seems to hold an axe. Head of another enemy, fallen in combat, is preserved wearing a pointed helmet. Behind, a lion is about to attack the enemy from the rear. Ahuramazda figure hovers over a palm tree.

(D) Cylinder seal impressions on bullae from Persepolis. (1) Treasury seal #28: Schmidt, *Persepolis*, II, 10-11 and Pl. 9. On PT 4 948, 865, and 330. Victor, in headdress or crown (?) leads three Greek captives by rope attached to his belt. Victor spears kneeling Greek who carries a shield. (2) Fifty-two sealings found in a jar in the Persepolis Fortifications. According to A. Tadjvidi, "most of them" show the king(?) forcing a Greek soldier to his knees: "Report on Persepolis", *Iran* 8, 1970, 187. This cursory description leaves it unclear whether these sealings are in fact from the same seal as the impressions on the treasury bullae.

It is tempting to postulate that the several variations of this one basic seal motif were all derived from one monumental imperial relief which is now lost to us[4]. This hypothetical monumental prototype would have belonged either to Darius or Xerxes—since the earliest of the seal types belongs to a late Darius-Xerxes corpus of Persepolis sealings. I would suggest, however, that the existence of this group of seals displaying variations on one composition need not imply a prototype in monumental art. The great variety of representational motifs found in Achaemenid glyptic art (a variety which will not be fully appreciated until the Fortification seals have been published) stands in striking contrast to what we know of monumental art.

---

[3] The composition on the Oxus Treasure "Triumph Seal" in the British Museum is more of a battle scene than a victory scene: Strelkov, "Artaxerxes Cylinder", fig. 4. M. Dandamaev, in *Persien unter der ersten Achämeniden*, 87f, mentions two seals which may represent yet another compositional type which he considers similar to the Behistun relief. According to his description, one, in the Hermitage, shows the Persian king [?] punishing [?] the Lie-following kings; and the other, in the British Museum, shows the king [?] standing with one foot on an enemy while spearing another. Ahuramazda is overhead. I have not been able to obtain illustrations of these seals to date.

[4] For instance, Strelkov (ibid., 20) suggests that the Moscow Artaxerxes seal and the Zvenigorodsky seal commemorate the reconquest of Egypt by Artaxerxes III and notes that "Presumably both seals derive from a more important monument celebrating this event".

And there is no reason to assume that glyptic workshops (so important within the bureaucracy-oriented cultures of the Near East) did not spawn their own representational traditions—just as vase painting workshops in Athens spawned their own representational traditions which were distinct from those of sculptors and monumental painters.

The uniqueness of the Behistun relief as an imperial Achaemenid victory monument makes it a particularly significant potential source on Achaemenid conceptions of the king and kingship. But in addition to this primary level of uniqueness, the Behistun relief is the only known Achaemenid representation which in any sense may be said to illustrate actual events described in an accompanying text. Furthermore, it is the only known Achaemenid representation which clearly documents a *specific historical event*, or series of events.

Thus it is of special interest to determine (1) where the planners of Darius' monumental sculpture may have turned for models when commissioned to design the Behistun relief, (2) in what ways these models were altered, and, finally, (3) what these changes in the prototypes may indicate about the image of the king which was intended to be conveyed through the relief at Behistun. In the course of this chapter I aim therefore to explore the possible sources of inspiration for its conceptual formulation, its compositional arrangement, and its stylistic form, with an end to furthering our understanding of Achaemenid art as a subjective historical source.

A brief description of the salient features of the Behistun relief as it appears to the eye will be followed by a discussion of the iconography of the relief. The purpose of this discussion will be primarily to define the nature of the relief in its dual function as a textual illumination and as a sculptural monument in its own right. This will be an important step preliminary to the ensuing iconographical analysis of representational prototypes for the scene of king receiving captives. For it is naturally crucial to gain an understanding (1) of the extent to which the conception of the relief is, in fact, a reflection of its function as textual illumination and (2) of the extent to which the Achaemenid sculptural vision of the king victorious is the product of an adaptation of available representational models.

Behistun : A Description

The Behistun relief, situated high above the important road leading from Babylon/Baghdad, through Kermanshah, to Hamadan (ancient

Ecbatana) in the heart of Media, is carved into a smoothed rectangular panel of cliff face which measures approximately 3 m. by 5.50 m.[5]. The figure of Darius is represented as standing, facing right. He wears the Persian robe, the so-called royal shoes with no straps[6], bracelets, and an elaborately carved crenelated diadem [Pl. 7]. In his left hand he grasps his bow. His right hand is raised to face level, with the palm turned outward, parallel to the front plane of his face. With his left foot Darius steps on the chest of the figure prostate before him. This figure, also wearing the Persian robe, is labeled Gaumata, the Magian pretender to the Persian throne whose story we know from Herodotus and Ctesias as well as from the Behistun text itself[7]. Here Gaumata stretches out both arms imploringly toward the Great King above him, while he kicks with his right leg so that his foot appears behind Darius' standing leg [pl. 6].

Approaching the king from the right are the figures of nine more captured rebels. They stand in single file, tied together at the neck by one long rope. Their hands are bound behind their backs. These figures are considerably shorter than the image of the king, measuring about 1.17 m. to his 1.72 m.[8]. Each of the bound prisoners is labeled by name and nationality and each wears clothing which, at least in a general way, is suggestive of the land whence he comes. Similarly, variations in physiognomy and coiffure have been used to create an impression of individuality to the extent that each figure seems to characterize a certain regional or ethnic "type"[9]. The first eight standing captives are leaders from various parts of the empire who rebelled in Darius' first year of reign. The accompanying Behistun inscription describes how each of these rebellions was quelled and its instigator put to death. The last prisoner, Skunkha the Scyth with pointed cap, was not added to the scene until after Darius' successful suppression of the Scythian rebellion in 519 B.C.[10].

---

[5] See Catalogue Entry III. Luschey, "Darius-Relief", 66, for these measurements.

[6] Ibid., 73. Schmidt (*Persepolis*, I, 39) mistakenly describes the shoes as three-strapped. See Catalogue Entry XI, A, for a discussion of the royal and non-royal shoes.

[7] Herod. III. 61-79; Ctes. *Pers*. XII, Epit. 41-44; Olmstead, *Persian Empire*, 107-110.

[8] Luschey, "Darius-Relief", 68. The last figure, Skunkha, measures 1.80 m.—but only because of his very tall hat.

[9] Ibid., 87 and Taf. 29-31. Luschey notes that this degree of differentiation corresponds to that implied by Buschor's term "Namungs-Portrait".

[10] See Cat. Entry III.

Behind the figure of Darius two weaponbearers stand at attention facing right[11]. They are slightly taller than the figures of bound rebels. Both wear the Persian robe, strapped shoes and an embroidered fillet tied at the forehead. Their beards are closely cropped, in contrast to the king's long square one. The figure directly behind Darius grasps a bow in his left hand. Bringing up the rear is the spearbearer.

Hovering over the heads of the captive rebel leaders, the figure of Ahuramazda within the winged disc faces left, toward Darius [Pl. 8][12]. In his left hand he grasps a ring. He extends his right hand with its palm facing out toward the viewer. This figure wears the Persian robe and a triple-horned polos crown topped by a seven-pointed star symbol. His beard is long and square like the king's but neither his hair nor his beard is rendered in detail. Both are merely blocked out, as is true also for the figures of the captive leaders.

The narrative text of the trilingual Behistun inscription (DB) is organized in columns and is carved to the right, to the left, and below the relief. Minor inscriptions which explain the relief figures are carved in the sculptural field, and were clearly added after the relief was carved.

The Relief as Textual Illumination

How does the relief, with its labeled figures, relate to the historical inscription which accompanies it? Columns I through III of the Behistun inscription present a description in some detail of Darius' victory over Gaumata, his rise to kingship, and the subsequent rebellions which took place after his accession to the throne. Then in the beginning of the fourth column (DB IV) this material is, in effect, summarized, and a roster of the slain rebel leaders is given:

> ... Saith Darius the King: This is what I did by the favor of Ahuramazda in one and the same year after that I became king. XIX battles I fought; by the favor of Ahuramazda I smote them and took prisoner IX kings. One was Gaumata by name, a Magian; he lied; thus he said: "I am Smerdis, the son of Cyrus"; he made Persia rebellious. One Ançina by name, an Elamite, he lied; ... These IX kings I took prisoner within these battles ... The Lie made them rebellious, so that these (men) deceived the people. Afterwards Ahuramazda put them into my hands; as was my desire, so I did unto them ... Saith

---

[11] Luschey, "Darius-Relief", Taf. 35-36. Luschey (68-71) suggests that these figures are Gobryas and Intaphernes. See also Schmidt, *Persepolis*, III, 86.

[12] On the identification of the figure within the winged disc with Ahuramazda see Chapter IV.

Darius the King: I turn myself quickly to Ahuramazda, that this (is) true, not false, (which) I did in one and the same year[13].

In this summary, the historical events are compressed and thus distorted somewhat. The victory over Gaumata is grouped with the other eight as an event which occured *after* Darius became king. It is not explained that Gaumata had already been slain before the other leaders had spread revolt or that the other rebels were slain one by one in various places, at various times, and at the hands of various of Darius' generals. The Behistun relief clearly parallels visually the literary summary function of the DB IV text. As in DB IV, the relief portrays Darius as already being king at the time he slays Gaumata. The relief presents a compression of all the distinct historic episodes described in DB I-III into one event which never took place in actuality as it is depicted. The relief captures in visual, symbolic form the essential political message of the DB I-III text: that Darius, with the help of his loyal allies, and by the favor of Ahuramazda, overthrew and killed the usurper Gautama and suppressed all rebellions throughout the land in order to re-establish security in the empire. Thus the relief may be said to illuminate, rather than to illustrate, DB I-III in the sense that it provides a visual précis (albeit compressed to the point of distorting the facts) of the historical events described. It illuminates DB I-III through the use of immediately recognizable images (e.g., Darius stepping on Gaumata—clearly suggesting the imminent execution of the condemned Magian usurper; and the approaching file of bound prisoners—just as clearly suggesting battle, defeat, and ultimate execution at the hand of the victorious king)[14].

Both the DB IV summary text and the monumental relief relate similarly to DB I-III in the sense that each presents a précis in which the impact of concise unity of imagery takes precedence as an artistic priority over faithfulness to the historical events as they are set forth in the narrative portion of the text. In the summary text the neatness of the literary device of describing all the events as having taken place "in the same year" was considered more important than strict attention to the truth of the assertion[15]. Similarly, in the relief, strong demands for a powerfully "emblematic" composition which could incorporate all Darius' victories within one frame must have determined the formulation of this representation. (In the ensuing discussion I shall use this word "emblematic" to describe compositions which are similarly compact, usually self-contained, non-episodic units).

---

[13] Kent's translation of the Old Persian text, DB IV: Kent, *Old Persian*, 131. Though cf. I. Gershevitch, *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), 184.

[14] Compare Poebel, "Chronology of Darius' First Year of Reign", 163-164, on the symbolic, conventionalized nature of the relief and its nonconformity to the facts as given in DB I-III (e.g., Martiya was said to have been killed by the Elamites themselves; but here he is shown lining up for judgment/execution before the Great King instead).

In addition, one important compositional aspect of the relief clearly parallels the DB IV summary text. Darius is depicted as facing the image of Ahuramazda who holds the ring, the ancient Mesopotamian symbol of power. At the same time, the king is also facing the file of prisoners who are underneath the figure of Ahuramazda in the winged disc. It is surely not a coincidence that in the summary text Darius claims that Ahuramazda placed the rebel leaders into his (Darius') hand for punishment, and that Darius himself has, in the name of Ahuramazda, sworn to the truthfulness of his version of the events surrounding his rise to power. The relationship between Darius and Ahuramazda on the relief will be discussed in greater detail later. It is, however, worth noting at this preliminary stage that the inscription reinforces the idea that the relief was intended to convey an impression that Ahuramazda was, in a sense, an active participant in the Behistun tableau.

Some scholars have suggested that the representation on the Behistun relief of the king facing the god necessarily implies that the king is actually "worshiping" Ahuramazda[16]. But an analysis of the relief in conjunction with the accompanying inscription makes it clear that we should understand the god's presence here as a realization of the Achaemenid concept of Ahuramazda as the collaborator of the king. In a symbolic way Ahuramazda is shown to deliver the concept of abstract power (embodied in the ring) as well as the concept of very concrete power (in the form of the rebel chieftains) into the hands of Darius. Darius fulfills his part in the covenant between king and god by affirming his righteousness and (by the favor of Ahuramazda, of course) by expeditiously exterminating the followers of the Lie. This reciprocal relationship between Darius and Ahuramazda has been discussed already in Chapter IV with special regard to the tomb relief. All that was said in that context applies here as well; though the Behistun relief offers a glimpse of a more obviously political facet of the covenant between god and king. Thus, while Darius and Ahuramazda are shown to interact, it seems an unfortunate misconstruction to interpret this interaction as one involving "worship" *per se*. There is, perhaps, a sense in which one could ultimately view any scene of battle or victory within the Mesopotamian tradition as a scene of worship, given that the king performs all his duties in order to please his patron deity. I have discussed this concept already in Chapter III. But I do not think that this type of extended concept of worship is what the scholars mentioned above are suggesting.

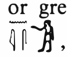
---

[15] Hallock, "The 'One Year' of Darius I", 39. On the literary device of the "one year" see Trümpelmann, "Zur Entstehungsgeschichte", 296, n. 33.

[16] Olmstead, *Persian Empire*, 118; Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, 38; Luschey, "Darius-Relief", 72; Farkas, *Achaemenid Sculpture*, 31. The gesture assumed by Darius has been interpreted as one of prayer, and this is apparently why the scene is frequently described as a scene of worship. A great deal of confusion on the issue has been caused by a general tendency to equate the Behistun gesture with the gesture made by the king on each of the royal tomb facades. The latter (with its meaning of greeting or, more specifically here, blessing) has been discussed at some length in Chapter IV. On the Behistun relief, the king does not, however, assume this attitude of blessing. Instead, he turns his palm outward, toward the approaching file of prisoners. Frye, who did not recognize the difference between the types of gesture, describes them both (apparently with reference only to photographs of the Behistun relief) as a gesture "in the form of the defunct Fascist salute"—an unfortunate phrase in its tendency to provoke distracting impressions of the relief. ("Gestures of Deference", 103-104). He then suggests that this gesture is actually an Egyptian prayer gesture. But, first of all, it is unlikely that in this relief, which is so closely related to Assyrian stylistic

The Behistun monument might more aptly be termed a creation of triumphant piety. We must always bear in mind that we are dealing with a culture whose concepts of kingship and religion have roots in an Indo-Iranian heritage which is still elusive. It seems evident, in fact, that some elements of the text and the relief must

---

prototypes, an Egyptian posture of prayer would have been used instead of an Assyrian one if prayer had been the activity intended for portrayal. Furthermore, even if the Behistun gesture were assumed to have been derived from Egypt, it would be identified not with the gesture of praise and adoration, but with the Egyptian attitude for summoning, calling, or greeting, as it is used in the hieroglyphic determinative for calling: (as in , "to call"). This gesture is found in art, for instance, assumed by the princes appearing in a relief dated to Ramses III: K.C. Seele, "Rameses VI and the Medinet Habu Procession of the Princes", *JNES* 19, 1960, 184-203, pls. II-III and fig. 7. In my opinion it seems likely that Darius' gesture is directed toward the prisoners, and that it may imply summoning forward. While Americans summon with the palm turned toward the face, this is by no means a universal custom. In North Africa today, for instance, one summons with the palm of the hand turned away from one's face.

be derived ultimately from this Indo-Iranian tradition[17]. Perhaps this explains the tendency (when viewing the Achaemenid monument through the filter of *Mesopotamian* traditions) to find the relief incongruous unless it is called a scene of worship.

In fact, this is a monument of victory—of pious victory—intended to offer an example to potential waverers from the Truth and to exhibit the relationship of reciprocity between god and king and between them and the people—good and bad. It is not a cult monument meant to be hidden in a dark temple cella, perused only by the god himself when he wishes to be reminded of what Darius has done in his behalf. On the contrary, it is located on an important highway (the site of more ancient rock reliefs as well) above a ten m. wide cult terrace from which the sculpture could apparently be viewed by the public at relatively close range[18]. The Behistun text is not addressed to Ahuramazda, even in a token way, but, rather, to all the people of all the lands of the empire. The discovery of a re-copied papyrus copy of an Aramaic version of the text, which had been sent to Elephantine, is one proof that the dictum was referred to frequently by mortal men even in this distant colony in Upper Egypt[19]. And fragments of a copy of the Behistun text *and relief* found at Babylon indicate that perhaps the copies of the Behistun inscription which Darius "sent off everywhere among the provinces" (DB V, §70) were accompanied by copies of the relief—as a didactic aid to the illiterate[20].

As we have seen, the Behistun inscription and the relief seem to work together. While the narrative portion of the text (DB I-III) describes the historical events one at a time, the DB IV summary compresses everything into a literary emblem, as it were. Similarly, the relief functions visually as an emblematic statement of all the events described in the DB I-III text compressed into one tableau. It would be of great interest to know which was conceived first—the DB IV text or the relief[21]. I am inclined to suppose that the text was written before the relief was planned.

---

[17] Note, for instance, J. Kellens, "Les formules du type HUBƎRƎTA-BAR en Avestique", Acta Iranica, III (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974), 133-147.

[18] Luschey, "Darius-Relief", 66 and Abb. 1-2.

[19] A.E. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923), 248-271.

[20] Seidl, "Ein Relief Dareios' I. in Babylon", esp. 130 and n. 15.

[21] Hinz's study of the order of the carving of the Behistun inscription ("Die Entstehung der altpersischen Keilschrift", 95-98) tells us that the inscriptions were

But in any event, the following question presents itself: To what extent (if at all) was the conceptual formulation of the relief dependent upon a demand of this particular commission to produce an illustration of the DB IV summary text? I would suggest that the planners of the relief had definite instructions about the type of sculpture they were expected to design—that the idea, the emblematic, timeless vision of investiture from Ahuramazda, earthly assistance from the loyal aristocracy, and the inevitability of triumph over Lie-followers was determined by the text. It remained for the planners of the sculpture to create an illumination of the text which would on various levels enhance the power of the Behistun message and encapsulate in style and composition the essential message of the text. The *idea* came first. A process of careful selection of images from sculptural models, coupled with a series of calculated (as well, perhaps, as sub-conscious) allusions to antique traditions, followed upon the initial idea.

It is interesting to note, however, that at least on one point the designers of the relief were apparently not rigidly tied to the specifics of the Behistun text or to literary conventions in general. The order of the captive rebels presented in the sculpture is not based upon the order given in either the DB I-III sequence or the DB IV summary listing. Both sequences are the same and reflect a geographical order rather than a chronological sequence[22]. The figures represented on the relief seem, by contrast, to have been arranged according to the correct chronological ordering of the events[23]. The chronological arrangement of the relief figures is not likely to have been the result of chance[24]. This raises interesting questions about the relationship

---

added after the relief was carved, but it does not tell us which *was planned first*, of course. Likewise, the references in DB IV (Kent, *Old Persian*, 132) to the sculpture do not necessarily prove that the sculptural composition was conceived first. All the text tells us is that a relief was in fact intended to accompany the text.

[22] Kent, *Old Persian*, 161. Hallock, "The 'One Year' of Darius I", 38. In pre-Sargon neo-Assyrian historical texts events were, as a rule, arranged chronologically; but from the time of Sargon on, a geographical scheme was almost always used—just as we find in the Behistun text. See L.D. Levine, "Two Neo-Assyrian Stelae from Iran", Occasional Paper XXIII, Art and Archaeology (Toronto : Royal Ontario Museum, 1972), 28.

[23] Poebel, "Chronology of Darius' First Year of Reign", 162.

[24] Only once in 40, 320 times could the same arrangement of the original eight standing captives have been arrived at by pure chance.

between scribal and sculptural traditions and working procedures in the formulation of this one known Achaemenid historical relief[25].

The Relief Perceived as Independent of the Text

In the context of this discussion of the way the Behistun relief relates to the accompanying text, it is significant to observe how the relief would be perceived if it were not accompanied by captions and not viewed in terms of the historical text which it illuminates. The individual events described in the inscription (and portrayed symbolically in the relief by being compressed visually into one imaginary tableau) assert an historical specificity through the use of the figure labels. This specificity is a factor which distinguishes the Behistun relief from the rest of Achaemenid sculpture. But with captions and text removed, the sculpture becomes compatible with the conceptual timelessness which generally characterizes the art of the dynasty. The relief could easily stand alone, a mute but sure reminder of the Persian king's determination and ability relentlessly to assert his authority over *any* treacherous Mede, or Persian, or Scythian. Darius himself articulates this generalized sense of the Behistun message in his warning to future kings:

> Thou who shalt be king hereafter, protect thyself vigorously from the Lie; the man who shall be a Lie-follower, him do thou punish well, if thus thou shalt think, "May my country be secure!"[26].

Thus, without the inscriptions, the Behistun relief functions similarly to the Apadana tribute procession in the sense that the Apadana relief does not convey the impression of a particular king receiving homage on a particular day from specific dignitaries of the lands represented. Rather, it conveys the impression of an often repeated ritual. It is an expression, abstracted from time, of a concept of the unity of empire which is made concrete through the depiction of a royal function involving the king directly with differentiated representatives of his imperial domain. This analogy with the Apadana relief is of some interest, as it suggests that on a certain conceptual level the Behistun relief is, despite any reliances upon earlier representational models and despite its intended historical specificity, very much in harmony with the Achaemenid representational tradition as we have come to recognize it—characterized as it is by non-narrative, timeless images of power[27].

---

[25] Cf. Trümpelmann, "Zur Entstehungsgeschichte", 287, ff. It is interesting to note that the caption phrases for the Behistun relief figures (added after the scupture had already been carved) were lifted directly from the DB IV summary roster. Even so, they are matched with the appropriate sculpted figures so that they give the chronological order rather than the geographical in this case. Compare H.G. Güterbock, "Narration in Anatolian, Syrian and Assyrian Art", *AJA* 61, 1957, 68, who notes that in Sargon's palace at Khorsabad the siege reliefs do not always follow the same order as that given in the accompanying texts.

[26] DB IV: Kent, *Old Persian*, 131.

The impact of the Behistun monument upon the traveler along the road to Ecbatana was conveyed solely by the sculpture[28]. No doubt this was realized by Darius and his planners. Thus, in the sense that for the average traveler the relief by itself was the sole message conveyor of Behistun, the generalized aspect of the relief in its function as a non-specific statement of royal power must be kept in mind during the ensuing discussion of the sculpture. For an understanding of the intended message of the relief it is, in fact, particularly revealing to consider the sense projected by the relief without the added details supplied by the text. The designers of the relief could easily have chosen to extract from the text a much more brutal essence for the sculptural depiction, had this been desired.

In comparison with Assyrian annals, the Behistun text itself presents a fairly tame account of the battles and executions of the rebels. We are, however, informed that Phraortes was, for instance, grotesquely mutilated and then impaled at Ecbatana; that his followers were flayed, and their hides (stuffed with straw) hung out for public inspection. But instead of some graphic representation of a row of impaled bodies or the like, it was apparently considered important in the relief to play down the gory realities of the struggles. The bound prisoners, fully clothed and apparently unharmed, stand before the king with an air of dignity. They are only slightly bent forward from the waist to hint at their subjugation. It is significant too that Gaumata is not shown in the process of being slain by Darius. Rather, the impression the viewer receives is of Gaumata begging for mercy, while the king remains a rather aloof presence psychologically removed somehow from the actuality of the frantic victim underfoot.

---

[27] According to the definition for narrative art proposed by the 1955 AIA Symposium on Narration in Ancient Art (H.J. Kantor, "Narration in Egyptian Art", *AJA* 61, 1957, 44), narrative art is "... the rendering of specific events, whether mythological, legendary, historical, or fictional, involving recognizable personages ..." By this definition the Behistun relief should perhaps qualify as narrative art; but I would still suggest that by the compression and distortion of the specific events described in the text the Behistun relief does not provide a visual description of this series of events. Rather, it provides an emblematic visual impression of the events.

[28] As I have already noted, there was an observation terrace below the relief. From the road itself the relief is barely visible; but travelers must have taken the time to go up to the terrace specifically to view this victory monument. Undoubtedly there was a toll station connected with the oasis in the plain below Behistun, so that travelers surely had the monument brought to their attention.

To summarize these preliminary interpretative discussions of the Behistun relief, we are justified in concluding that the scene is meant to encapsulate into one vision Darius' successful suppression of several specific revolts against his authority which, in actuality, took place as separate episodes in the history of events immediately preceding and following his rise to the throne. The relief also functions on a more general level as a statement of the king's determination to punish any who go against him. In both the specific and the generalized senses it is an eminently political statement. The relief cannot be construed as a "depiction of worship and in this sense similar to the relief decorating Darius' tomb", as Farkas suggests—except, perhaps, in so broad a sense as to have no real significance here[29]. By the device of a graduated scale of height, status differentials are clearly demarcated between the Great King and the highest nobility of the empire, and between the two nobles and the lowest of the low—those who have followed the Lie. Equally significant, however, is the fact that even the bound traitors maintain a certain degree of dignity. And stress is not placed upon details of the act of ultimate execution.

Near Eastern Prototypes

It is noteworthy that Babylon and Elam have yielded no prototypes for the Behistun victory motif. Referring specifically to the Old Babylonian Period, Moortgat suggests that because of the nature of Babylonian kingship the theme of the victorious ruler was never chosen[30]. Lending support to the idea that the victory scene was not part of the Babylonian representational repertoire is a fragmentary wall painting from Zimrilim's palace at Mari. Here part of a scene is preserved showing a large figure grasping two foreigners by the hair in the traditional Egyptian manner[31]. This suggests that the kings of Mari had to look further afield than Hammurabi's Babylon for models for a victory motif.

---

[29] Farkas, *Achaemenid Sculpture*, 31.

[30] Moortgat, *Mesopotamia*, 105. Cf. R.S. Ellis, "Some Observations on Mesopotamian Art and Archaeology", *JAOS* 95, 1975, 89.

[31] W.S. Smith, *Interconnections in the Ancient Near East* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), 98-101 and fig. 54.

The Elamite kings, strongly influenced by adjacent Babylonia, seem—even in the great imperial days of the second millennium—to have stressed the non-military aspect of kingship in their artistic representations[32]. From the neo-Elamite Period a single monument is known to me which depicts *any* type of warfare or triumph scene. This is a large stone block decorated with reliefs on all sides—a monument dated by Amiet to the eighth-seventh centuries and identified by him as probably being a statue base[33]. The reliefs depict various episodes in a military campaign; and the monument seems on the whole to derive from the same tradition as is reflected in the carved throne platform of the Assyrian Sargon[34]. Interestingly, however, a scene depicting vultures taking the heads of enemy corpses seems to reach back to the First Dynasty of Ur, to the representational tradition documented by Eannatum's victory stele, rather than to the imagery of contemporary neo-Assyrian reliefs[35]. I mention this as a suggestion of possible complexities in the Elamite sphere which we cannot at present evaluate for lack of adequate material. In any case, this one neo-Elamite warfare/victory relief which is preserved has nothing in common with the Behistun relief.

It seems evident that Darius—like Zimrilim in an earlier era—had to seek outside his sphere of closest cultural contact (in this case, outside of Elam) for models for a representation of the king victorious. But the impact of Elamite civilization may be reflected in the Behistun monument in two fundamental ways, nevertheless. First, the fact that the Behistun mountain was chosen for the relief and text suggests the possibility of a conscious attempt to lay claim to a spot which was once a favored (perhaps even sacred) location under the Elamites[36]. Second, the fact that the medium of rock relief was chosen (as opposed to a freestanding stele) may reflect the influence of Elam—

---

[32] An Elamite rock relief at Shâh Suwâr in Khuzistan was originally described by Layard as representing a king enthroned, receiving five prisoners standing before him with their hands bound: N.C. Debevoise, "The Rock Reliefs of Ancient Iran", *JNES* 1, 1942, 86, n. 32. E. de Waele has re-examined the reliefs in the Malamir area and now describes this relief as representing a seated deity, with approaching worshipers ("Les reliefs rupestres", 35).

[33] Amiet, *Elam*, 535-537.

[34] Chapter III, n. 20.

[35] Moortgat, *Mesopotamia*, fig. 120.

[36] Dandamaev, *Persien unter der ersten Achämeniden*, notes the importance of Behistun to the Elamites.

for the areas of Khuzistan and Fars abound in Elamite rock reliefs, attesting to a long tradition of the representation of a variety of complex compositional types in this medium.

While not a part of the Elamite and Babylonian traditions, scenes depicting the king receiving bound prisoners *are* known in Egypt and in the Mesopotamian civilizations of Akkad/Ur III and the neo-Assyrian Empire—as are scenes depicting the king in some way subduing a prostrate victim. There are also instances of the two motifs combined within the same composition, as they are at Behistun. In its most generalized aspect then, the theme of the Behistun relief is not a new one. But the way the theme is treated at Behistun shows clearly that the Achaemenid monument is the product of subtle reworkings of older concepts and forms.

Mesopotamian Prototypes : The Sar-i Pul Relief

Interpretative Discussion

It has long been taken for granted that the Behistun relief owes much to Mesopotamian representational traditions. Herzfeld first noted the striking compositional similarities of the Achaemenid scene to that depicted on a rock relief of the third millennium B.C. at Sar-i Pul near the Iraqi border, on the same ancient road from Babylon to Ecbatana that also passes by Behistun about 100 kilometers further east [Pl. 49][37]. Here Annubanini stands facing right with his left foot on the chest of a prostrate victim. The king holds a bow and an arrow in his left hand and a crooked staff in his right. The goddess Ishtar approaches him from the right, extending a ring in her right hand while dragging a bound, naked prisoner by a rope[38]. Behind this prisoner is another kneeling captive with the same physical characteristics. Stretching below this scene is a narrow zone, the left of which bears a representation of six small standing captives moving right. These figures are all naked and seem to have basically the same hairstyle as the larger prisoners above. The first figure on the right apparently wears a feather crown, however[39]. The right half of this inferior zone bears an inscription which, even when Herzfeld drew the relief about sixty-five years ago, was largely illegible. The preserved portion of the inscription does not tell us whether this relief symbolizes one specific victory, or whether it represents a conflation of several specific victories perhaps over various peoples or rivals, as at Behistun[40]. The first alternative appears the most probable. Certainly the idea of the representation of visible distinctions between different enemies was not a priority here. The only suggestion of a possible intent to differentiate ethnic types is in the feathered headdress worn by the first figure on the right in the lower register. Porada interprets this figure as the leader of the group of captives, not as a representative of a different political or ethnic group[41]. The only difficulty I see in this suggestion is that one might suppose that the leader would be represented on the upper register of the relief. But in any case, the captives are, by their smallness, made to seem very subordinate to the rest of the composition. They are not even mentioned as being part of the relief in the text's opening "description" of the monument: "Anubanini, the most powerful king, king of the Lullubi, has commanded a representation of himself and of the goddess Istar to be carved on Mount Batu"[42]. The relief itself echoes this focus upon king and goddess. In fact, the Sar-i Pul relief is primarily a mutation of the common Mesopotamian investiture scene in which the king (shown here as victor rather than petitioner) is offered the ring as a symbol of power[43]. This relief thus combines two basic motifs which are, in fact, found independently of one another on three other rock reliefs of approximately the same date in the Sar-i Pul area: 1) the king standing, with one foot placed on a prostrate living enemy, and 2) the king being offered the ring of power[44].

---

[37] Herzfeld and Sarre, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, 192-193; E. Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien* (Berlin : D. Reimer, 1920), 3-6, 22, and Abb. 1. For a recent discussion of the date of the monument within the third millennium, see O.E. Dietz, "Zwei Inschriften am Felsen von Sar-i-Pul-i-Zohab : Anubanini 1 und 2", *AFO* 24, 1973, 74. Dietz proposes, on the basis of grammatical features of the inscription, a date after Naramsin and before Gungunum of Larsa.

[38] Though note that the ring is not shown in J. de Morgan's earlier drawing in J. de Morgan and V. Scheil, "Les deux stèles de Zohâb", in *Recueil de Travaux* 14, 1893, fig. 6.

---

[39] The drawings of Herzfeld and de Morgan agree on this point.

[40] See Dietz, "Zwei Inschriften", 73-75, for remains of the text and its translation.

[41] Porada, *Ancient Iran*, 40-41; *Tchoga Zanbil*, IV, 131.

[42] Dietz, "Zwei Inschriften", 73.

[43] Compare a similar remark on the nature of the Sar-i Pul relief by B. Brentjes, "Zum Vorbild des Annubanini-Reliefs", *Das Altertum* 12, 1966, 131.

[44] 1) Second Annubanini relief: Herzfeld, *Am Tor*, Abb. 2 and Taf. III-IV (king facing right with left foot on captive).

2) Uninscribed relief at Sar-i Pul: Ibid., Taf. IV, right (king facing right toward goddess who apparently extends ring).

The third aspect of the Annubanini relief—the file of bound prisoners literally led by the goddess toward the king—is unique, as far as present evidence indicates, among Mesopotamian traditions of monumental victory scenes[45]. It is, however, remarkably similar *in concept* to the image of the god's active participation found on the standard *Egyptian* victory scene type [Pl. 50]. Although in Egypt, as we shall see, the image of a god literally dragging prisoners to the pharaoh is not known in its classical form until Dynasty 11, the representation of Horus on Narmer's Palette [Pl. 39] suggests that already in Dynasty 1 the visual concept had been formulated there. The representation in the funerary temple of Sahure [Pl. 51a] shows that by Dynasty 5 this visual concept had already been articulated in a less symbolic form. It is, thus, tempting to speculate on the possibility that the Annubanini relief reflects in this image influence from Egypt—perhaps influence which reached Mesopotamia in the Akkadian Period indirectly through contact with Syria. But the present state of our understanding of the contacts (direct or indirect) between Egypt and Mesopotamia in the third millennium suggests, rather, that the similarity may have been purely coincidental[46].

The Sar-i Pul Relief and Behistun

Attempts have been made to see the Annubanini relief at Sar-i Pul as part of a continuum extending from early Sumerian representations such as appear on the Standards of Ur and of Mari, passing through the Akkadian and Ur III traditions (as exemplified by the stele of Naramsin and then by the rock relief at Darband-i Gawr) and leading

---

3) Relief of Tar? (Shil?)-...-dum?-ni at Hurin Sheikh-Khan: de Morgan and Scheil, "Stèles de Zohâb", fig. 7; Herzfeld and Sarre, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, 192 (king, facing right, places left foot on prostrate captive, in presence of another kneeling captive).

[45] Brentjes, "Zum Vorbild des Annubanini-Reliefs", 132-135, mentions the impression of a seal of King Ilushuilia from Eshnunna (illustrated in H. Frankfort, S. Lloyd and T. Jacobsen, *The Gimilsin Temple and the Palace of the Rulers at Tell Asmar*, OIP, XLIII [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940], fig. 100 A). He postulates that the Sar-i Pul relief was actually copied from a similar seal made at Eshnunna for Annubanini during the Third Dynasty of Ur. He notes also that the fact that the Sar-i Pul inscription is carved in mirror writing indicates the likelihood that it was copied directly off a seal. Though compare Frankfort, ibid., 203, who considers that the seal of Ilushuilia was perhaps copied from a monumental victory relief.

[46] See W. Ward, "Relations between Egypt and Mesopotamia from Prehistoric Times to the End of the Middle Kingdom", *JESHO* 7, 1964, 1-45 and 121-135.

ultimately to the Behistun relief[47]. I do not see such a relentless continuity in the development of one type. Rather, I see several interacting strains in the Mesopotamian tradition. The Naramsin stele, for instance, is very different from the Sar-i Pul relief, as Brentjes has observed[48]. Grouping all Mesopotamian victory monuments together in an evolutionary scheme which "culminates" finally with Behistun, as Calmeyer has attempted to do, tends to obscure important ways in which the Behistun relief is the product of a conscious combining of concepts from various compositional types as opposed to being an inevitable extension of one line of evolutionary development.

It is probably true that the planners of the Behistun relief derived the motif of the king placing one foot upon a prostrate enemy directly from the Sar-i Pul relief of Annubanini. The appearance of the motif at Sar-i Pul may, in turn, be due to the influence of a series of Akkadian and Ur III monuments which display the same motif of the king placing his foot on a prostrate, living, captive enemy in a symbolic gesture of supremacy[49]. This symbolic concept is universally understood. It is the same statement of victory as finds expression also in neo-Assyrian texts[50]. It is, of course, related to, but is very different from, the concept of standing or marching atop the corpses of enemies just killed (as we see it, for instance, on the Standard of Ur, the vulture stele of Eannatum, the victory stele of Naramsin, the rock relief of Darband-i Gawr, and also the statues of Manishtusu)[51].

---

[47] P. Calmeyer, "Zur Rekonstruktion der 'Standarte' von Mari", *CRRAI* 15, 1967, 161-169. Farkas, *Achaemenid Sculpture*, 31, also stresses the dependence of the Sar-i Pul relief upon the stele of Naramsin. For the Darband-i Gawr relief see Strommenger, "Das Felsrelief", and, on the possibility of an Ur III date for the relief, J. Boese, "Zur stilistischen und historischen Einordnung des Felsreliefs von Darband-i-Gaur", *StIr* 2, 1973, 3-48.

[48] Brentjes, "Zum Vorbild des Annubanini-Reliefs", 131. I cannot, however, agree with Brentjes when he sees a great similarity between a seal composition of Tishpak, standing on two enemies placed back to back and held by a rope while extending a ring to the king, and the Sar-i Pul rendition of Ishtar actually leading two figures by a rope toward the king. Note that Frankfort views the motif of god with an enemy underfoot as a weak survival/permutation of the original victory motif of the *king* placing one foot upon his victim. See Frankfort et al., *The Gimilsin Temple*, 202-203.

[49] These reliefs are different from the type represented by the stele of Naramsin, where the king places his foot on the corpse of an enemy soldier (Moortgat, *Mesopotamia*, pl. 155). Note, for instance, a stele fragment from Telloh with relief on both sides: Moortgat, ibid., pls. 134-135. No king's name is preserved in the inscription. Moortgat dates the monument to the "second generation" of the Akkadian dynasty—his "Enheduanna-Manishtusu Phase", 48-49. Although on this stele we do not see the emblematic character evident at Sar-i Pul, the pose itself of the victorious figure is very similar—as is the context of the action, directed as it is toward a living captive. For the Ur III Period we have evidence of the existence of similar reliefs in the form of late copies of the monumental inscriptions which accompanied the reliefs. Some of these copies of inscriptions include descriptions, added by the scribe, of the placement of figures on the reliefs. See Barrelet, "La 'figure du roi'," 119-121 : D6, D11, bis. For D11, Barrelet reconstructs Indasu as appearing twice on one stele : once as prisoner and once as victim under the foot of Shu-Suen. Part of the description added by the copyist reads, "... mettant le pied sur Indasu, le roi prisonnier".

For the purposes of this study of the sources drawn from in the planning of the Behistun relief, it is important to note that although the concept of placing a foot on a defeated enemy is known in the art as in the literature of the neo-Assyrian Period (on which, see below), the form the motif took in the art of this period is distinctly different from that chosen for the Achaemenid relief. And this, in spite of the fact that the *style* of the Behistun relief is so clearly based upon neo-Assyrian prototypes[52].

Doubtless the proximity of the Annubanini relief was, in a sense, responsible for the use of the Akkadian/Ur III compositional formula of the enemy on his back, underfoot. For surely Darius and his planners must have seen the Sar-i Pul relief many times as they passed from Babylonia into Media; and perhaps they were impressed by the image of the small helpless victim. But it is worth pointing out that this obvious availability of the Akkadian/Ur III tradition does not make the Achaemenids' decision to use the Sar-i Pul relief any less a decision based upon conscious preference as opposed to a sort of thoughtless "copying". Models of the neo-Assyrian images of stepping on the neck of the kneeling captive who faces the king [Pl. 54a] were surely available to the Achaemenids as well; and the Assyrian formula may reflect a ceremonial act actually performed in this manner by the Assyrians. If so, the Assyrian attitude of supremacy over a condemned enemy (as used in actuality) would also have been well within the heritage-memory of Darius[53].

---

[50] E.g., Assurnasirpal: "the king ... who treads on the neck of the foe ..." (Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, I, 139); and Sargon: "Whosoever destroys the work of my hands ... may they set him in chains under (the heel) of his foe" (Ibid., II, 66).

[51] I agree with Potratz (*Die menschliche Rundskulptur*, 24-25) that the Naramsin stele composition is essentially emblematic, as is the Sar-i Pul composition. But the two reliefs are tableaux of entirely different types of scenes. As Brentjes has noted in comparing the two monuments ("Zum Vorbild des Annubanini-Reliefs", 131), "die Art der Gestaltung und des Motiv selbst sind völlig anderer Art". Yet compare the remarks of Farkas (*Achaemenid Sculpture*, 31): "This pose of the victorious ruler can be traced back to the stele of the Akkadian king Naram Sin ... the Persian artists were in effect copying a copy".

[52] See below on the neo-Assyrian stylistic elements in the Behistun relief.

In summary, the primary factor determining the selection of the Sar-i Pul relief as a model for the Behistun supremacy image (rather than Assyrian prototypes, which must have been known to the Persians as well) seems to have been the Achaemenids' active preference for the Akkadian type of imagery—not simply the obvious accessibility of this particular third millennium relief[54].

The Sar-i Pul relief may also have been the direct prototype for the pose of the bound prisoners on the Behistun monument. On the other hand, the appearance on both monuments of nine captives (not including the later addition of Skunkha in the Behistun relief) is more likely coincidental[55].

The possible relationship of the Ahuramazda figure on the Behistun relief to the figure of Ishtar on the Sar-i Pul relief is uncertain. On the one hand, the form of Ahuramazda is, as we have already discussed in Chapter IV, directly related to neo-Assyrian prototypes. Yet there is a sense in which Ahuramazda, by facing Darius in the context of the receipt of prisoners, and by extending the ring toward him in this context, departs from neo-Assyrian models and is reminiscent instead of the third millennium prototype. This issue will be discussed further in the course of the forthcoming analysis of Assyrian prototypes for the Behistun relief.

---

[53] See Chapter VI for a discussion of images on Assyrian reliefs as they may reflect contemporary court protocol.

[54] The possibility has occurred to me that the Achaemenids were particularly interested in the Sar-i Pul relief because they thought it depicted an ancient *Elamite* king triumphant. This is simply a suggestion which has no basis in evidence. The idea admittedly suggested itself from *Dandemaev's* mistaken attribution of the relief to the Elamites, in *Persien unter der ersten Achämeniden*.

[55] Though note the remarks of C. Nylander, *The Deep Well*, trans. J. Tate (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1970), 79, who suggests the possibility that the appearance of nine prisoners on both reliefs may be a reflection of the magical significance which the number nine held in the ancient Near East. (Also, compare the concept of the Nine Bows in Egypt: Chapter III). It would indeed be interesting to know if the selection of the original nine rebels for the Behistun inscription and relief were a function of a literary/artistic device based upon the magical significance of the number nine rather than upon the historicity of nine particularly important victories of Darius. Note too that in DB I (Kent, *Old Persian*, 119) Darius makes a point of mentioning that he is ninth in the series of Achaemenid kings. Thus it may have seemed to Darius particularly appropriate for symbolic reasons to single out nine rebels on the Behistun monument.

Mesopotamian Prototypes: Neo-Assyrian Reliefs

In spite of the fact that the Behistun relief is closely related in compositional structure to the Sar-i Pul relief, it is important also to explore later Mesopotamian traditions in order to control the full range of possible influences upon the Achaemenid monument.

Assyrian Stelae

The reliefs carved on the Broken Obelisk of Assur-bel-kala (eleventh century) and the twin Zinjirli and Til Barsib stelae of Esarhaddon (seventh century) are important monuments for our discussion. They both display emblematic compositions which commemorate more than one event within the same tableau. The small-scale representation atop the poorly preserved Broken Obelisk shows the king standing, facing right, before two pairs of smaller figures who represent captives, and who seem to be attired in at least two different types of foreign garb [Pl. 52b][56]. In his right hand the king holds a mace and a coiled rope which, were the relief not partially destroyed, would undoubtedly be seen to be attached to the ankles of his prisoners[57]. Above this scene, two large hands emerge from a rayed disc and reach out toward the figure of the king. One hand holds a bow and arrow; the other is extended in the gesture of greeting and blessing. Thus we have here the king standing, represented as having just received representatives of at least two (and possibly four) distinct types of peoples (according to the differences perceptible in their dress), while the image of a god extends the bow and arrow—presumably symbols of power—toward him from above.

The idea of commemorating in one tableau victories over (or treaties with) several different peoples—events which actually took place at different times (albeit perhaps within the same time *unit*) seems, as I have noted earlier, to have been an uncommon phenomenon in Assyrian art[58]. In that sense the Broken Obelisk relief is the closest known Assyrian approximation of the Behistun type of scene. The twin stelae of Esarhaddon are also similar in this sense to the Behistun relief. Here, Esarhaddon stands before two small captives, both of whom are attached through the lip to a rope which the king holds coiled in his left hand [Pl. 53a][59]. The smaller kneeling figure wears an Egyptian crown and may represent either Taharqa, the Egyptian king, or Taharqa's son. The second possibility is perhaps the more likely, since Esarhaddon never actually captured Taharqa when he defeated him; but he did apparently make a prisoner of the crown prince Ushanahuru. It is also possible that the figure merely symbolizes the idea of Egypt—though in the context of Assyrian art symbolic personifications of countries are not common (as they are in Egyptian and Achaemenid art). The other prisoner may be Abdimelcart, king of Sidon, whom Esarhaddon beheaded in 676 B.C.[60]

---

[56] Moortgat, *Mesopotamia*, pl. 252. The inscription does not preserve the name of the king (Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, I, 118-124). For the attribution to Assur-bel-kala see E.F. Weidner, "Die Annalen des Königs Assurbelkala von Assyrien", *AfO* 6, 1930, 75-94. No labels accompany the captive figures; and only one specific person is mentioned in the text as having been captured.

[57] The monument clearly shows the king holding a rope, not a ring. Frankfort's suggestion (*Art and Architecture*, 134) that this scene represents vassals paying homage to their king cannot be correct.

[58] There is a vital distinction to be made here between monuments such as the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser and the throne dais of Shalmaneser (see Chapter VI)—

It is not surprising that the two relief types which share the emblematic quality of the Behistun relief are depicted on stelae rather than on the walls of palaces. The compact compositional unit is more suited to this type of monument than it is to long expanses of wall. What is surprising, however, is that so few of the known free-standing royal monuments (and none of the known Assyrian rock reliefs—which partake of a similar tradition) are decorated with such emblematic scenes of the king victorious over foes[61]. To be sure, only a portion of the stelae produced in the neo-Assyrian Period are now extant[62]. But it seems evident, on the basis of the random sample of those which have survived, that the vast majority of such free-standing monuments (as also the rock

---

on which, in different places on the same monument, scenes commemorative of distinct political/military events are displayed—and this tableau which commemorates more than one event within one scene.

[59] Zinjirli stele: Pritchard, *The Ancient Near East*, fig. 121; text: Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, II, 224-227, and R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons Königs von Assyrien*, AfO Beiheft, IX (Graz: Archiv für Orientforschung, 1956), 96-100. See also Contenau, *Manuel*, III, 1282-1285. Til Barsib stele: F. Thureau-Dangin, "Tell Aḫmar", *Syria* 10, 1929, esp. 189-196 and pl. XXXVI; Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons*, 100-101.

[60] Thureau-Dangin, "Tell Aḫmar", 189-196, for a discussion of the identity of these prisoners.

[61] Levine, "Neo-Assyrian Stelae", 51-58, for a listing of stelae and rock reliefs.

[62] Ibid. Also see Abenda, "Expressions of Kingship", 41-52, who discusses neo-Assyrian stelae of the "standard" type and presents the textual evidence attesting to the fact that many more stelae were made than have survived.

reliefs) must have been decorated with the "standard" representation of the king standing alone with the symbols of deities in the field before him. Of the known stelae which do depict historical subjects (e.g., the receipt of prisoners and/or tribute) only the monuments of Assur-bel-kala and Esarhaddon exploit the suitability of the stele/obelisk form for emblematic relief compositions.

It is, furthermore, interesting to note that the only known stelae dating to the reigns of Sennacherib or Assurbanipal are the small stelae of Assurbanipal as a basket carrier, from Babylon[63]. The rock reliefs of Sennacherib, as well as frequent textual references to stelae, suggest that during his reign the tradition persisted. But textual references to stelae are rare in the period of Assurbanipal. As Levine has observed, the restrictive form of the stele may have had little appeal in this period when extended veristic action scenes clearly captured more of the spirit of the age[64]. In summary, then, evidence presently available suggests that emblematic representations of victory scenes were relatively rare in the Assyrian tradition of stelae, obelisks and rock reliefs—even though it is in precisely these contexts that we should have expected to find them common.

Assyrian Palace Reliefs

On Assyrian palace reliefs the theme of king receiving prisoners is almost always portrayed (at least in so far as extant reliefs have shown) in the context of an extended narrative sequence dealing with one specific war. The development of the compositional arrangement of these orthostat reliefs runs parallel to that of the tribute presentation scenes which will be discussed at length in Chapter VI. In the ninth and eighth centuries the standard elements generally include the king (standing or sitting), and behind him one or more attendants. Facing the king is generally a line of officials, usually including the crown prince. In some cases a captive leader is shown to prostrate himself before the king. And the rank and file of captives from a fallen city are brought forward in bonds toward the king.

---

[63] Moortgat, *Mesopotamia*, pl. 282.

[64] Levine, "Neo-Assyrian Stelae", 58.

Assurnasirpal II

The earliest known representations of this type of depiction of the victory scene are found in the throne room of the Northwest Palace at Nimrud. In one scene, Assurnasirpal II stands, facing right, to greet his approaching official [Pl. 54b][65]. A figure, presumably a captive leader, kisses his feet. Behind the king stand two attendants—one with a parasol and the other with a mace. Bringing up the rear are the king's chariot and his grooms. Approaching the king from behind the greeting official is a file of more Assyrian officials, the last of whom announces the arrival of the prisoners who march toward the king, fully clothed, but with their elbows bound behind their backs. By the placement of this representation directly below a city siege scene, it is clearly meant to depict (according to the conventions operating in this section of reliefs in the throne room) an event resulting from that specific battle portrayed above [Pl. 45a][66].

The second scene showing the review of prisoners in the throne room of Assurnasirpal is part of a series of sculptured slabs in which the top register apparently functions independently of the lower register—seeming to portray a distinct series of episodes. Here, then, on the lower register Assurnasirpal's review of foreign captives seems to be connected to immediately adjacent war scenes[67]. The king stands under a parasol with Assur hovering overhead [Pl. 46a]. Officials announce the arrival of bound prisoners (a group which includes women and children and also cattle, and was therefore clearly meant to describe the general population captured at the fall of the city). The king holds his bow and arrows; but no prisoner is prostrate before him. A third relief of Assurnasirpal which portrays the king in his capacity as victor after a battle was found re-used in the Southwest Palace at Nimrud. Here again, it is clear that we have the remnants of a scene in which files of the captive population move away from their besieged city toward their fate at the hands of the Assyrian conqueror[68].

---

[65] Moortgat, *Mesopotamia*, pls. 262-263.

[66] Reconstruction: Meuszyński, "The Throne-Room of Aššur-naṣir-apli II", 68-69. On the relationship between the scenes on these reliefs, see Güterbock, "Narration", 66, and Smith, *Interconnections*, 119.

[67] Budge, *Assyrian Sculptures in the British Museum*, pls. XXI-XXIV (esp. pl. XXIII). For reconstruction, showing positions of the slabs, see Meuszyński, "The Throne-Room of Aššur-naṣir-apli II", 70-71. Note the observations of Güterbock, "Narration", 66, to the effect that the crossing of the river, the passing before the enemy town and the receiving of captives may have been intended to be part of one episode, though this is not absolutely certain.

Based upon these extant palace reliefs, it is possible to make a general statement about the treatment of the theme of receipt of captives as a subject used in the decoration of orthostat reliefs during the reign of Assurnasirpal. The representations of this theme are all directly associated with specific city siege scenes, and are thus segments in an extended episodic chain rather than independent tableaux meant to encapsulate within one frame the essence of an entire campaign.

Shalmaneser III

What we know of the tendencies under Assurnasirpal's son, Shalmaneser III, indicates a continuity of the same compositional tradition. Thus, on one embossed strip from the bronze gates at Balawat we see the royal retinue moving right, away from the Assyrian camp. The king stands under a flywhisk and receives officers who announce the arrival of bound prisoners who come from the right. At the extreme right appears the defeated city in flames—the city whence emerge the prisoners[69].

Tiglathpileser III

Under later kings some new elements are added to the representation of this theme. Starting apparently in the reign of Tiglathpileser III the king is sometimes represented as seated to receive his prisoners[70]. And one relief type of Tiglathpileser III is known in which the king, standing, places one foot on the neck of a prostrate captive while pointing his spear toward the victim [Pl. 54a][71]. In this relief sequence the scene probably continued on the next slab with an extended file of officers followed by bound prisoners. A tendency may be noted, beginning in the reliefs of Tiglathpileser, for an increased interest in portraying the most brutal aspects of warfare and victory: impalement, mutilation of captives, and the like[72].

---

[68] Barnett and Falkner, *Sculptures*, 25 and pl. CXIX.

[69] Barnett, *Assyrian Palace Reliefs and their Influence*, pl. 139 (second strip from the top) and pls. 157, 158, 159, 160 (enlargements).

[70] E.g., Barnett and Falkner, *Sculptures*, pl. LIX.

[71] Ibid., 29 and pl. XCVI.

[72] Barnett, *Assyrian Palace Reliefs in the British Museum*, 21.

Sargon II

The reliefs of Sargon at Khorsabad offer several scenes of the king receiving prisoners. As a rule the king stands with one or more attendants behind him for the presentation of his prisoners[73]. But one relief, on the doorjamb of Door O leading into Room V, shows the king standing in his chariot while captives are brought before him—a prototype for the later scenes of Sennacherib and Assurbanipal[74]. At Khorsabad, unlike Nimrud and Nineveh, entire rooms were frequently devoted to the depiction of one motif [Fig. 20]. Thus Room V is reserved for war scenes, while the adjacent Room VIII is reserved for scenes of victory over captives. Within each room, a given theme is not treated as a single, unified composition covering all four walls, however. Rather, a composition will be repeated one or more times—going in different directions and perhaps with slight variations. Thus, each of the victory scenes is relatively compact. One type of tableau found in both Rooms IV and VIII approaches in its visual compactness the emblematic nature of the Behistun relief [Pl. 53b][75]. Here, Sargon stands with an attendant behind him. Before the king a shackled captive leader kneels, with two other bound prisoners standing close behind. They are followed by an Assyrian attendant. The lower lip of each captive is pierced by a ring through which runs a rope leading to the hand of the king. Sargon holds a spear in his other hand, the point of which rests right between the eyes of the kneeling prisoner.

Although in the compactness of the tableaux these scenes are reminiscent of the Behistun relief, other features betray a different tradition than was drawn upon for the Achaemenid relief. At Khorsabad we witness a rather brutal demonstration of the plight of captured prisoners. This is far different from the Akkadian composition type of the king with one foot placed symbolically on the chest of a squirming victim—a tradition which seems consciously to have been selected for the Behistun relief instead of these more graphic and veristic displays of the moment immediately before the execution of the prisoner. Furthermore, the figures of captives on the Khorsabad reliefs are not meant to represent prisoners taken from more than one distinct military campaign, as they are at Behistun. At Khorsabad all the captives within a given tableau depict men taken in one particular battle. Thus the reliefs of Sargon do not offer a prototype for the Achaemenid conflation into one single tableau of the presentation of prisoners taken in several distinct military exploits. In spite of these differences, the Khorsabad reliefs—being monumental in scale, visually (if not conceptually) independent of city siege scenes, and thus emblematic rather than episodic in basic *visual* structure—bear a resemblance to the Behistun relief which other Assyrian palace reliefs do not share.

---

[73] E.g., Botta and Flandin, *Monument*: Rm IV, NE wall (pl. 80) and NW wall (pls. 80-83); Rm VIII, NE wall (pls. 116 and 118).

[74] Ibid., pls. 85 and 100.

[75] Ibid., pl. 118 (NW wall of Rm VIII). On SW wall the same scene is repeated—here with the prisoners wearing different clothes and presumably therefore representing a different people.

Sennacherib and Assurbanipal

The reliefs of Sennacherib become rather complex compositionally. The trend toward placing scenes within a physical context and toward breaking down the register system is exemplified in the scene of the surrender of Lachish. Here Sennacherib is enthroned on a mountain [Pl. 42] to receive prisoners who are scattered about the hill before him in a rather impressionistic compositional arrangement[76]. Behind the king and his attendants is the Assyrian camp. Lachish is to the left[77]. Here and in other reliefs of Sennacherib, and later in those of Assurbanipal, we are often seeing scenes of the surrendering of whole populations. The vignettes of women and children, with wagons laden with household goods, become almost genre scenes in their own right[78].

Another composition type elaborated upon in the late neo-Assyrian Period shows a registered composition of Assyrian officers with their prisoners, all bracketed by the tableau of the king in his chariot [Pl. 55a][79]. This is an important scene type in the reliefs of Assurbanipal. The scenes are complex and rather confusing, as frenzied warfare merges into the gory aftermath bustle of head counting, flaying, and the like, and thence into cluttered files of victims approaching the looming grandiose vision of the king in his chariot. These late neo-Assyrian representations can have offered little in terms of compositional prototypes to the planners of the Behistun relief.

---

[76] Parrot, *Assur*, pl. 41.

[77] Paterson, *Assyrian Sculptures*, pls. 74-76.

[78] E.g., Parrot, *Assur*, pl. 55.

[79] E.g., Paterson, *Assyrian Sculptures*, pls. 65-66. Note especially the triumph over Shamash-shum-ukin: Barnett, *Assyrian Palace Reliefs in the British Museum*, pl. XIV. There is one scene of Sennacherib which reverts to a simpler type: Paterson, *Assyrian Sculptures*, pl. 85. Here the king is enthroned within his camp. An officer brings forward the prisoners. But this is a very small-scale, subsidiary scene.

Nevertheless, certain specific elements found in the Behistun relief do seem to have been taken over from neo-Assyrian relief sculpture. Style and details of costume and accoutrements are, as will be discussed briefly below, clearly dependent upon neo-Assyrian prototypes. In addition, two important elements of the Behistun composition relate directly to Assyrian prototypes: the figures of the two attendants bearing arms behind the king and the image of Ahuramazda within the winged disc hovering above the Behistun tableau.

Assyrian Prototypes: The King's Weaponbearers

The weaponbearers who form the king's retinue at Behistun are no doubt meant to represent actual men of noble birth for whom membership in Darius' guard was a privilege of high rank[80]. Their presence on the relief is significant in terms of our study of the monument's reliance upon early prototypes; for the appearance here of the king's mortal helpers brings the Behistun relief out of the realm of semi-mythical heroism which we encounter in the third millennium (e.g., at Sar-i Pul) and into the domain of historical activity—a domain in which the representation of the king's relationship to specific loyal court personages is significant. The idea of portraying the honored weaponbearers in this particular context may have resulted from exposure to neo-Assyrian reliefs. In all phases of the neo-Assyrian Period the king is shown attended by a host of personages[81]. In the ninth through eighth centuries, the king is frequently shown standing to receive either prisoners or tributaries while his weaponbearers stand immediately behind him[82]. In later reliefs, the king is shown either standing in his chariot or enthroned on such occasions. But in representations of the hunt and the ritual libation ceremony after the hunt we do find, in the period of Assurbanipal, similar compositions of the king or crown prince standing with his guards behind him [Pl. 55b].

---

[80] See Schmidt, *Persepolis*, III, 86, for a discussion of their identity; and Luschey, "Darius-Relief", 68-71.

[81] Reade, "The Neo-Assyrian Court and Army", 87-112, for a discussion of problems of identification and function of the personages represented on the Assyrian reliefs.

[82] See Chapter VI.

It is interesting to note that the reliefs of the ninth through eighth centuries generally represent the king (when standing) on virtually the same scale as his courtiers. During the seventh century another convention prevails, whereby the king and the crown prince are made larger and taller than the personages around them—including the elite courtiers, as well as the military rank and file. It is this late neo-Assyrian representational principle which prevails also at Behistun (and on other Achaemenid reliefs as well). Already in the time of Cyrus this hierarchical order was expressed by the height differential shown on the reliefs of the king and his attendant in Palace P at Pasargadae [Pl. 3].

Evidently, Darius chose to perpetuate this image of the hierarchical relationship of the king to the members of the Iranian nobility who acted as his elite corps of guards and attendants. And although his planners drew heavily upon the compositional model provided by the Sar-i Pul relief, it was clearly important to Darius to add to this third millennium compositional type at least a token array of two noble weaponbearers—men from the ranks out of which Darius himself rose, and to whom he owed a real political debt[83].

Assyrian Prototypes: Ahuramazda as the King's Helper

The presence on the Behistun relief of the figure of Ahuramazda within the winged disc also reflects Achaemenid familiarity with neo-Assyrian relief sculpture, where it is the god Assur who is depicted in the disc[84]. The representation on the Broken Obelisk of Assur-bel-kala [Pl. 43] suggests that already in the eleventh century the idea of anthropomorphizing the winged disc as a symbol of Assur had been established in Assyrian iconography. Here, the god's form is suggested by the two hands (one holding a bow and arrows) emerging from a rayed disc, and reaching down toward the figure of the king. The implication of this tableau seems to be that the god has just presented to the king the prisoners whom he has, in effect, won for the king in battle. This concept accords well with the message conveyed in the DB IV text, where Ahuramazda is said to have placed the rebel leaders in Darius' hand. The similarity is probably coincidental, however—reflecting parallel but independent conceptions of the relation between king and god. There is a gap in our knowledge of the relief sculpture of this period of Assyrian art. But even if it could be shown that the Broken Obelisk reflects a whole tradition of similar Assyrian iconography of Assur, it would remain questionable whether Assyrian iconography of the eleventh-tenth centuries could have had much effect on Achaemenid iconography—even indirectly through traditions assimilated into Iran in the "minor" arts.

---

[83] See G. Widengren, *Der Feudalismus im alten Iran* (Cologne: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1969), 102-108, for a discussion of what can be deduced concerning the ties of the Achaemenid king to leading noble families.

[84] See Chapter IV.

It is not until the ninth century that we again have documentation of the anthropomorphized Assur symbol. The formal similarities between these ninth century representations of Assur within the winged disc and the Achaemenid representation of Ahuramazda at Behistun are obvious. They have been discussed already in Chapter IV. Clearly the form of the Ahuramazda figure emerging from the disc is derived from (though not identical to) this ninth century Assyrian tradition—not from the type seen on the Broken Obelisk of Assur-bel-kala. Furthermore, I have already observed in Chapter IV that, as a participant in the action shown on monumental reliefs depicting historical subjects, Assur is found in the ninth century, *but not later*. This increases the likelihood that it is the iconography specifically of the ninth century to which the Behistun Ahuramazda is ultimately related. Although the Behistun Ahuramazda is the earliest *known* representation of its type in Achaemenid art, this way of representing their god may have been assimilated by the Persians even in pre-Achaemenid times. This is a case in which the gap in our knowledge of "Median art" (or, perhaps more appropriately, art produced by and/or for the Medes and Persians during the period of Median supremacy) is particularly unfortunate.

The form and compositional function of the Behistun Ahuramazda are derived from ninth century prototypes—either through assimilation during the Median Period, or else through the Achaemenids' deliberate search for antique prototypes under the patronage of Darius (or perhaps earlier, under Cyrus). In any case, the Achaemenids adapted the antique image to suit their own political/religious demands.

On known ninth century sculptural representations of historical events, Assur always faces in the same direction as the king does [Pls. 45a, 46a-b]. If the king is engaged in battle, then Assur also aims his bow at the enemy. Similarly, if the king is receiving prisoners, then Assur also faces in the direction of the line of approaching captives[85]. Even when Assur holds the ring of power in these ninth century historical reliefs, he does not initiate any action directed toward the king. Rather, the god is a small, discreet presence, echoing the king's actions[86]. It is as if the traditional investiture with the ring of power has already taken place and need not be repeated in each new context; and as if the king is now shown functioning autonomously, infused already with the power of Assur. In later periods of neo-Assyrian art even the discreet presence of Assur echoing the king on historical reliefs disappears, so that every vestige of reminder of the transference of power from god to king is lost and the king is shown to function completely without the obvious assistance of any higher being[87].

By contrast, on the Achaemenid relief the figure of Ahuramazda—though clearly patterned after ninth century prototypes of the god Assur—is rendered on a much larger scale than the Assur figure ever is on extant reliefs. Furthermore, Ahuramazda's crucial role in the transference of power to the king is emphasized by having the god face toward the king as he extends the ring. Clearly, then, the idea of showing the investiture concept was a very important aspect of the Behistun relief, the portrayal of which required a deliberate adaptation of the Assyrian prototypes.

Given the nature of the Behistun inscription as an apologia for Darius' rise to power in Persia, it should not be surprising that Ahuramazda's role in the historical events leading to Darius' becoming king would be consciously developed in the pictorial accompaniment to the text. The relief of Annubanini at Sar-i Pul, with its straightforward representation of the dual role of Ishtar as investiture goddess and also as military collaborator of the king, may well have been the direct source of inspiration (whether on a subliminal or conscious level) for the idea—expressed explicitly in DB IV and implicitly on the Behistun relief—of Ahuramazda placing the prisoners in the hand of Darius.

---

[85] A scene depicting the king's receipt of tribute bearers or captives is represented on the garment of a figure of Assurnasirpal. Here an image of Assur in the winged disc faces the king rather than looking in the same direction as the king. See Canby, "Decorated Garments", 33-35, fig. 3, and pl. XIIa. As far as I have been able to determine, this reversal of the normal focus of Assur in such contexts is unique and may be the result of the sculptor's quirk rather than a significant alteration in an iconographical *tradition.* The consistency with which the monumental relief representations portray the motif with Assur facing in the same direction as the king suggests that, at least in monumental art, this was a clearly prescribed formula.

[86] Budge, *Assyrian Sculptures in the British Museum*, pl. XXIII, 1; Luschey is mistaken in his remarks to the effect that Assur is never represented holding the ring: "Darius-Relief", 87.

[87] Note here the remarks of Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, 185, regarding the merging of the identity of the Assyrian king and Assur in the late neo-Assyrian Period; and G. van Driel, *The Cult of Aššur* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1969).

In this context it is interesting to note that the seven-pointed star symbol atop Ahuramazda's polos crown is, in form, similar to the emblem of Ishtar in Mesopotamian iconography[88]. On the Sar-i Pul relief the star is shown not on the goddess' crown, but in the field before her [Pl. 49]. But on Assyrian seals the star is sometimes placed atop the goddess' crown just as it is at Behistun[89]. The Behistun relief and its copy at Babylon are the only known Achaemenid monuments on which Ahuramazda wears a Mesopotamian horned polos crown, much less a polos crown topped by a star. In view of the nature of this relief as a victory monument, it is possible that Ahuramazda's crown was meant to suggest a conscious syncretization of Ahuramazda to Ishtar as well as to Assur in this particular context precisely because the Achaemenids were aware of Ishtar's traditional role as a goddess of war, and wished to infuse their victory relief with as much of the authority of Mesopotamian tradition as they could possibly muster[90].

Assyrian Prototypes: Nuances of Style and Iconography

The great contribution of Assyrian tradition to the Behistun relief is in the stylistic idiom used to render sculpturally a compositional formulation which seems rather to have been derived from the Sar-i Pul relief. I would suggest the possibility that the use of Assyrian sculptural style and of certain iconographic elements at Behistun was not the fortuitous result of the sculptors' acquaintance with Assyrian art, and was not the result of extraordinarily tenacious craft traditions kept alive for almost 100 years after the fall of the Assyrian Empire[91]. Rather, it may have been the result of a conscious attempt to give to this Achaemenid victory monument the associations with archetypal power which, within the Persian heritage-memory, might quite naturally have been linked inseparably to the monuments of the Assyrian kings.

---

[88] U. Seidl, "Die babylonische Kudurru-Reliefs", *BagMitt* 4, 1968, 100-101.

[89] Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, pl. XXXVa.

[90] It is also *possible*, of course, that the crown topped by a star was simply copied from an Assyrian monument such as the Maltai reliefs of Sennacherib—with no particular reference to Ishtar or any other specific deity intended.

[91] Though cf. Luschey, "Darius-Relief".

That style can impose nuances of feeling or meaning upon content is not a new idea to art historians[92]. Nor is it a new idea that the style of a sculpture (or a building) may be deliberately manipulated in order to elicit (among beholders who share a certain cultural frame of reference) a specific sensation or recollection. Similarly, iconographic elements in a work of art may be deliberately selected in order to convey a certain meaning or to evoke a certain response in the mind of the beholder: Hence Napoleon portrayed as a Roman emperor on the Arc de Triomphe, for instance. As Gombrich has observed, "the form of a representation cannot be divorced from its purpose and the requirements of the society in which the given visual language gains currency"[93].

One example of the way the *style* of iconographic elements seems to be used as a vehicle for *meaning* on the Behistun relief concerns the rendition of Ahuramazda. As we have seen, Ahuramazda's wings and disc are rendered in an Assyrian style on the Behistun relief and also on Darius' tomb tableau. They differ markedly from the Egyptian type of stylization found on the representations of Ahuramazda above the doorjamb reliefs at Persepolis [compare Pls. 8, 13b, 25][94]. Why was an Assyrian style chosen for the two relief types in which the king relates directly to the god, while an Egyptian style was chosen for those scenes in which the god seems to be a hovering, protective presence above the king—but not an agent of action directed toward the king below? The differentiation of types seems to have been a reflection of choice rather than of some process of evolution from the Assyrian style to the Egyptian in temporal sequence. Glazed brick reliefs from the palace of Darius at Susa which display the winged disc motif in Egyptian style may well have been made before the tomb facade of Darius was carved[95]. They thus suggest the likelihood that the Egyptian style had been fully integrated into the Achaemenid sphere at an early date. And the fully Egyptian character of the Egyptian style disc wings indicates that they were consciously derived directly from Egypt—not fortuitously introduced as a mere decorative pattern through an intermediary source[96].

---

[92] Schapiro, "Style", esp. 296-297. Specifically in the context of Achaemenid art, note the remarks of Nylander, *Ionians*, 131 and n. 340.

[93] E.H. Gombrich, *Art and Illusion*, The Bollingen Series, XXXV/5 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), 90.

[94] Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, pls. 75-79 and 104.

[95] Barnett, *Assyrian Palace Reliefs and their Influence*, pl. XXIV. M. Pézard and E. Pottier, *Catalogue des antiquités de la Susiane: Musée national du Louvre* (Paris: Musées Nationaux, 1926), 144. See Farkas, *Achaemenid Sculpture*, 44-45, for a discussion of the plausibility of a date before c. 513 for the construction at Susa of which this brick panel with winged disc would have been a part.

I would suggest the possibility that the Behistun and tomb relief Ahuramazda figures are rendered in Assyrian style, in contrast to those at Persepolis, because in the minds of the planners of the Behistun relief and Darius' tomb facade the function of Ahuramazda in both cases was consciously adapted directly from neo-Assyrian prototypes of the figure of the winged Assur on monumental reliefs. The Achaemenids then took the Assyrian model and revitalized it, perhaps inspired in this reworking by the Sar-i Pul relief. By the same token, it is possible that the *Egyptianized* renditions of Ahuramazda at Persepolis may have been carved in Egyptian style because of some association in these contexts with the function of the ever-present, protective vulture in *Egyptian* iconography[97].

Other traits of the Behistun relief may reflect a deliberate attempt to suggest sculpturally that the Persian king was the successor, in terms of military might, of the Assyrian kings. It has already been observed by others that the hairstyle and facial characteristics of Darius on the Behistun relief bear an extremely close resemblance to those of late neo-Assyrian kings, specifically Sargon and Assurbanipal [Pls. 7, 55b][98]. Likewise, the bows carried by the Achaemenids are very similar to those represented on reliefs of the Sargon-Assurbanipal period, as has been discussed in Chapter IV.

And, finally, the treatment of the Persian robe on the Behistun relief suggests that its form may be the result of the sculptors' attempting to put the distinctive Achaemenid robe (with its vertical pleats and omega hemline seen already in Palace P at Pasargadae) into an Assyrian stylistic idiom specifically for this one monument[99]. The Persian robes represented on the Behistun relief display hemline contours which are very similar to those on the Assyrian court garments worn by Assurbanipal's crown prince and his attendants when these robes are drawn up in front for an action in the hunt [Pl. 55b][100]. The main difference here is that the Behistun garment retains the distinctive vertical pleat of the Achaemenid robe seen in profile, though it is shown as stretched apart because of the way the garment has been rendered as somehow tucked up in front in preparation for action[101].

---

[96] Paint preserved on the Throne Hall representations of Ahuramazda shows that the wings had spots added to their tips. See Herzfeld, *Iran*, pl. LXIV; and Lerner, "A Painted Relief", 116-122. These spots are a traditional Egyptian feature, found for instance on the wings of winged discs in Darius' Temple of Hibis. See Winlock, *The Temple of Hibis*, I, pl. XVIII B. The spots are also found on Dyn. 18 jewelry renditions of the wings of the winged disc and the vulture (e.g., C. Desroches-Noblecourt, *Tutankhamen* [New York: New York Graphic Society, 1963], pls. XXXIXa and XXXVIIa). Herzfeld's documentation of the spots on the Throne Hall wings has been verified by the recent observation of similar remains of paint on another of the Throne Hall winged discs still in situ.

[97] E.g., Smith, *Interconnections*, figs. 211, 213, 214.

[98] Farkas, *Achaemenid Sculpture*, 33 and pl. XIV; Loud, *Khorsabad*, fig. 38.

Rather than being the first experimental attempt at rendering the Persian robe in its classical form with rigid omega hemline, as some would see it, the Behistun rendition may, then, represent an attempt to accommodate the realities of the Persian robe (with its cape-like top, its vertical pleats and radial folds) to the stylistic idiom of Assyrian sculpture of the period of Assurbanipal[102]. The Assyrian stylization may have been consciously selected as an important aspect of the Behistun relief because of a connection in the Achaemenids' minds between the creation of emphatic displays of military power and the tradition of the mighty Assyrian king, Assurbanipal.

---

[99] See Catalogue Entry II for a discussion of the controversy over the date of the Palace P drapery and for the opinion of some scholars that the Behistun drapery is earlier than the Pasargadae sculpture and is therefore to be considered the first stage in an evolution toward the canonical style.

[100] For a different view of the subject of the Behistun drapery, see Farkas, *Achaemenid Sculpture*, 32-37, and Luschey, "Darius-Relief", 87-90. Both view the Behistun relief in general as the product of Greek workmanship and the drapery specifically as a reflection of late sixth century Greek sculptural trends.

[101] The drapery on the prostrate figure of Gaumata shows how the robe was gathered up from both sides and tucked up under the belt: Luschey, Darius-Relief", Taf. 28.

[102] A discussion of the extent to which the Achaemenid robe represented in art shows an actual type of garment, and the extent to which it shows a purely sculptural interpretation of an actual robe is beyond the scope of this study. Attempts have been made to understand the sculptural representation in terms of how it could be constructed in actuality to conform to the sculptural model: A. Roes, "The Achaemenid Robe", *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 8, 1951, 137-141; B. Goldman, "Origin of the Persian Robe", *Iranica Antiqua* 4, 1964, 133-152; G. Thompson, "Iranian Dress in the Achaemenian Period", *Iran* 3, 1965, 121-126; P. Beck, "A note on the Reconstruction of the Achaemenid Robe", *Iranica Antiqua* 9, 1972, 116-122. In any event, the garment represented in Achaemenid sculpture must at least depict the salient characteristics of the Persian robe as it was actually worn at court. Verification of this comes from Egyptian representations which, despite certain peculiarities perhaps resulting from a lack of real familiarity with the garment on the part of the sculptor, do faithfully depict those salient features such as the wide sleeves, the radial folds, and the central pleat(s): e.g., the Persian and Elamite on the base of the statue of Darius (Kervran, et al., "Une statue de Darius", pl. IV [here, Pl. 11]); and the stele of Chalouf, royal figure on the reverse (Posener, *Première domination perse*, pl. IV.

An analogous sculptural adaptation of one actual garment type in order to incorporate for specific political reasons salient characteristics of another may be observed in the sculptures of certain Egyptian officials of the Persian Period. These men sometimes had themselves portrayed as wearing a standard Egyptian garment which in the sculpture (and perhaps also in actuality, though we have no way of knowing this) had been adapted to include the wide sleeves of the Persian court robe[103].

That the planners of Achaemenid imperial sculpture were capable of such a calculated manipulation of style to conform to content for specific reasons is, furthermore, corroborated by the results of Harmatta's philological analysis of the Cyrus Cylinder. As discussed already in Chapter I, Harmatta has shown that its edict form has no parallels in contemporary neo-Babylonian inscriptions, but, rather, in the inscriptions of Assurbanipal at Babylon[104]. Apparently these very inscriptions of Assurbanipal served as the models for Cyrus' edict. They seem to have been selected as the models for the Achaemenid inscription for well thought-out politically inspired reasons having to do with a deliberate attempt to associate Cyrus with the memory of Assurbanipal—the latter having also restored the cult of Marduk to Babylon:

> ... les prêtres de Marduk pouvaient se réjouir de voir entrer Cyrus dans Babylone comme le future restaurateur du culte de Marduk, comparable seulement, dans leur vision historique, à Aššurbānapli, le dernier grand souverain du siècle précédent. C'est pourquoi, au moment de l'entrée de Cyrus et de la rédaction de son édit, le clergé de Marduk devait nécessairement prendre pour modèles les inscriptions d'Aššurbānapli relatives au culte de Marduk. Celles-ci offraient une forme littéraire appropriée, contenaient un protocole royal digne du puissant roi perse ... Conscients de cela, les cercles du clergé de Marduk rédigèrent l'édit de Cyrus en usant de la forme littéraire des inscriptions d'Aššurbānapli dediées à Marduk et en transférant à Cyrus le protocole royal du souverain assyrien. Ainsi, l'édit babylonien montre, de la part du clergé de Marduk, la pleine reconnaissance de l'importance historique du grand roi perse[105].

Thus, while my analysis of the ways in which Assyrian style may have been used to convey nuances of meaning in the Behistun relief must remain on a speculative level, the basic validity of this line of analysis is suggested by Harmatta's parallel findings relating to the process of creation of an historical *text*.

---

[103] Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture*, 78-79 and pl. 61.

[104] Harmatta, "Les modèles littéraires", 29-44. (The same article appeared in English in *Acta Antiqua* 19, 1971, 217-231).

[105] Harmatta, "Les modèles littéraires", 43.

Egyptian Prototypes

Given the clear and calculated relationship of the Behistun relief to the complex fabric of Mesopotamian traditions, it is tempting to dismiss an analysis of the Egyptian representational tradition as unnecessary. But in this type of study it is crucial to survey the Egyptian material as well. To the Achaemenids (and not least to Darius himself) Egypt was an important part of the empire, an important source of prestige. Furthermore, the Achaemenids were acquainted with Egyptian imperial art through direct observation. Thus, if we are to attempt to understand the process of creation of Achaemenid iconography of kingship we must study the Egyptian material as material which the Achaemenids could and well might have drawn from. In our attempt to understand the concepts of kingship which the Achaemenids wished to portray in their art, the visions of power which were deliberately rejected by the Achaemenids are just as significant as are the images which were deliberately selected and adapted.

Actually, when we survey the Egyptian material we find that its tendency toward collective representations of "all lands" of the empire may have had some influence upon the Behistun relief in its non-specific aspect as a monument advertising Darius' ability to conquer any and *all* followers of the Lie.

In Egyptian art a *persistent tradition* is documented for the portrayal within one tableau of the pharaoh as victorious over several peoples or "all" peoples at once. Sometimes these scenes are meant to illustrate a composite of several distinct military conquests, as on the Behistun reliefs; and in other cases they are intended merely to present a general statement of the pharaoh's power over all lands—regardless of whether or not he actually ever campaigned in certain of the areas represented by captives. Simons, in his important work on Egyptian topographical lists, presents a useful categorization of the many type-variations of victory scenes in Egyptian art[106].

---

[106] Simons, *Handbook*, 5-12. As Simons points out, these representational types deserve more detailed study than has so far been attempted. R. Anthes' study, "Die Vorführung der gefangenen Feinde vor den König", in *ZÄS* 65, 1930, 26-35, does not

The most common type (Simons' Type I) presents the pharaoh about to slay several captured enemies whom he holds in a bunch by the hair while swinging his mace above his head. Before the pharaoh stands the god, who offers him the khopesh-sword while dragging forward rows of enemy figures superimposed upon their individual name-rings [Pl. 50]. This precise type is first documented in the reign of Tutmosis III. From then to the end of the Dynastic Period the type remains an important motif within the repertoire of Egyptian royal sculpture[107]. But isolated elements of this total composition are found earlier. The motif of the pharaoh about to strike down an enemy is at least as old as the First Dynasty—when, on the verso of Narmer's Palette, the king is posed in what becomes the classic Egyptian smiting stance, as he wields his mace over the kneeling figure who represents the peoples of the Delta [Pl. 39][108]. An interesting elaboration of this simple smiting scene is found on a relief slab of Mentuhotep I, the founder of the Middle Kingdom, from the Temple of Hathor at Gebelein, south of Thebes [Pl. 52a][109]. Here, Mentuhotep stands facing left as he prepares to smite with his mace the helpless captive at his feet, whose hair he grasps in his right hand. Behind this victim is a row of three kneeling prisoners. The figure who is about to be struck by the pharaoh wears an Egyptian kilt; and indeed the inscription accompanying the relief declares that Mentuhotep smites the head of the Two Lands. The other captives are labeled (from right to left) as the Nubian, the Asiatic and the Libyan. All wear the same type of short skirt which differs from the characteristic Egyptian pleated garment. They are differentiated one from another by head ornaments (or lack thereof).

---

make precise enough typological classifications of the reliefs analysed for his work to be a useful foundation for further research.

[107] E.g., Tutmosis III: J. Capart, *Thebes: The Glory of a Great Past* (Brussels: Vromant & Co., 1926), fig. 26; Seti I: Ibid., fig. 27; Ramses II: G.A. Gaballa, "Minor War Scenes of Ramesses II at Karnak", *JEA* 55, 1969, 85 and pls. XVI-XVII; Ramses III: Capart, *Thebes*, fig. 29; Sheshonk I: The Epigraphic Survey, *Karnak*, OIP, LXXIV, pls. 2-9.

[108] Pritchard, *The Ancient Near East*, fig. 84. Another early example occurs on the wall relief of Snefru (Dyn 3) in the Sinai (Simons, *Handbook*, fig. 3). Here the message is of a general nature, as the accompanying text suggests—labeling Snefru "Smiter of the foreign countries".

[109] Anthes, "Die Vorführung der gefangenen Feinde", Abb. 2; Bissing, *Denkmäler*, Taf. 33A (a) and text for no. 33A. Note that in these publications the king is identified as Mentuhotep III; but Simpson (in Hallo and Simpson, *History*, 243) associates the relief with the first Mentuhotep.

The political purpose of this relief can only be surmised. It was apparently carved early in Mentuhotep's long reign, since it seems to illustrate the process of re-establishing the pharaoh's dominion and power at home and abroad which was necessary at the beginning of the Middle Kingdom. Mentuhotep's activity in each of the areas represented here by a captive is attested historically in separate incidents. But it is not known whether this particular relief was intended to represent, as at Behistun, a conflation of four *specific* military ventures, or whether it was meant only as a general statement of royal authority[110]. At any rate, this relief is important as one of the earliest documentations of an Egyptian thematic tradition of representing the king as victorious over several peoples at one time.

As we have seen, the victory theme achieved a different and highly standardized representational form by the reign of Tutmosis III in Dynasty 18 [Pl. 50]. But alongside this most prevalent type of composition co-existed a less common type which bears a closer visual resemblance to the Behistun relief. Note, as an example, a relief from the temple of Ramses II at Beit el-Wali in Nubia [Pl. 51b][111]. Here the pharaoh, standing on a platform composed of figures of two prostrate captives placed back to back, grasps three kneeling northern captives by the hair, though he does not actually smite them. Approaching the pharaoh, a prince brings forward a file of northern captives (including a Libyan and a Syrian) whose arms are bound behind them and who are linked to one another by a rope tied around their necks. They are figures of full human beings —not hieroglyph-like figures superimposed on name-rings. This type of representation has its roots in the Old Kingdom. Note, for instance, the scene in the funerary temple of King Sahure (Dynasty 5), which depicts gods bringing various types of foreign prisoners (in full human form) to the pharaoh [Pl. 51a][112].

The reliefs of Mentuhotep and Ramses II, though closer to the Behistun relief than the more standard victory scene type in terms of visual effect, lack the presence of a god image holding forth toward the victorious king a symbol of power (be it the Egyptian khopesh-sword, or the Mesopotamian ring). Thus they lack one important element found in the standard Egyptian victory scene (Simons' Type I) and found also on the Behistun relief. This element occurs in Egyptian art in the classic form as early as Dynasty 11—though independently of the element of the king smiting the enemy. On a sandstone stele of Sesostris I the god Mentu, holding the khopesh-sword, is represented leading captives forward to the pharaoh[113]. These prisoners are actually represented by the figures of foreign enemies surmounting the name-rings that identify their lands of origin; and they are thus clear prototypes for the New Kingdom reliefs which combine this element with the element of pharaoh smiting enemies.

---

[110] Hallo and Simpson, *History*, 243.

[111] H. Ricke, G.R. Hughes, and E.F. Wente, *The Beit el-Wali Temple of Ramesses II*, Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition, I (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), 13 and pl. 10.

[112] L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Śa*^{3}*hu-re*ʿ, II, (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1913), Bl. 5.

The stylistic idiom of the common Egyptian type of victory scene (in which the smiting of enemies is combined with the approach of prisoners and the presentation of a symbol of power) differs greatly from that of the Behistun relief. The figures on the Egyptian reliefs are little more than animated hieroglyphs, a fact which is most obvious in the case of the figures of captives represented simply as torsos surmounting their name-rings[114]. As prototypes for a monument clearly meant to "speak" especially to peoples of non-Egyptian culture these Egyptian reliefs would have had little appeal[115].

Yet there is something characteristically Egyptian in the Behistun conflation of several victories into one tableau. The similarity could be merely coincidental. But it is worthwhile noting that in a sense the Behistun scene reflects the same type of interest in representations of the king's relation to the various lands of the empire *as a collective unit* that the Apadana tribute relief and the Persepolis/Naqsh-i Rustam representations of platform carriers do. In these last two cases Egypt offers a long tradition of strong parallels for this collective concept, while Mesopotamia offers only isolated examples of monuments suggesting a similar concept[116]. Likewise, in the case of the victory scene, the Egyptian tradition in which pharaoh is shown as smiter of *all* enemies—symbolized by the captive princes of all those lands considered hostile in a given historical period—relates well to what I have termed the generalized aspect of the Behistun relief: its non-specific aspect as a statement of the king's ability to subdue any and all followers of the Lie, be they from Media or Babylon, Persia, Scythia or Elam. Once again, Mesopotamia offers only rare and isolated examples of this collective concept—not a continuous tradition. Taken together, the similarity of these three Achaemenid representational motifs to Egyptian models in terms of collective vision of the lands of the empire as personified by the subject peoples (either in the guise of captives or tributaries) suggests that the Persians were on some level very much influenced by the Egyptian artistic language of empire. It is certainly possible, in fact, that Darius was himself deeply impressed by the symbolism of Egyptian monuments which he surely must have seen during his term there as Cambyses' guard between 525 and 522—even before he visited Egypt as king early in his own reign[117].

---

[113] Simons, *Handbook*, 7, n. 2, and 9, n. 2; I. Rosellini, *I monumenti dell'Egitto e della Nubia*, I, *I monumenti storici* (Pisa : N. Capurro, 1832), pl. XXV, 4.

[114] There are some examples of this scene type in which the captives led forward are full figures (Simons, *Handbook*, Type II, 8-9); but they still function basically as determinatives for "enemy", each kneeling figure set apart by a vertical labeling text.

[115] It is, however, interesting to speculate on the forms the Behistun relief would have taken if it, like the accompanying text, had been translated into various *artistic* languages for dissemination to the different parts of the empire.

[116] See Chapter III and Chapter VI.

Conclusion

A tabulation of key interrelating factors affecting the process of creation of the Behistun relief—as this process has just been discussed—is presented schematically in Fig. 19.

Here we see that Factor A (Immediate Political Considerations) had a crucial effect on the conceptual formulation and the style of the Behistun relief in many ways:

Factor A

(1) Factor A was a primary factor determining the demands of the Behistun text (Factor B). The text, in turn, determined to a great extent what the planners of the relief had to present visually.

(2) Factor A may have influenced the significance of Factor C (The Importance of the Elamite Tradition). The perpetuation of Elamite traditions through the selection of Behistun as the site of the monument and through the choice of rock relief as the medium for the monument may have been a deliberate attempt to allude to the Achaemenid relationship to Elamite traditions, for political reasons.

[117] Herod. III. 139.

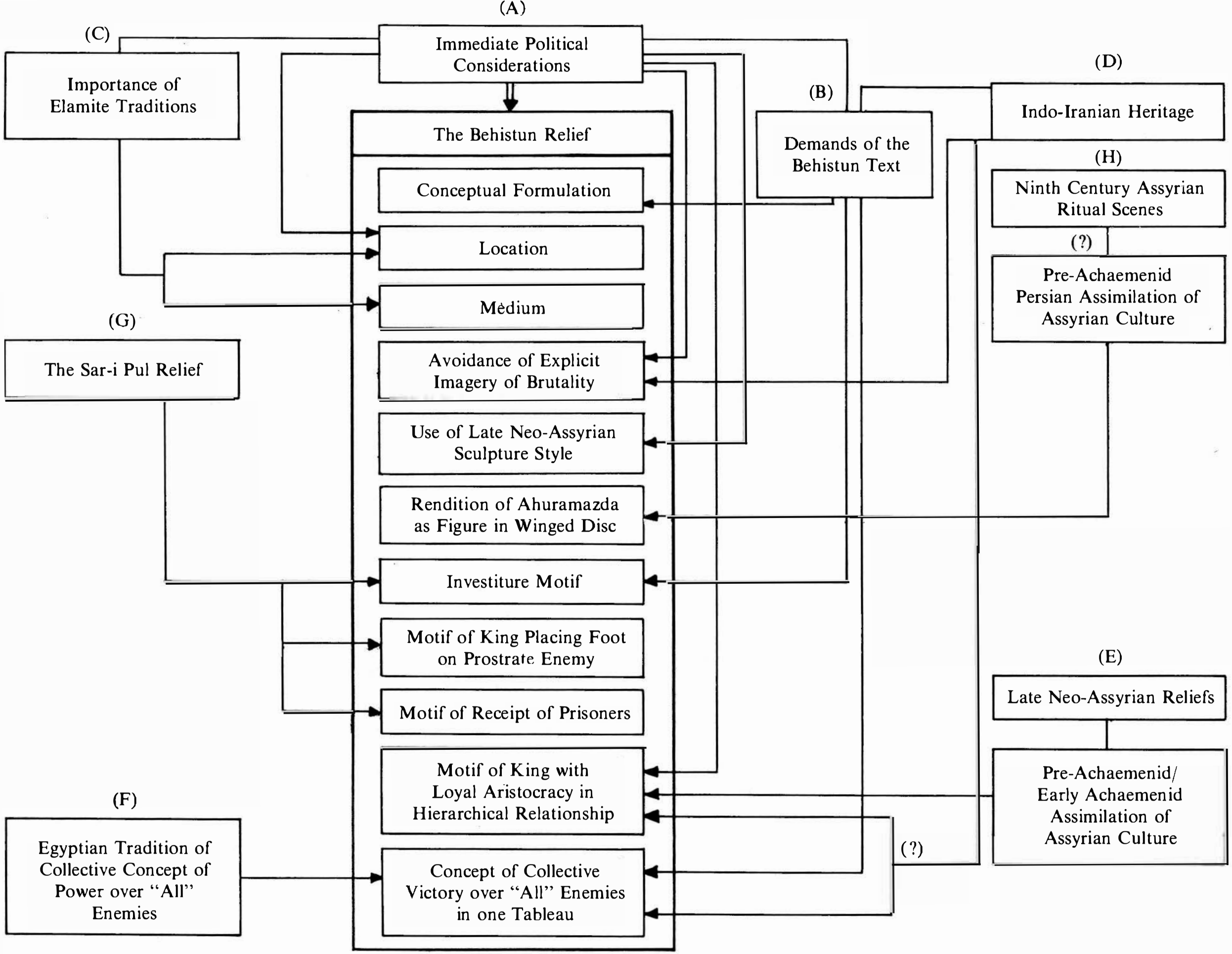

(A)
Immediate Political Considerations
(C)
Importance of Elamite Traditions
(B)
Demands of the Behistun Text
(D)
Indo-Iranian Heritage
(H)
Ninth Century Assyrian Ritual Scenes
(?)
Pre-Achaemenid Persian Assimilation of Assyrian Culture
The Behistun Relief
Conceptual Formulation
Location
Medium
(G)
The Sar-i Pul Relief
Avoidance of Explicit Imagery of Brutality
Use of Late Neo-Assyrian Sculpture Style
Rendition of Ahuramazda as Figure in Winged Disc
Investiture Motif
Motif of King Placing Foot on Prostrate Enemy
Motif of Receipt of Prisoners
(E)
Late Neo-Assyrian Reliefs
Motif of King with Loyal Aristocracy in Hierarchical Relationship
Pre-Achaemenid/ Early Achaemenid Assimilation of Assyrian Culture
(F)
Egyptian Tradition of Collective Concept of Power over "All" Enemies
(?)
Concept of Collective Victory over "All" Enemies in one Tableau

Fig. 19. — Factors having Stylistic and Conceptual/Structural Influence on the Behistun Relief

(3) Factor A may also have influenced the choice of the Behistun mountain as the location, in that a location in the heart of Media may have been considered crucial, given that Gaumata was a Median usurper.

(4) Factor A influenced the choice of neo-Assyrian sculptural style in this one known Achaemenid victory relief—which seems through stylistic allusion to have been meant to hark back to the power of Assurbanipal.

(5) To a great extent Factor A must have determined the inclusion of two of the loyal aristocratic allies of Darius in the tableau—since in a real political sense Darius was dependent upon their support.

(6) Factor A may have motivated the avoidance of a visual imagery of brutality—to the extent that the imagery which *was* used was clearly chosen with immediate political concerns in mind. (Why the Achaemenids may have felt that avoidance of such imagery was appropriate may, on the other hand, relate to Factor D, below).

Factor B

The demands of the Behistun text—themselves ordained in large measure by Factor A—were also in part determined by the less tangible impact of the Indo-Iranian heritage (Factor D) which may also be reflected in literary motifs of the text. Factor B:

(1) determined the conceptual formulation of the relief; and

(2) must have specifically influenced the concept of portraying a collective victory over "all" enemies in one tableau, and the stress on investiture by Ahuramazda (with horned polos and star) facing Darius.

Factor D

Factor D (Indo-Iranian Heritage), in addition to influencing the text itself, may ultimately have been another factor contributing to

(1) the avoidance of explicit imagery of brutality; and

(2) the motif of the king in the company of two loyal nobles, but shown larger than his aristocratic compatriots; and

(3) the motif of collective vision of power over "all" Lie-followers.

Factor E

Factor E (Late Neo-Assyrian Reliefs) may in turn have also influenced the Achaemenid portrayal of the king in a hierarchical relationship to his loyal officers.

Factor F

Factor F (Egyptian Tradition of Collective Concept of Power Over "All" Enemies) seems likely to have exerted an influence on the Achaemenid vision of collective victory.

Factor G

Factor G (Sar-i Pul Relief) provided a structural model for the three crucial elements demanded by the Behistun text: investiture, triumph over the enemy, and receipt of prisoners. Stylistically, the Achaemenid planners were influenced by the Sar-i Pul rendition of the last two elements.

Factor H

Factor H (Ninth Century Assyrian Ritual Scenes) determined the rendition of Ahuramazda as a figure within a winged disc. This concept may have been assimilated and adapted during pre-Achaemenid Persian times. At any rate, in the Behistun relief, Ahuramazda's role as an agent of investiture in an historical context represents a deliberate adaptation of ninth century Assyrian models—effectively transposing the Achaemenid tableau into the realm of pious victory.

The Behistun relief is, strictly speaking, the only extant Achaemenid victory monument. The text and the relief not only record certain of Darius' military victories over rebel leaders; they also function on a more profound level as a grand apologia for Darius' claim to the throne. Thus, in this monument we have a unique demonstration of how the Achaemenid king chose to have himself portrayed in his aspect as victor and in his aspect as recipient of the divine right to rule the Persian Empire.

In sharp contrast to Egyptian and Assyrian tradition, the Achaemenid relief underplays the brutal aspects of war and triumph in what can only have reflected a preconceived determination to present the king as somehow elevated to a different level of response. Interestingly, it was in the third millennium Sar-i Pul relief that a suitable sculptural model for this detached, elevated image of the pious king triumphant was found.

We can only speculate upon the reasons for the Achaemenid avoidance of imagery of brutality in the Behistun relief. J. Kellens has recently drawn attention to the possible reflection of Indo-Iranian formulae from epic literature in the phraseology of the Behistun text[118]. One cannot help wondering whether the Achaemenid rejection of the brutal imagery of the Assyrian and Egyptian sculptural traditions might reflect the persistence of an elusive Indo-Iranian vision of kingship which was incompatible with the ideal portrayed in Assyrian and Egyptian art.

---

[118] Kellens, "Les formules du type HUBƎRƎTA-BAR".

VI

THE TRIBUTE PROCESSION

Preliminary Remarks

Extant Achaemenid Representations of Tribute Processions

A representation in relief which is commonly termed a tribute procession appears once on the north stair facade of the Apadana and again, essentially in mirror image, on the east stair facade of the same building [Figs. 10-11][1]. These reliefs were planned, though not completed, during the final years of the reign of Darius[2]. Under the patronage of Artaxerxes I an element of the original Apadana composition (namely, the files of gift bearers led by ushers) was extracted from the Apadana reliefs and expanded upon as decoration for the stair facade of Palace H[3]. And during the reign of Artaxerxes III an abbreviated version of this second type of tribute relief was used to embellish the small western stairway of the Palace of Darius[4]. In the present study I shall, however, focus upon the Apadana reliefs, since they represent the first known occurrence of the tribute motif in Achaemenid art and provided the model upon which the later reliefs drew.

The Idea of Tribute

Before we embark upon a detailed description and iconographical analysis of the tribute relief at Persepolis, a few words should be said about the concept of tribute and tribute processions in the ancient Near East. The concept of tribute embraces two related but distinct functions: (1) that of a tax paid by a subject nation (whether as a regularly paid price of submission to a greater power, or as a special payment for protection under the terms of a specific treaty agreement), and (2) that of a gift offered as a type of political encomium—an expression of gratitude and continued allegiance to a greater power. This second type of tribute might be offered regularly—as, for instance, at a yearly celebration such as the Iranian No Ruz—or else in response to a specific circumstance. The concept of tribute does not, in my opinion, embrace the function of booty brought to a victorious king from a fallen city just taken in war[5].

---

[1] Catalogue Entry VIII. The relief on the north facade was apparently executed first. There are differences between the two, as a comparison of Schmidt's plates illustrates. But, for the purposes of this discussion, I shall, unless otherwise indicated, treat the twin reliefs as if they were precise mirror images.

[2] Catalogue Entry VIII.

[3] Catalogue Entry X.

[4] Catalogue Entry VII.

The same nation which on one occasion may have offered tribute as a regular levy imposed as the price of submission, may, on another occasion, have been called upon at regular intervals also to render tribute as an encomium. In addition, some nations which were not regularly taxed because they were outside the administrative sphere of the dominant government might, nevertheless, have considered the rendering of a regular encomium to be politically expedient (or even necessary). In either case, the rendering of tribute was most probably a ceremonial event for which the protocol may have been rather strictly prescribed and formalized. This protocol may have been different for the ceremonial presentation of a regular levy and for the presentation of a regularly rendered encomium. While it may be misleading to think of either type of tribute as having been rendered voluntarily in a pure sense (that is, with no threat of coercion), it is quite possible that the ethos behind the presentation of an encomium might have suggested that the court protocol for this type of presentation be designed to reinforce the acting out of the idea of voluntarily, and even happily rendered gifts[6].

---

[5] (Though cf. Walser, *Völkerschaften*, 11-19). The remarks presented here are not intended as an exhaustive discussion. Rather, they are intended as a suggestion of some of the complexities of the concept of tribute—particularly as these relate to representations of tribute processions in art. Some of the ideas mentioned here will be examined at greater length in the context of Egyptian and Mesopotamian tribute representations and their possible impact upon the Persepolis representation.

[6] The description in the Cyrus Cylinder text of foreign princes joyously paying homage to Cyrus suggests the validity of this idea: "All the inhabitants of Babylon ... as well as of the entire country of Sumer and Akkad, princes and governors (included), bowed down to him (Cyrus) and kissed his feet, jubilant that he (had received) the kingship, and with shining faces" (Pritchard, *The Ancient Near East*, 207). For although it is possible that under the particular historical circumstances all the princes of Sumer and Akkad were, in fact, somewhat relieved that Cyrus had replaced Nabonidus as king in Babylon, still the text has the ring of a formulaic literary pattern which might have been used regardless of the actual political climate. Compare M. Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. I. Cunnison (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1954), 3, who observes of a phenomenon of Polynesian

The type of "gifts" presented must have depended upon the type of tribute they represented. The taxation tribute provided, in the ancient world, the economic base of imperial power. Thus, this type of tribute tended to be of money and precious raw materials in great quantities. The encomium, on the other hand, was surely a more symbolic gift—a luxury item, perhaps—meant more specifically for the pleasure of the king, and not for the replenishment of the imperial coffers and storehouses[7].

Tribute and Representations of Tribute Processions in the Near East

Ceremonial tribute processions were apparently common occurrences at the courts of Egyptian and Mesopotamian monarchs. As actual events they must have been important ceremonies, functioning as demonstrations of imperial power. And certain qualities inherent in such displays clearly offered great potential for pictorial representations of imperial power as well : (1) they carried with them an implicit statement of the power of the king over the specific lands represented by the tribute bearers; (2) being, from a compositional point of view, infinitely expansible or compressible, representations of such ceremonies were able to meet the demands of a variety of artistic contexts; and (3) they offered rich potential for portrayal of the exotic, in the foreign peoples themselves and in the gifts they would

---

society that : "... although the prestations and counter-prestations take place under a voluntary guise, they are in essence strictly obligatory, and their sanction is private or open warfare". When Walser (*Völkerschaften*, 23, ff.) refers to a type of tribute which is "freiwillig", he is probably using quotation marks to imply this ambiguity of the voluntary aspect. It should, therefore, be pointed out that Muscarella, in his review of Walser (*JNES* 28, 1969, 280-281), overlooks the nuance which Walser may have been trying to suggest (albeit perhaps too discreetly). But in any case, Muscarella is, of course, quite correct in emphasizing that a gift to an absolute monarch by a subject people can never really be construed as voluntarily rendered in a pure sense.

[7] See W.J. Martin, "Tribut und Tributleistungen bei den Assyrern", *Studia Orientalia* 8/1, 1936, 3-50, for his major attempt to understand the place of regularized tribute in the economic/political development of the ancient Near East. More recently, see N.B. Jankowska, "Some Problems of the Economy of the Assyrian Empire" (1947), translated from the Russian and reprinted in *Ancient Mesopotamia*, ed. I.M. Diakonoff (Moscow : "Nauka" Publishing House, 1969), 253-276; and H. Tadmor, "Assyria and the West : The Ninth Century and its Aftermath", *Unity and Diversity*, ed. H. Goedicke and J.M. Roberts (Baltimore : Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), 36-48. Tadmor (n. 8) refers to a dissertation by M. Eilat for Hebrew University which will represent a major study of tribute in Assyria; but this is not yet available to me.

be bringing to the king. These qualities might suggest that the tribute procession would have been a very popular motif in the imperial art of various periods in Egyptian and Mesopotamian history. Actually, it played an extremely limited role in the art of Egypt, occurring almost exclusively in the tombs of court officials of Dynasty 18—especially of the pre-Amarnian phase. And in Mesopotamia, tribute scenes (strictly speaking) are known only in the neo-Assyrian Period —and then they are concentrated into the reigns of Assurnasirpal through Sargon. These periods were times of great imperial activity for Egypt and Assyria respectively. It is therefore fitting that the Apadana reliefs, which are the most impressive on the Persepolis terrace, should have been planned under the patronage of Darius, when the Achaemenid Empire was at the zenith of its power.

Tribute in the Achaemenid Empire

With regard specifically to tribute in the Persian Empire, we are told by Herodotus (III. 89-97) that the annually levied taxation tribute [φόρος] rendered by subject nations was paid mostly in currency and in bulk gold and silver. Of the lands incorporated into the administration of the Persian Empire, only Persia itself paid no such tribute. Herodotus (III. 97) also mentions several peoples such as the Colchians who paid no annual tax, but who *stipulated for themselves* the rendering of a regular *gift* [δῶρον], apparently instead of an annual tax *per se*: κόλχοι δὲ τὰ ἐταξαντο ἐν τὴν δωρεὴν ...[8].

Herodotus does not mention any actual tribute ceremony which would correspond to what is portrayed on the Apadana relief. Here, representatives of virtually all the subject nations are shown bringing tribute. Conspicuously absent are men from Persia itself. In this aspect the relief conforms to Herodotus' observation that Persia alone was exempt from the annual taxation tribute. Yet the figures on the Apadana relief are bringing gifts which are suggestive not of an annual taxation, but, rather, of a symbolic encomium such as we might have expected the Persians themselves to have also offered to their king. At a later point in this chapter, we shall discuss what type of tribute presentation ceremony the Apadana relief may depict. This is a complex question, the difficulties of which are compounded by the fact that the relief is, of course, art; and it was not necessarily intended to portray a ceremony which actually took place—much less a ceremony which took place in the specific manner in which it is depicted. Thus, a discussion of this problem must wait until we have pursued our iconographical analysis of the relief.

---

[8] "ἐτάξαντο", being in the middle voice, implies the action of the subject upon itself. Therefore, the Loeb translation has, it should be noted, seriously altered the meaning of this passage when it renders: "Gifts were also *required* of the Colchians ..." —though in real terms the Loeb translation probably hits nearer the truth than do the words of Herodotus.

The Apadana tribute scene is a particularly interesting case study in the process of formulation of the Achaemenid imperial sculpture programme precisely because the earlier use of the theme is clearly documented, but only in very specific and narrowly defined historical contexts. To what extent does the Apadana tribute scene reflect the conscious or unconscious reliance of its planners upon these earlier models of tribute processions? And to what extent does the Achaemenid relief suggest an independent development, or, perhaps, a reliance upon models of different representational themes? A study of the possible Egyptian and Mesopotamian prototypes for the Persian tribute scene and an analysis of the ways in which such earlier models may have been changed, conserved, or even disregarded, will serve to explicate the process of formulation of this particular sculptural display of kingship.

Following a description of the Apadana relief as it meets the eye, I shall discuss how the relief functions, according to certain artistic conventions, as a sum of its parts. I shall then evaluate the possible compositional prototypes for the Apadana relief system from Egypt and Mesopotamia. Certain internal iconographical images of the Apadana relief will then be analyzed in order to gain an understanding of how they may contribute to our appreciation of the intended message of the relief as a whole and of the sources which were drawn upon in its creation. And, finally, I shall discuss what the Apadana tribute relief may be intended to represent—whether it is an illustration of an actual ceremony as that ceremony took place, or a metaphorical artistic synthesis of ideas of empire.

Description

As originally planned, each Apadana facade depicted on the central panel a scene of the king (over life-size) enthroned under a baldacchino while giving audience to an official in the presence of the crown prince and a small entourage of attending figures [Pl. 17]. Flanking this composition, on the triangular area the hypotenuse of which is formed by the sloping line of the outer stairway wall, appears the motif of the lion attacking a bull.

On the rear plane of the facade the central panel is flanked on each side by a procession of figures disposed in three registers which are separated by horizontal bands of rosettes. The lion and bull emblem also appears in the triangular terminal area of each of these wings. The figures in these processions are much smaller in scale than are those of the central panel. The procession which appears to approach the king from the rear is composed of what we might call, for the present, court personages of various types [Pls. 20-22]. Included in this group is a train of royal paraphernalia. Hereafter, this flank will be designated as "wing A". The procession of figures who face the king is composed of twenty-three groups of men bearing tribute, who are differentiated to some extent by their clothing, the objects they bring, and their physical characteristics—presumably in order to indicate the lands whence they come [Pls. 23-24]. The figures bear no labels, however. This flank of the facade composition will be designated as "wing B".

When viewed head-on, the space separating the central panel, with its scene of the king in audience, contracts, in effect, so that one's eye fits the central panel into the rear plane occupied by wings A and B [Fig. 11]. There can be no doubt that this optical effect was calculated in order to create the visual impression of a unity of the three sections of the relief system. The ways in which this unity was sought internally, through compositional devices, will be discussed shortly. At this point it is sufficient to suggest preliminarily that we are justified in understanding the flanking processions as in some way meant to relate directly to the activity represented on the original central panel. In other words, the three sections of the facade decorative system are in essence part of one total compositional structure, and must be so treated.

The Original Central Panel

The sculptural composition carved on the original central rectangular panel of the Apadana stair is encased by a border of rosettes. Standing immediately inside this frame on each side, and facing inward, are two court figures dressed in the Persian robe and low, flat fillet headdress. Of the two positioned behind the king, one grasps a long spear and the other a pole supporting a square standard [Pl. 18]. Of those positioned in front of the king, one again grasps a spear while his mate holds a pail in one hand, placing his free hand across the opposite arm. The outer attendant figure in each of these paired sets overlaps his partner in a manner which produces a distinctive pattern of juxtaposed features [Pls. 17-18].

The other figures in the composition are placed within the limits imposed by two poles supporting an embroidered canopy. Depicted behind the king (reading toward him) is a figure in the Median costume who holds an ax and an elaborate bow case. Following the ax bearer comes an attendant wearing the Persian robe and a bashlyk headdress. He holds a scarf or towel in one hand and rests his other hand across the opposite arm [Pl. 19].

Directly in front of this figure stands the figure who apparently represents the crown prince. He stands on the same plain, low platform that also supports the throne of the king. He wears the same costume as the king does and holds a flower in his left hand while extending a stiff right hand in the greeting/blessing gesture. The king himself sits upon an ornately carved straight-backed throne with no arms. His feet rest upon a footstool. In his left hand the monarch holds a flower (of a slightly different formation from that grasped by the crown prince) and in his right hand he holds a staff which extends diagonally down to rest on the edge of the throne platform before his feet.

Two large incense burners intercede between the king and the man who appears in audience before him. Undoubtedly we are meant to understand the incense burners as placed side by side in front of the king on a line parallel to the front edge of the throne platform. The man standing before the king wears the Median costume, complete with distinctive akinakes strapped to his right leg (visible on the east facade panel). He inclines his torso forward in an attitude of respect. His right hand is cupped slightly and raised up to his lips. In his left hand he holds a short staff.

Wing A

The procession of courtly figures is headed in all three registers by a row of "Susian Guards"[9]. Each one grasps a spear with both hands and rests the butt on his forward foot [Pl. 22]. The spears thus act as vertical division strokes separating one guard from the next. These guards and their spears are vertically aligned in all three registers [Fig. 11]. On the top register, the figure following the last Susian Guard is dressed in the Median costume. This figure type will be referred to as an usher. He holds a short staff in one hand and rests the other hand across the opposite arm. Four figures follow this usher, each of whom carries a whip and a fringed saddle blanket or rug. The last attendant also has a footstool strapped to his back. He is followed by an usher who adopts the same attitude as the first one. Then come three horses, each with an attendant groom. A third usher, this one dressed in the Persian robe and Susian fillet, is rendered with a frontal torso—perhaps to display the dagger tucked into his belt. Two two-horse chariots bring up the rear of this train. Each is driven by a man in the Susian costume; but neither carries a passenger.

---

[9] So-called because their costume is identical to that worn by the guard figures rendered in glazed brick relief at Susa (Porada, *Ancient Iran*, pl. 42). It is generally

On each of the lower registers of wing A a file of men, who are dressed alternately in the Median and the Persian costume, follows the line of Susian guards. The first figure in each contingent wears the Persian robe and assumes the hand-over-wrist attitude, echoing the first usher directly above in the top register [Pl. 22]. The other members of the retinue are all shown to stand in the same direction; but several of them turn their heads around as if to exchange remarks with the figures behind them. Great attention has been paid on these figures to a rhythmic variation of a set series of hand gestures which project an impression of a rather mannered courtly intimacy [Pls. 20-21].

Wing B

The three-registered procession of gift bearers on the balancing wing B is broken up into units determined by national delegation. Each unit is set off from the next by a tree. The trees are aligned with one another vertically, so that the units of figures are in effect set into a grid formed by trees and horizontal rosette borders

assumed that they represent Susian Elamites (Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, 83), though the twisted fillet is their only characteristic feature which is exclusive to Elamites on labeled Achaemenid reliefs. If this is in fact the case, then these guards would have formed a corps roughly analogous to the Swiss Guard of the Pope—a corps of bodyguards which is to this day still recruited from the Catholic cantons of central Switzerland and which still wears the Renaissance uniform of the first Swiss guards enlisted as mercenaries for Papal duty.

[Fig. 11]. The first man in each national delegation carries no gift and is held by the hand by an usher [Pls. 23-24]. The ushers wear alternately the Persian and the Median garment. The general demeanor of the foreign delegates, combined with the fact that some of them are shown to wear their weapons, indicates that they were meant to be understood as non-belligerent, willing participants in the ceremony shown to be taking place. Specific details of their costumes, their attributes, and the types of tribute they bring have been discussed elsewhere by scholars attempting to identify the nationalities of the peoples represented[10]. Thus, it is not necessary to describe these aspects here. There has been much debate about the order in which the tribute groups were meant to be "read" (i.e., horizontally from top to bottom, or vertically from top to bottom)[11]. I have accepted the latter method because it yields a list which agrees with that given by the platform carriers on the east door of the Central Building of Darius—the only difference being that several peoples have been omitted from the Apadana representation[12]. The order of the peoples does not conform to the geographical system used in the known Achaemenid texts of Darius which list the peoples of the empire. Western and eastern peoples are arranged in a pattern for which scholars have not yet understood a rationale—whether they read the groups vertically or horizontally. It has been suggested that the Apadana relief was derived from a different type of list of the peoples—not an administrative list, but a scribal listing used in the recording of ceremonial/religious functions[13]. On the other hand, the Behistun monument (with its chronologically arranged sculptured figures and its geographically arranged textual listing of them) has warned us against assuming that sculptural representations of the peoples were necessarily dependent upon the dictates of scribal conventions. In any event, we can say with confidence that the intent of the planners of the Apadana facade was not to create an obvious visual distinction between the eastern and the western peoples of the empire.

---

[10] Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, 85-90; Barnett, "Persepolis", 65-73; Walser, *Völkerschaften*, and "Missing Peoples in the Persepolis Processions", *The Memorial Volume: Vth International Congress* (Tehran, 1972), 368-372; Muscarella, Review of *Völkerschaften*, 280-285; Hinz, *Funde und Forschungen*, 95-113; Tilia, *Studies and Restorations*, 265-308; A. Afshar, W. Dutz and M.E. Taylor, "Giraffes at Persepolis", *Archaeology* 27, 1974, 114-117; Roaf, "Subject Peoples".

[11] Opting for a horizontal reading are Muscarella and Barnett. Most scholars read the groups vertically: Herzfeld (in *Iranische Felsreliefs*, 4ff), Schmidt (*Persepolis*, I, 85), Walser (*Völkerschaften*, Falttafel 2), Hinz (*Funde und Forschungen*, 95). See Tilia (*Studies and Restorations*, 304-305) for a discussion of the ordering of the tribute procession of Artaxerxes I, which seems to follow that yielded by the Apadana relief when it is read vertically—thus further suggesting that the vertical reading of the Apadana units is the correct one.

[12] This correlation will be noted by Roaf, in "Subject Peoples".

[13] G. Walser, "Archäologische Gesellschaft zu Berlin, July 8, 1965", *AA* 81, 1966, 548.

Discussion

The original central panel, with its scene of the king receiving an official, is the compositional pivot of the whole Apadana relief system. As has been mentioned already, the two planes of the facade (composed of central panel and flanking wings) were designed to compress visually into one plane when viewed head-on [Fig. 11]. Thus the effect produced is of one extended representation—not of three separate ones. The lion and bull motif, appearing once on either side of the central panel and again on the end of each wing, seems to have fulfilled an emblematic function as a sort of insignia of royal power[14]. Its presence adjacent to the central panel composition does not signify that it is part of the pictorial representation in any participatory sense. Rather, it seems to have played the part of a royal seal on an important document, and was not meant to interrupt the perception of the facade decoration as one coherent relief system.

The central panel may be treated as a sculptural unit in its own right; but it is also linked compositionally to the adjacent wing reliefs —as will be discussed presently. As an independent composition the central panel has been analyzed by scholars previous to the discovery that the so-called Treasury reliefs were actually the original central units of the two Apadana facades[15]. The scene represented is set into a "real" space which is defined by the baldacchino (in contradistinction to the "non-real" spatial setting of the registered figures of dignitaries and tribute bearers on wings A and B). It is common in Egyptian representations for the pharaoh to be depicted as enthroned on a dais under a canopy [Pls. 40a and 56][16]. The Persepolis relief type may reflect Egyptian influence in the mode of representing the royal figures within the architecturally defined space[17]. But the canopy shown here is clearly Persian in form; and we can assume that it represents a type of awning which the king and crown prince would in actuality have appeared under on state occasions[18]. It may have been used not only outdoors, as protection from the elements, but also indoors; for it undoubtedly had a symbolic as well as a purely practical function[19].

---

[14] For similar views on the meaning of the lion and bull motif in Achaemenid art see the following: Bivar, "A Persian Monument at Athens", 43-61; Bivar, "Religious Subjects on Achaemenid Seals", 90-105; Porada, *Ancient Iran*, 160; E. Porada, "An Assyrian Bronze Disc", *Bulletin of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts* 48, 1950, 1-8 (esp. 7-8); Nylander, "Al-Bērūnī", 145-146. Others have viewed the motif at Persepolis as having maintained its primeval cosmic symbolic value—used here as a direct allusion to specific cosmic phenomena. Note the following: Pope, "Persepolis as a Ritual City", 123-130; W. Hartner and R. Ettinghausen, "The Conquering Lion, the Life-Cycle of a Symbol", *Oriens* 17, 1964, 161-171; W. Hartner, "The Earliest History of the Constellations in the Near East and the Motif of the Lion-Bull Combat", *JNES* 24, 1965, 1-16; J. Deshayes, "Origine et signification des représentations symboliques à Persépolis", *Revue de la faculté des lettres et des sciences humaines de l'Université de Tehran*, 1966, 2-6; F.A. Bode, "Symbolic Elements of Achaemenian Architectural Ornament", lecture delivered at the VIth Congress of Iranian Art and Archaeology, Oxford, 1972. On such cosmological interpretations, especially when used to corroborate the assumption that the Persepolis reliefs illustrate a specific No Ruz festival, note the *caveat* of Nylander, "Al-Bērūnī", 143-146.

In Egyptian representations of this type the canopied kiosk is used only for the sake of pictorial clarity—to identify the setting of an event[20]. An attempt is rarely made to create a space within the kiosk in which the figures bear any semblance of a realistic proportional or functional relation to the architectural feature. By contrast, the Achaemenid scene under the baldacchino is endowed with an aspect which Groenewegen-Frankfort has termed "pictorial actuality". Although the figure of the king would—were he to stand—be disproportionately large, the other figures under the baldacchino relate realistically to the architecturally defined space. Thus, the baldacchino does more than convey information; it also provides a "real" spatial setting for a dramatic scenario.

---

[15] Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, 162-169; G. Walser, *Audienz beim persischen Grosskönig* (Zurich, 1965), who summarizes in this brief work the major discussions on the relief.

[16] E.g., Lange and Hirmer, *Egypt*, pl. 152: Tomb of Kheruef.

[17] Cf. Walser, *Audienz*, 20. The only comparable use of a canopy in Mesopotamian art is on the central scene of the throne base of Shalmaneser [Pl. 57a]. This representation shows that such canopies were used by Assyrian kings; but in terms of artistic conception this Assyrian representation has little in common with the Achaemenid one.

[18] Note Plutarch's description of Xerxes sitting under a golden canopy (ὑπὸ σκιάδι χρυσῆ) while watching the battle at Salamis (*Them*, XVI. 2).

[19] For discussions of the symbolism of the Baldacchino see A. Alföldi, "Die Geschichte des Throntabernakels", *La nouvelle clio* 2, 1950, 537-566; and G. von Kaschnitz-Weinberg, *Kleine Schriften zur Struktur* [= Ausgewählte Schriften, I] (Berlin: G. Mann, 1965), 131-134.

[20] H. A. Groenewegen-Frankfort, *Arrest and Movement* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951), 87.

Within the confines of this baldacchino, the king and the crown prince (the latter perhaps to be thought of as standing beside the king rather than behind him) receive the bowing official. A "dramatic space" is achieved between the official and the king[21]. The official has been variously interpreted as (1) a dignitary in the act of worshiping the king and performing the rite of "proskynesis" described by the Greeks[22]; (2) as the head body guard of the king (the "chiliarch" mentioned by Greek sources)[23]; (3) as the chief treasurer reporting to the king (an interpretation born of the assumption that the audience reliefs had always stood in the Treasury)[24]; and (4) as the grand marshall of court ceremonies, with some sort of ambassadorial function[25]. In view of the new knowledge of the original location of the audience panels, it seems most reasonable to accept the last interpretation.

This figure, whom we shall henceforth call the grand marshall, is probably to be understood as being represented in the act of announcing the readiness of the groups of tribute bearers who appear on wing B, lined up facing the king as if prepared to come forward. The grand marshall's gesture should be considered a respectful attitude adopted when addressing the king[26].

The focus of the Apadana relief system was clearly meant to be upon the central panel, with its image of the king enthroned, in the act of receiving his grand marshall. By facing in the direction of the groups of men bearing gifts on wing B, the king then links wing B conceptually to the central panel. The presence of the grand marshall, frozen in the moment of bowing to the king, reinforces the link with wing B, by seeming to foreshadow the imminent arrival before the ruler of the gift bearers from many lands of the empire. It is as if we were meant intellectually to transpose each individual tribute group, one at a time, from its position in a sort of suspended animation on wing B to an actualized position immediately behind the grand marshall, within the "real" spatial confines of the royal baldacchino.

---

[21] Ibid., 38: "Dramatic space occurs when figures are rendered in a tensional relationship which makes the distance between them a significant void".

[22] For a full bibliography and a critique of the idea that "proskynesis" is represented on the Apadana relief, see E.J. Bickerman, "A propos d'un passage de Charès de Mytilène", *La Parola del Passato* 91, 1963, 241-255.

[23] See Walser, *Audienz*, 13, and Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, 169.

[24] Ibid., 169.

[25] Hinz, *Funde und Forschungen*, 63, nn. 4-6.

[26] Whether this gesture came about because of a prohibition against allowing one's breath to reach the person of the king is another question. (Cf. Hinz, *Funde und Forschungen*, 11-13).

The relief on wing A is also linked to the central panel. The figures depicted here seem to represent a parade of guards and noblemen who, having accompanied the royal retinue to the site of the canopied structure shown on the central panel, are now standing in place to await the commencement of the ceremony. The relief may, thus, be understood to portray the court entourage, with chariots of the king and crown prince now standing empty, as its members anticipate what is about to happen.

P.J. Junge once postulated that the wing A relief actually represented a parade of gift bearers meant to balance that on wing B—a parade in which the Susian guards were to be understood as contingents donated to the king by the satrapies, and in which the chariots and horses shown on the top register represented the gifts offered to the king by the nobles shown below[27]. But our recently gained knowledge that the Treasury reliefs originally were placed on the Apadana facades speaks for the other interpretation. Surely the king would not be shown turning his back on an elegant procession of his nobles if they were depicted as approaching him with gifts.

Furthermore, the structure of the wing A relief suggests the other interpretation as well. If the wing A relief is "read" vertically in two sections from top to bottom it yields a composition of guards, followed by the royal train, followed by dignitaries. This build-up is, in essence, strikingly similar to that described by Xenophon in his account of a Persian procession and celebration—though in the case of the Persepolis relief the parade is represented only in a very abbreviated form and must be understood to have come to a standstill[28]. Care was taken, in this regard, to show the chariot drivers and the grooms reining in their horses[29]. The standard held by the attendant on the central panel [Pl. 18] should, then, be understood to have been carried in this parade, the members of which are actually represented after having come to a standstill—frozen in a moment after the king and crown prince have taken up their positions under the baldacchino. Thus the standard creates a tangible link between the central panel and wing A[30]. Less tangible is the link of anticipatory mood created by the restless gestures and attitudes of the dignitaries [Pls. 20-22]—gestures which are effectively punctuated by the sedate hand-over-wrist posture of the first dignitary in each line and by the steady drum-roll effect of the spear-bearing Susian guards.

---

[27] P.J. Junge, "Satrapie und Natio; Reichsverwaltung und Reichspolitik im Staat Dareios I", *Clio* 34 (n.F. 16), 1941, 24, n. 4.

[28] Xenophon, *Cyrop.* VIII. iii. 1-4. Note the comparisons drawn between the Apadana wing A and the Xenophon passage by Eddy in *The King is Dead*, 53. Eddy sees the Xenophon passage and the Apadana relief as descriptive specifically of an Iranian No Ruz parade. But there seems to be nothing about either which compels us to assume this. Cf. Nylander, "Al-Bērūnī", 147-148, and "Ritual Persepolis—A Critical Discussion", lecture delivered at the VIth Congress of Iranian Art and Archaeology, Oxford, 1972. Gropp has compared the Apadana wing A relief to a passage in Herodotus in which appears a description of Xerxes' parade retinue on the march from Sardis (VII. 40-41): "Beobachtungen in Persepolis", 46.

[29] Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, pl. 52.

To summarize this interpretative discussion of the Apadana relief as a compositional system, we may say that the reliefs on the Apadana facade do not represent a two-pronged procession of gift bearers—foreigners on one side and court personages on the other. Rather, they represent a unified pictorial vision of the moment before the commencement of the presentation of gifts to the king by delegates from the subject nations. In this moment, the king is receiving the grand marshall of the ceremony which is about to take place. The groups of gift bearers are lined up in a paratactic unit on wing B, facing the king and poised in dignified solemnity as if waiting to be brought forward. And the guards, royal grooms, horses and chariots, and the nobles—all still in their processional formation—are drawn up to a halt behind the king and crown prince, as they anticipate the beginning of the ceremony.

Egyptian Prototypes

Representations of specific foreign peoples bringing gifts to the king enjoyed a floruit in Egypt during the 18th Dynasty; and they are found primarily as wall paintings in the tombs of Theban officials. The majority of these date from the reigns of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III, with proportionately fewer attributable to the reigns of later pharaohs of the dynasty. During the Ramesside Period the theme dies out, occurring only sporadically[31].

It is likely that the popularity of the tribute representations as a decorative element of the tombs of courtiers was catalyzed by the monumental reliefs representing Hatshepsut's expedition to Punt—reliefs carved on the southern colonnade of the middle terrace of her temple at Deir el Bahari. Here the scene showing the presentation of tribute is only one part of the narrative system which depicts several stages of the expedition[32]. At the end of a long file of figures moving toward the queen there are Puntites who carry ebony and elephants' tusks and drive cattle forward. Then come Egyptians with incense trees. Before the Egyptians are two rows of men bearing gifts. Each of these rows divides into two registers to make the beginning of the procession. The figures in these split registers lean forward on their knees and raise their arms, with palms forward, in supplication [Pl. 57b]. They are meant to represent the chiefs of southern lands. All these chieftains are, in theory, doing obeisance to the queen. But she is not actually represented here in human form. Instead, a stand is shown occupying an area which brackets the registers of gift bearers. The stand is decorated to suggest a throne, and Hatshepsut's cartouche rests upon it[33]. The accompanying inscription, partially destroyed, reads :

---

[30] On the Achaemenid standard see C. Nylander, "The Standard of the Great King", a lecture delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America (Washington : 1975) and to be published as an article in AJA.

[31] See Vandier, *Manuel*, IV, 572-574, and esp. 573, n. 1; Walser, *Völkerschaften*, 14, n. 20.

> ... the bowing down before Usertkau (Hatshepsú) by the Chiefs of Punt
> ... the Anti of Nubia of Khenthunnefer, all lands
> ... stooping, bringing their goods in the palace where is her Majesty.
> ... roads which never had been trodden by others, it was reckoned
> ... the lord of Thebes, as a tribute for each year.
> ... as was ordered by her father, who put all lands under her feet living eternally[34].

It is significant to note that these foreign chieftains are shown to render submission to Hatshepsut and that, furthermore, the inscription states explicitly that they come bringing yearly tribute. In point of fact, the Punt expedition was a mercantile venture, not a military one. Egypt was not in a position to exact a regular tribute from Punt or the African lands south of the Fourth Cataract[35]. It is characteristic of other Dynasty 18 Egyptian representations as well consistently to misrepresent trade transactions as tribute scenes in which the foreign chiefs actually render submission to the pharaoh or to his officials. Interestingly, this manipulation of the facts was not merely a function of an artistic tradition. It pervades literary references as well[36].

---

[32] Kantor, "Narration in Egyptian Art", 48, and Smith, *Interconnections*, 137-139, for discussions of the Deir el Bahari reliefs as part of a narrative system.

[33] E. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari* (London : Offices of the Egyptian Exploration Fund, 1894-1908), II, 16 and III, pl. LXXVI. Hatshepsut does not appear in human form here on the south wall because she was in fact not present in Punt. She does appear on the west wall, where activities taking place at Thebes are represented.

[34] Ibid., 16.

[35] W.C. Hayes, "Egypt : Internal Affairs from Tuthmosis I to the Death of Amenophis III", *CAH* fasc. 10, 3rd ed., rev. (Cambridge : The University Press, 1962), 24-30; Smith, *Art and Architecture*, 136.

No doubt mirroring the interests of an age of great international awareness and imperial activity, many tombs of early Dynasty 18 court officials were decorated with paintings of foreigners bringing "tribute" to Egypt. In many of these compositions, great attention is paid to the ethnic characteristics and regional costumes of different peoples and to the detailed portrayal of exotic items and animals brought forward by them[37].

It is customary for the files of "tribute" bearers to be disposed in registers—one register being reserved for each nationality. The delegates proceed toward the king (or, more often, toward the tomb owner, as the king's representative) whose image, being as tall as the height of all the minor registers combined, will bracket the approaching files. Frequently emphasis is placed on the process of tabulation of the tribute. Thus, each file of gift bearers may approach a pile of items already deposited by those earlier in line. A good example of this compositional type is found in the painted tomb of Rekh-mi-Re, vizier of Tuthmosis III [Pl. 58][38]. Here the tribute groups are disposed in four registers showing (from top to bottom) Puntites, Minoans, Nubians and Syrians. The lowest frieze portrays an additional tribute presentation made up solely of Nubian and Asiatic slaves.

The relation of the figure of the king to this scene is secondary, in a sense. He is shown within a kiosk, placed well to the right of the focal point of the scene of tribute *per se*, as he confers honors upon Rekh-mi-Re. Then it is the figure of Rekh-mi-Re, not the king, who appears in large scale to oversee the recording of the tribute[39]. This example suggests a problem we are continually faced with when we attempt to analyze these Dynasty 18 tribute scenes in terms of how they relate to Achaemenid reliefs as representations of a function of kingship. Because they were made for officials, the Egyptian scenes were designed to show the officials off to advantage. Focal stress is placed upon the tomb owner in his role as representative of the pharaoh[40]. And the pharaoh himself is only a static presence, not a participant in any active sense[41]. Thus the purpose of these Egyptian tribute processions is really to show the exalted status of the tomb owner—to convey information by depicting in sequential episodes the tomb owner as he carries out his many important duties as deputy of the pharaoh. By the same token, the manner of rendering the tribute bearers seems intended to impart information, but not to create a unified impression of mood. It is common, as we have seen, for several figures to prostrate themselves before the image of the tomb owner or the pharaoh himself. On the other hand, the mood suggested by such postures of subjection assumed by the foreign princes is never reflected on a subtler level in the way in which the men bearing the actual tribute are shown to carry their burdens. These figures never bend under the weight of heavy furniture or bow to the psychological burden of subjection. They seem little more than animated hieroglyphic ideograms for the concept of "carrying"[42].

---

[36] Martin, *Tribut*, 8-9, notes, for instance, that Tuthmosis III reports having received tribute from Assyria. But we know from a communication of Assur-uballit to Amenhotep IV that Tuthmosis reciprocated what is described as the Assyrians' generous gift by sending twenty talents of gold to Assur-uballit.

[37] This is not to say that the representations of some of these foreigners are always accurate depictions of their features and costumes. See Smith, *Interconnections*, 92; Vercoutter, *L'Égypte et le monde égéen préhellénique*, 201-304; A. Furumark, *The Settlement at Ialysos and Aegean History, c. 1550-1400 B.C.*, Opuscula Archaeologica, VI (Lund : C.W.K. Gleerup, 1950). See also the discussion in Chapter III, *supra*, on the depictions of the foreigners shown as Nine Bows figures; and Smith, *Art and Architecture*, 138-139, esp. nn. 21-22.

[38] Theban tomb no. 100 : Smith, *Art and Architecture*, 142-143; Vandier, *Manuel*, IV, 589-601; N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rē at Thebes*, PMMA, XI (New York : The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1943), 17-30, and *Paintings from the Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rē at Thebes*, PMMA, X (New York : The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1935), XXII.

A dramatically diffused scenario of this sort is represented, for instance, in the tomb of Amenmose[43]. Here, the pharaoh is enthroned within a kiosk, facing left. Amenmose stands before him presenting him with a large ornate vessel similar to one of the types brought by the tributaries, and perhaps meant to symbolize the entire mass of gifts offered by the foreigners. Behind Amenmose, four registers of Syrian tributaries advance toward the pharaoh in a continuous stream from the extreme left. The leading figures in these files are kneeling or prostrate. They are probably meant to represent specific chieftains (as similar figures do in the tomb of Menkheperr-Seneb)[44]. Piles of tribute vessels occupy the rest of the friezes—intervening spatially between the gift bearers (still moving forward behind the supplicating chiefs) and the bracketing tableau of Amenmose before the pharaoh. A similar type of episode is represented in the Theban tomb of Huje (vizier of Ethiopia under Tutanchamon) [Pl. 56][45].

---

[39] Vercoutter suggests that this painting may document an actual tribute presentation which took place while Tuthmosis III was away in Asia (*L'Égypte et le monde égéen préhellénique*, 188).

[40] Ibid., 188-195, for an important discussion of the aims of the tribute representations in the Theban tombs.

[41] Groenewegen-Frankfort, *Arrest and Movement*, 87-88.

[42] Ibid., 40-42. Smith's description (*Interconnections*, 155) of "a static quality lingering in these royal reliefs which convey their meaning without dramatic emphasis" is apt here.

[43] Theban tomb no. 42 : Vandier, *Manuel*, IV, 610-614; Wreszinski, *Atlas*, I, Taf. 88a.

In Egypt, representations of tribute processions were not a part of the repertoire of themes commonly drawn upon for imperial monuments. The relief of the Puntite tributaries in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el Bahari set a style for tomb decoration among a specific class of individuals in Dynasty 18; but it remains the only known example of the theme used on a royal monument of that period. At the end of the dynasty we find the theme on the east wall of the chapel of Horemheb at Karnak. Here we see a rather uninspired tribute procession of Puntites in sunk relief. No serious attempt has been made to characterize the nationality of these foreigners. And the inscriptions make a travesty of history, as the Puntite chiefs beg to be placed under the soles of pharaoh's feet and exclaim that they are the first men from Punt to enter Egypt[46].

Under Ramses II the theme is used once on a wall of the rock-cut temple at Beit el-Wali in Nubia—though actually this scene must be considered more of a presentation of booty taken in the adjacent siege scene. Here we find a scene in traditional registered format showing Nubians presenting gifts and doing obeisance to the enthroned pharaoh[47]. It is, in fact, the figure of the pharaoh who dominates this scene in terms of size and placement as a bracketing element. Nevertheless, there is a lack of dramatic focus here just as there was in the tombs of the Dynasty 18 Theban officials, where the figure of the pharaoh was often placed well off to one side of the activity being represented. Several events are depicted within this one section of relief. In the lower register, an announcer and two officials greet the king, while the viceroy of Kush carries forward an elaborate gift. Behind the prince comes a long line of gift bearers. In the upper register the crown prince gestures toward the figure of the viceroy, who is now shown being prepared for the enactment of a ritual of homage before Ramses. Behind the viceroy are more gift bearers and a pile of tribute already deposited.

---

[44] Theban tomb no. 86 : Smith, *Art and Architecture*, 142 and pl. 105; Wreszinski, *Atlas*, I, Taf. 273-277. Tribute from Syria and Crete, with kneeling chieftains labeled as "the Great Ones of Keftiu, Kheta and Tunip".

[45] Theban tomb no. 40 : Vandier, *Manuel*, IV, 601-610; Wreszinski, *Atlas*, I, Taf. 158-165.

[46] Wreszinski, *Atlas*, I, Taf. 60.

[47] Ricke, et al., *Beit el-Wali*, pls. 7 and 9.

In the Late Period, two reliefs of Piankhy (751-716 B.C.) illustrate the submission of rival princes who bring horses to the victorious ruler[48]. But these representations do not derive inspiration from earlier known types. They simply meet the representational demands of a specific political event which Piankhy wished to have documented pictorially. It is, furthermore, interesting to note that in Dynasties 25 and 26, when antique monuments (including the great Theban tombs of Dynasty 18 officials) were being studied and drawn from, the tribute scene apparently had no appeal as a theme suitable for re-use on new monuments—whether royal or private[49]. Life in Egypt had become focused inward. The days of far-flung imperial ambitions were clearly over; and with them lay the interest in portraying files of exotic foreign tributaries.

Let us now evaluate the Egyptian tradition as we have outlined it above in terms of how it may relate to the Achaemenid depiction of the tribute theme. In overall compositional treatment, the classic representations of tribute processions—as they appear, primarly, in the tombs of Dynasty 18 officials—bear a certain resemblance to the scheme used on the Apadana facade. The system which we find at Persepolis, of registers of tribute bearers bracketed by the dominating representation of the king under his baldacchino, is in fact reminiscent of the classic New Kingdom Egyptian compositional formula which was employed in the rendition of a variety of themes. Although, as has been mentioned earlier, the Persians clearly had their own actual baldacchino form which they represented at Persepolis, the idea of showing the king enthroned under it in various thematic contexts may have come from Egypt, where there is a long tradition of such representations[50].

---

[48] Smith, *Art and Architecture*, 238-239 and pls. 173-174.

[49] For general discussions of the archaizing practiced in Dynasties 25 and 26 note the following: Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture*; H. Brunner, "Zum Verständnis der archäisierenden Tendenzen in der ägyptischen Spätzeit", *Saeculum* 21, 1970, 151-161; Smith, *Art and Architecture*, 145-152; W. Wolf, *Die Kunst Ägyptens* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1957), 602-632. Note also, the entry under "Besucherinschriften" in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, I/5 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1975), 766. The subjects most frequently borrowed from Dynasty 18 tombs were genre scenes illustrative of the bucolic life on the country estate. One of the best published Dynasty 25/26 tombs offers a good example of this tendency: the tomb of Montuemhat. See A. Erman, "Säitische Kopien aus Der el Bahri", *ZÄS* 52, 1915, 90-95; J.D. Cooney, "Three Early Saite Tomb Reliefs", *JNES* 9, 1950, 193-203; H.J. Kantor, "A Fragment of Relief from the Tomb of Mentuemhat at Thebes (No. 34)", *JNES* 19, 1960, 213-216.

If Egyptians or Egyptian ideas had any impact on the formulation of the architectural and sculptural programme at Persepolis (and the use of the Egyptian cavetto cornice and Egyptian winged disc stylization are only two of several clear indications that such was the case), then it is certainly possible that the influence of an Egyptian planner was felt in the skeletal outlines of the Apadana compositional structure[51]. As has been mentioned already, Theban tomb paintings of earlier periods were studied and used as source collections for motifs, themes and compositional devices which were integrated into the tomb decorations of Dynasty 25/26 officials of the court of the Divine Consort of Amon at Thebes. Dynasty 18 motifs, themes and compositional schemes were clearly within the active artistic vocabulary of Late Period sculptors in Egypt.

Before leaving the subject of the bracketed register system of the Apadana facade and its relation to *Egyptian* tradition, a group of neo-Elamite rock reliefs should also be mentioned. The reliefs of Kurangun in Fars and Kul-i Farah in Khuzistan in each case display a large central figure (apparently a deity) flanked by files of small figures arranged in registers[52]. These scenes lack the strict paratactic structure which is common to the Egyptian and the Achaemenid representations of processions. In my opinion these neo-Elamite cult procession reliefs are, *in composition*, related to the late Assyrian representational tradition found in the orthostat reliefs of Sennacherib and Assurbanipal [e.g., Pl. 55a]—where the large figure of the king, perhaps in his chariot, dominates a subordinate composition of small scale episodes or processions arranged in often-broken registers.

---

[50] On Egyptian royal kiosks and baldacchinos see Vandier, *Manuel*, IV, 344-555.

[51] Farkas (*Achaemenid Sculpture*, 100) has suggested that the composition of the Apadana relief may have been a product of Greek influence, yet she acknowledges that the type of organization cannot be paralleled in Greek art. She also mentions the possibility of Egyptian influence here (n. 48); and no doubt she would have pursued that aspect, had the discovery of the statue of Darius (which has attuned us all to the Egyptian sphere of the Persian Empire) been made before her study was written.

[52] (A) Kurangun : The central relief was probably carved in the mid-second millennium, while the subsidiary files of figures differ stylistically and may have been added in the eighth-seventh centuries. See Debevoise, "Rock Reliefs", 78; L. Vanden Berghe, "Les reliefs élamites de Malamir", *Iranica Antiqua* 3, 1963, 32, n. 3.

(B) Kul-i Farah : Amiet, *Elam*, 554-557; de Waele, "Les reliefs rupestres".

On the point of composition, the Egyptian tradition offers a *significant degree* of similarity to the Achaemenid type; the Assyrian/Elamite tradition does not.

In addition to the similarity in compositional structure of strictly organized registers bracketed by the king enthroned under a baldacchino, both Egyptian and Achaemenid tribute presentation scenes display an interest in showing a wide range of gifts. Great attention is paid to their detailed representation in both cultures, and in both traditions a clear preference is evident for the inclusion of several physically differentiated foreign delegations within the same tribute procession. This last aspect is a particularly significant point of similarity; for, as I have had occasion to stress elsewhere as well, the Egyptians and the Achaemenids seem to have shared an interest in sculptural themes (themes such as the receipt of captives, the vision of peoples controlled by the empire placed under the king, and the tribute procession) as vehicles for the visual expression of a concept of the universality of the imperial domain, of the all-encompassing nature of the king's ability to conquer, to control or to command respect and homage.

A good example of this concept expressed within an Egyptian tribute representation occurs in the tomb of Rekh-mi-Re [Pl. 58], where the four registers composed of tribute bearers in effect encompass the farthest reaches of Egyptian imperial *concern* at the time (if not, in truth, actual *control* in all four cases): the Nubians and Puntites in the south; the Minoans in the west; and the syrians in the east).

It is, however, interesting to note that despite this conceptual similarity, and despite the overall similarity in compositional structure, the Achaemenid relief departs from the Egyptian prototypes in terms of the internal ordering of the registers of tribute bearers. The Egyptian representations always have the different nationalities disposed along separate registers—with only one group to a register. On the Apadana, by contrast, each horizontal register is composed of several groups; and each group is a compact unit framed by a tree. Internally, all these units are composed identically—with the first person always led by the hand by an usher. In terms of overall structure, wing B is a totally paratactic unit within which the gridded tribute groups were apparently conceptualized in a vertical order, from top to bottom.

Certain other aspects of the Egyptian representational tradition also indicate that the Achaemenids did not rely upon Egyptian models of tribute scenes for the formulation of the inner workings of the Apadana relief:

(1) A consistent lack of compositional unity around one visual focal point distinguishes the Egyptian representations markedly from the Apadana facade relief. The Egyptian depictions of tribute presentation tend to be episodes in extended narrative sequences which are designed to show off the tomb owner in all of his various capacities as a government official. Thus, on the same wall, action may stop and start several times—as the tomb owner performs various functions associated with the arrival of ships, the receipt of goods, and the weighing and counting of goods—before he ultimately appears before the pharaoh.

(2) Just as there is no unity of visual focus in the Egyptian representations, so too there is no unity of moment expressed. By contrast, the Apadana relief system appears to have been carefully planned so that the same single moment is portrayed across the entire expanse of the facade.

(3) Aspects of the mood of the Egyptian representations differ greatly from the Achaemenid rendition. For one thing, there is no pervasive tone in the Egyptian representations. Although the chieftains at the head of each register may prostrate themselves, while adjacent texts have them proclaiming their obeisance and subjugation to the pharaoh, the tribute bearers who follow do not maintain this tone in their manner of bringing forward their burdens. It would seem that to the Egyptian these figures were meant only to convey information to the effect that certain gifts were, in fact, brought to the pharaoh. The carrying figures do not, however, participate in the dramatic content of the scenario.

On the Apadana relief, however, the tone is consistent across the whole facade. It is a tone of anticipation and dignified, pious, solemnity. This aspect of the Achaemenid relief will be discussed in detail at a later point; but it is important to note here that there is no suggestion of subjection about the leading figure in each tribute delegation—no kneeling, no groveling prostration in the presence of the Great King.

In this context it is especially interesting to recall that many of the Egyptian tribute scenes were, in fact, depictions of trade transactions, not of the collection of militarily imposed tribute. Even so, the Egyptian mentality seems, as a general rule, to have demanded that the foreigners be represented as subjugated peoples, regardless of historical realities[53]. The Achaemenids, on the other hand, did in fact exact tribute from the peoples represented on the Apadana facade; but, nevertheless, they seemed to feel the importance of avoiding any blatant allusion to the obligatory nature of a tribute rendition and of de-emphasizing the concept of the tribute representation as a visual expression of the militarily imposed control of the king over the subject peoples bringing that tribute.

In summary then, the skeletal outlines of the compositional arrangement of the Apadana facade (at least of the central panel and wing B) are, in the bracketed register system employed, clearly reminiscent of Egyptian representations. It seems possible that in this, and also in the manner of depicting several different ethnic groups within one tribute scene, the Achaemenid relief was dependent for inspiration upon Egyptian representations of tribute presentation scenes from Dynasty 18. It has long been recognized that even the Dynasty 18 private tombs were visited and were used as sources for study by the artists of the Late Period. Thus, there is nothing incongruous about suggesting that these Dynasty 18 representations may have served as models for certain aspects of the Achaemenid relief. The sense of dramatic unity which is found on the Achaemenid relief (the sense of unity of focus and of moment) seems very much in keeping with what we know of the Achaemenid aesthetic penchant for non-episodic emblematic art. Thus, whereas the Egyptian representations utilize the extended register structure as a vehicle for portraying many events serially—frequently with the same figure appearing at various points within the one compositional structure—the Achaemenid relief is characterized by an intellectualized ordering of a tripartite expanse of sculpture into a vision of one frozen moment.

Finally, it should be emphasized that although certain aspects of the Apadana tribute relief seem to have been derived from Egyptian models, it seems unlikely that it was Achaemenid exposure to Egyptian tribute representations *which inspired the initial decision to use this theme at Persepolis as the supreme visual statement of imperial order*. The tribute presentation scene never became part of the traditional iconography of Egyptian imperial monuments. In Mesopotamia, on the other hand, ceremonial tribute presentations apparently had more appeal as suitable vehicles for the portrayal of royal power.

---

[53] See G. Posener, *Littérature et politique de la XIIe dynastie* (Paris : H. Champion, 1956), 104, who observes that according to pharaonic political ideology the foreigner is always an enemy who is destined to be conquered by the king of Egypt.

Mesopotamian Prototypes for the Tribute Procession

The Sumerian Period

Walser begins his analysis of representations of tribute processions in the Near East with the following statement: "Zur ältesten Repräsentation königlicher Macht gehört im Orient die Darstellung von unterworfenen und abgabenbringenden Völkern"[54]. One receives the impression that representations of tribute processions were a persistent, uninterrupted tradition in the art history of the Near East, especially in Mesopotamia. Speaking as an historian, Walser's suggestive statement is understandable, since we gain an impression from *texts* that such representations would indeed have been common. But in fact, we can cite only two extant Mesopotamian monuments which *may* bear representations of tribute processions dating prior to the neo-Assyrian Period—when for a time the theme did become an important one.

The first example is the Standard of Ur, made around 2500 B.C. While acknowledging that interpretation of the "peace side" is a matter of some controversy, Walser follows Martin in recognizing the figures bearing foodstuffs and leading onagers on the lowest register as foreigners with the same characteristics as those shown as enemies on the "war side"[55]. While the animals and packs may indeed represent the booty (in contradistinction to tribute, strictly speaking) taken in the battle shown on the opposite side, it is difficult to be certain that any of the porters are meant to represent the subjugated enemy. The split kilt which Martin considers characteristic of the foe seems to be worn by some figures who, in my opinion, appear to function as members of the victorious army (e.g., in the middle register, the third figure from the right, who wears a split kilt but also holds a spear)[56].

---

[54] Walser, *Völkerschaften*, 11.

[55] Ibid., 11 and n. 1; Martin, *Tribut*, 6. For the Standard of Ur see Frankfort, *Art and Architecture*, figs. 76-77.

[56] Calmeyer has expressed similar doubts about Walser's interpretation in his review of *Völkerschaften* in *ZDMG* 123, 1973, 179.

The Akkadian and Neo-Sumerian Periods

The second pre-neo-Assyrian monument which Walser mentions is the fragmentary stele found in the region of Nasiriyya, which seems to date to the Akkadian Period. Here, sections of two registers are preserved, showing files of bound, naked prisoners above a frieze of fully clothed, armed and helmeted men, each of whom carries (in so far as can be determined from the preserved portion of the relief) a dagger and a two-handled goblet[57]. M.J. Mellink has shown convincingly that the objects brought by these men represent forms which are native to Cilicia—thereby establishing the area in which the campaign documented by the stele is likely to have taken place. But, as Mellink observes, the figures shown carrying these items are not necessarily Cilicians bringing them as tribute to an Akkadian king. It is equally possible that they represent Akkadian soldiers with precious booty looted from a Cilician city[58]. In view of the fact that the men are armed and wear helmets, the latter alternative seems most probable.

It is, in fact, somewhat of a surprise that the Akkadian Period has not been the source of any clearly definable representations of tribute processions. It was an era of great military activity; and texts are known which suggest the existence of established ceremonies of presentations of gifts by the defeated foreign rulers to the gods of Akkad[59]. An inscription of Manishtusu seems to describe a type of tribute presentation ritual for which our lack of evidence for a parallel pictorial tradition is indeed regrettable:

> ... when all the countries ... II, which my father Sargon had left hostilely revolted from me (and) no one remained who was faithful (?), all my troops into two parts I divided, Anshan and Shirikhum I subjugated, I ruled. The king of Anshan and Shirikhum with gifts and presents into the presence of Shamash my lord I led[60].

---

[57] Moortgat, *Mesopotamia*, 49 and figs. 136-137; F. Basmachi, "An Akkadian Stela", *Sumer* 10, 1954, 116-119; M.J. Mellink, "An Akkadian Illustration of a Campaign in Cilicia?", *Anatolia* 7, 101-115.

[58] Mellink, "An Akkadian Illustration of a Campaign in Cilicia?", 101-102, seems to favor their identification as Akkadian soldiers.

[59] Note, for instance, a text of Naramsin studied by H.G. Güterbock, "Die historische Tradition und ihre literarische Gestaltung bei Babyloniern und Hethitern bis 1200", *ZA* 42, 1934, 28-29.

[60] Barton, *Royal Inscriptions*, 130, Inscription C. XXVIII. One register of the wall painting in Room 132 at Mari *may* represent a tribute procession and *may* date to the neo-Sumerian revival—thus suggesting Akkadian prototypes (Moortgat, *Mesopotamia*, 72ff).

The parenthetically annotated late copies of texts on Sargonid royal statues suggest the possibility that scenes of tribute presentation in some sense were portrayed in relief on the bases of statues in the Akkadian Period :

(1) ... Elam and Barakhsi as the upper boundaries were established. All the possessions of Urua, ... all the possessions of Susa. (Its pedestal is full)[61].
(2) ... Kumduba judge of Barakhsi 8 men ... 71 cedar weapons (?) Khisibrasini, king of Elam coming by the rivers by the hand of Khibari he brought. (In its midst, on its pedestal)[62].

In light of these texts one recalls the statue base of Ur-Ningirsu, with its representation of two files of kneeling gift bearers converging toward the front [Pl. 38][63]. This neo-Sumerian pedestal relief may hark back to an Akkadian representational tradition, the existence of which the annotated Babylonian copies of the Sargonid sculpture inscriptions also seem to imply. Perhaps it was to reliefs of just this type that the Babylonian copyists were referring in their annotated renditions of the Akkadion royal statue inscriptions.

There is, then, some evidence to suggest the possible existence of an Akkadian/neo-Sumerian tradition of portrayals of tribute bearers used as a symbolic motif to adorn the bases of royal statues. It should be noted, however, that these statue base representations may symbolize gifts brought to the gods rather than to the king, who stands above in an attitude of piety (see Chapter III, *supra*).

Not until the neo-Assyrian Period do we have firm documentation of tribute *processions*, as such.

The Neo-Assyrian Period

Assurnasirpal II

Dating to the reign of Assurnasirpal II we have the following representations of tribute processions : (1) a monumental relief decorating the exterior facade of the throne room of the Northwest Palace at Nimrud [Pl. 59a][64]; (2) a relief on a small scale, which is part of the decorative scheme of the Broken Obelisk of Assurnasirpal [Pl. 43][65]; relief fragments from a limestone vase found in the Northwest Palace[66]; (3) embossed scenes forming part of the decoration of Assurnasirpal's bronze gate from the Temple of Mamu at Balawat[67]; ivory plaques from Nimrud, some of which seem to have embellished the throne dais in the Ezida [Pl. 59b][68].

---

[61] Ibid., 115, Inscription J. XI.

[62] Ibid., 117, Inscription N.

[63] Strommenger, *Mesopotamia*, pls. 138-139. See Chapter III, *supra*, for a discussion of these figures.

[64] Mallowan, *Nimrud*, I, 107 and figs. 47-49; Barnett, *Assyrian Palace Reliefs and their Influence*, pls. 9 and 13.

The partial remains of the orthostats found decorating the north exterior wall of the throne room of the Northwest Palace are a tantalizing suggestion of what once must have been a very impressive scene extending around the walls of the great north court of the palace. The figures in this relief system are over life-size. Representations of several Assyrian officials are preserved. They face left, doubtless toward a figure of the king which is no longer preserved. One of them assumes a typical hailing posture, gesturing back toward the approaching file of tribute bearers, who have been identified as north Syrians[69]. One of the foreigners carries a tray laden with precious ornaments[70]. Another brings monkeys. Several of them hold clenched fists at eye level, in a gesture which seems to have connoted submission[71]. Their bodies are bent forward slightly from the waist. An additional slab bearing a representation of one of these tributaries was found reused in the Southwest Palace at Nimrud. It apparently was originally carved for the north court facade of the Northwest Palace[72]. Still another slab found reused in the Southwest Palace must have originally belonged to a second tribute scene in the palace of Assurnasirpal, for the dimensions of its figures do not correspond with the large scale reliefs of the north facade [73]. The north facade tribute scene was a truly monumental rendition of the tribute presentation theme—not equalled in this respect until the reign of Sargon.

---

[65] Gadd, *Stones*, 128 and pl. 6.

[66] Mallowan, *Nimrud*, I, 183 and fig. 119.

[67] R.D. Barnett, "More Balawat Gates: A Preliminary Report", *Symbolae Biblicae et Mesopotamicae Francisco Mario Theodoro de Liagre Böhl Dedicatae*, ed. M.A. Beck, et al. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1973), 19-22.

[68] Mallowan, *Nimrud*, I, 268 and fig. 250 (part of an ivory plaque from the throne room of the Ezida); figs. 209-215 (ivory fragments found against the front and sides of the throne dais in the Ezida, also discussed in: D.J. Wiseman, "The Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon", *Iraq* 20, 1958, 1-91, and R.D. Barnett, "The Earliest Representations of Persians", *A Survey of Persian Art*, XIV, ed. A.U. Pope [Tehran: Asia Institute of Pahlavi University, 1967], 2997-3007); Mallowan, *Nimrud*, II, 588 and fig. 569 (two fragments of an ivory strip).

[69] Mallowan, *Nimrud*, I, 101.

[70] Ibid., fig. 47.

[71] Ibid., 101. Four fingers are pressed flat against the palm of the hand, while the thumb is stiff, lying along the top of the fist and pointing forward. Barnett's suggestion (*Assyrian Palace Reliefs and their Influence*, 10) that these figures are making the same gesture as that made by Assyrian kings before divine images and symbols is mistaken. (On that gesture, with pointed index finger, which may be the gesture described by the phrase *uban damiqti taraṣu*, "to stretch out a favourable finger", see S. Smith, *Assyrian Sculptures in the British Museum from Shalmaneser III to Sennacherib*

Shalmaneser III

Still in the ninth century, Assurnasirpal's successor, Shalmaneser, carried on the tradition of tribute representations established during his father's reign. The tribute scenes produced under the patronage of Shalmaneser appear on his Black Obelisk [74], on the throne dais from the throne room at Fort Shalmaneser [Pl. 57a] [75], and on several of the bronze revetment strips decorating Shalmaneser's bronze gates at Balawat [76]. All these representations are executed on a small scale, and all refer to specific historical events.

Certain elements are common to these representations, and indeed, to ninth century Assyrian tribute presentation scenes in general. The king, always standing, is accompanied by attendants who form

---

[London: British Museum, 1938], 5 and n. 1. See also Chapter IV, *supra*). It is interesting to note, however, that the clenched fist gesture, which in Assyria clearly connotes submission, is sometimes used by kings in neo-Hittite sculpture before divine symbols and images: e.g., W. Orthmann, *Untersuchungen zur spätheth itischen Kunst*, Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde, VIII (Bonn: R. Habelt, 1971), Taf. 14 (Ivriz). This Assyrian submission gesture is also used in secular contexts (ibid., Taf. 63, Zinjirli F/1a). At the same time, a slightly modified version of the standard neo-Assyrian "prayer" gesture is also found in neo-Hittite reliefs. *This* gesture is used in neo-Hittite art *only* in prayer contexts as far as I have been able to determine (e.g., ibid., Taf. 63 and 73). In the neo-Elamite rock relief at Shikaft-i Salman the figure of the high priest (?) holds both hands in the Assyrian "prayer" gesture (de Waele, "Les reliefs rupestres, 31). On the Kul-i Farah reliefs figures apparently representing the divine image hold their hands in this way as well—while the pious procession figures have clasped hands (ibid., 37). Thus, even in these provincial regions under the influence of neo-Assyrian art, the Assyrian prayer gesture maintained its religious associations.

[72] Barnett and Falkner, *Sculptures*, 25 and pl. CXXI. The dimensions agree with those of the figures represented in the north court. Also the costume of the tributary is the same as that worn by the foreigners on this relief.

[73] Barnett and Falkner, *Sculptures*, 26 and pls. CXXIV-CXXV. As drawn by Layard, the slab showed four figures facing left, carrying tribute.

[74] Moortgat, *Mesopotamia*, pls. 270-271.

[75] Mallowan, *Nimrud*, II, 444-450 and figs. 369-371); Moortgat, *Mesopotamia*, pl. 269.

[76] King, *Bronze Reliefs*, pls. XIII-XV, XXV-XXVIII, XXXI-XXXV, LXIII. The gate reliefs are well illustrated in Barnett, *Assyrian Palace Reliefs and their Influence*, pls. 137-173, where they appear as reconstructed in the British Museum.

a retinue, however short or extended, behind him. The king faces a high court official (probably the crown prince) who greets him formally. Behind the crown prince is a group of courtiers, one of whom assumes a distinctive gesture which serves to announce the arrival of the foreign emissaries carrying tribute. (On the Black Obelisk, which has certain unusual compositional features resulting from the nature of the obelisk form itself, such figures appear on the second and fourth registers of the right side). The foreigners are generally shown bending forward slightly, as if submitting to the burden of subjugation. One or more members of any procession of tributaries generally hold their clenched hands up to their faces in the gesture of submission. On any one monument the king is never shown actually receiving more than one ethnic/political group in a given scene. If, on the same monument, more than one group is shown bringing tribute, then the stock scene (including the figure of the king) is generally repeated for each tribute group (as on Shalmaneser's throne dais [Pl. 57a]). The only known exception to this is on the Black Obelisk, where the king is shown only twice, once receiving Sua and once Yehu; but where he is not repeated three more times in order to be shown receiving the other three vassals who also bring tribute. This monument notwithstanding, the ninth century tribute scenes seem as a rule designed to portray historical events rather than to provide, within one tableau, an emblematic, timeless vision of the abstract concept of the king receiving tribute from "all lands".

Tiglathpileser III

Representations of the king enthroned to receive the submission of foreigners become common during the reign of Tiglathpileser III in the eighth century, along with the earlier types in which the king is always shown standing. The orthostat reliefs from Tiglathpileser's palace at Nimrud are documented only in fragments. Many are known only from Layard's drawings[77]. One representation of the king enthroned (on slab 9b) seems to have formed the focus of a tribute procession[78], while others are clearly related to military scenes[79]. And several representations of the king standing could theoretically have belonged to tribute scenes[80]. But from the reign of Tiglathpileser only one slab is known (the one which seems to adjoin slab 9b) which depicts tribute bearers themselves[81]. It is known only from Layard's drawing. Behind the last figure on this slab, Layard has indicated part of a crenelated wall seen from a bird's-eye perspective. Thus it seems that this slab may have originally joined on the left with a fragmentary orthostat now in the Louvre, which preserves the left half of a walled city in Anatolia being taken by Assyrians[82].

---

[77] Barnett and Falkner, *Sculptures*, xiv-xvi and 1-7, and J.E. Reade, "The Palace of Tiglath-Pileser III", *Iraq* 30, 1968, 69-73, for discussions of the problems associated with these reliefs.

A review of the remains of reliefs carved during the reign of Tiglathpileser III clearly illustrates the fact that a standard compositional formula for the king and courtier figures could be used virtually interchangeably for tribute processions or parades of prisoners of war[83]. As with representations on the Balawat gates of Shalmaneser, the reliefs depicting processions of tribute bearers and/or captives made under the patronage of Tiglathpileser are closely linked to specific military campaigns and generally seem to relate pictorially to other episodes or features of the campaigns.

One can sense in the sculpture produced under Tiglathpileser an increasing facility and interest in characterizing foreign types of clothing and physical features which distinguish these works from the earlier monumental reliefs of Assurnasirpal[84]. This is perhaps a reflection of the tenor of the times. The reign of Tiglathpileser was marked by great achievements in provincial "pacification" and administrative organization[85]. Not a small part of this activity involved the regular affirmation of allegiance on the part of the provincial vassal princes to the great Assyrian king through the presentation of tribute on a regular basis. Such presentations of tribute were probably carried out in actuality according to a protocol which was every bit as conventionalized as are the pictorial representations and formulaic literary descriptions of these activities. The names which Tiglathpileser assigned to the gates of his palace at Nimrud give an idea of the importance of the presentation of tribute in this era:

---

[78] Barnett and Falkner, *Sculptures*, pls. XVIII-XIX. In the Barnett-Falkner reconstruction, pl. CXXVIII (A), this slab (9b) is followed at the left by a battle scene. But Reade suggests that slab 10b (showing the tribute bearers) should follow it instead. See "The Palace of Tiglath-Pileser III", 71.

[79] E.g., Barnett and Falkner, *Sculptures*, pls. VIII and LIX.

[80] Ibid., pls. LXXXV, LXXXVII and XCVIII.

[81] Ibid., 12 and pl. XLVII. I reiterate here that I exclude representations of prisoners with their household possessions from the designation "tribute bearers".

[82] Ibid., 14 and pl. XLVI.

[83] E.g., Barnett and Falkner, *Sculptures*, pls. CXXVIII-CXXIX; pls. VIII, XXII-XXIV, XVIII and XLVIII.

[84] Ibid., 40-42.

[85] H.W.F. Saggs, *The Greatness that was Babylon* (New York: Mentor Books, 1962), 116-121.

> "Gates of Justice", "Carrying out the Justice of the Princes of the Four Regions", "... the Tribute of Lands and Seas", "Bringing in the Products of the Towns before the King, Their Lord"—so I called the names of their gates[86].

Sargon

It is in the reign of Sargon that the theme of the ceremonial tribute procession is used most extensively on a monumental scale. From Sargon's palace at Khorsabad we know of five separate rooms which include in their decorative scheme figures of foreigners bearing gifts [Fig. 20][87]. Although much of the sculpture is known only from nineteenth century drawings, those cases in which both drawings and sculpture may be compared indicate a basic reliability of the drawings —at least for those aspects which are of particular concern here.

On Facade L, on either side of Gate F, Sargon is shown standing, with two attendants behind him. Facing the king is a file of five officials, the last one assuming the announcing posture. On one side of Gate F the announcer heralds the arrival of a file of ten Assyrian courtiers who bear elaborate royal paraphernalia. On the other side (a shorter expanse of wall), he announces a single foreign tribute bearer who holds an object in one hand while raising his other hand, in a fist, to face level[88].

On Facade n there are, similarly, over life-size portrayals of separate processions of Assyrian courtiers with gifts and foreigners with tribute —each group proceeding toward a different image of the king [Pl. 60a]. But here the two types of procession are balanced in

---

[86] Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, I, 289.

[87] The rooms are here designated by Botta's system, with that of Place (followed by Loud) given in parentheses:

Facade n (Court VIII)	Room X (Corridor Room 10)
Facade L	Room XI (Room 11)
Room VI (Room 6)	

[88] Botta and Flandin, *Monument*, I, pls. 10-23; V, 78 ff, 94 (for description of the single tribute bearer).

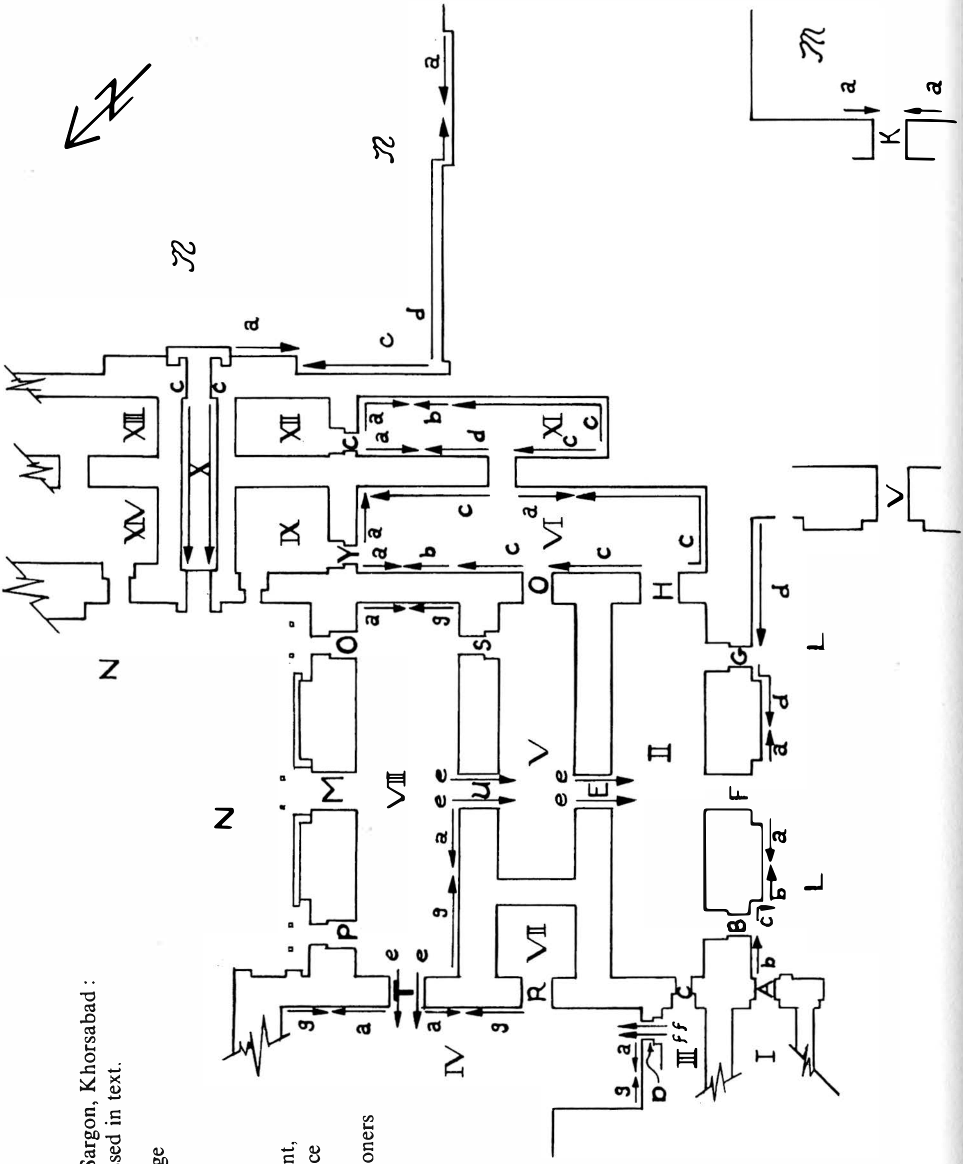

N
N
M
K
V
L
L
I
II
III
IV
V
VI
VII
VIII
IX
X
XI
XII
XIII
XIV
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H
M
O
O
P
R
S
T
U
Y

Fig. 20. — Palace of Sargon, Khorsabad: Reliefs discussed in text.

(a) King with entourage
(b) Assyrian officials
(c) Tribute bearers
(d) Assyrian courtiers with gifts
(e) King with attendant, facing Crown Prince
(f) Two courtiers
(g) King receiving prisoners

length. Again the king stands, with attendant(s) behind him; and he is confronted by a row of officials, the last of whom announces the file of gift bearers[89]. In the procession of foreigners, all the tributaries are dressed alike. They bring, in sets of two, city models, bowls, wineskins and horses. Apparently none of these figures raises a clenched fist—though it should be noted that, even when Flandin drew this relief, the first man in the procession was partially destroyed above waist level. He may have had one hand clenched while holding only one city model in the other—as is done by a figure in Room X [Pl. 60b][90].

Room VI is decorated with a series of three scenes of the king, standing, greeting a file of courtiers. The courtiers are in each case followed by a file of foreign tribute bearers, all of whom wear the same garment and thus presumably represent members of one ethnic group. According to Flandin's drawings, none of these men assumes the clenched fist gesture, and all carry gifts—bowls, trays of bracelets and earrings, wineskins, rhyta, city models, stools[91].

Room X is actually a great paved passageway three meters wide which connects Facade n with Facade N. The walls are decorated with sculptured slabs which are divided into two registers by an inscription band which bears Sargon's so-called Display Inscription. On both registers of both walls foreign tribute bearers proceed, all in the same direction, toward Facade N. At the head of the line in each case is an Assyrian official in the announcing posture. But here the parade stops, with no culminating figure of the king waiting to receive the gift bearers [Pls. 60b-61a][92]. Moreover, the scene does not culminate within Facade N, for the reliefs of Facade N are not related to those of the passageway, with its sculpted figures shown to move toward that chamber. In contrast to the other processions represented in the Khorsabad palace, here in Room X a mixture of two types of foreigners is represented—the two types which appear separately on other reliefs. The types are distinguishable by their dress—but not by any physical attributes or by the types of gifts they carry. In none of the Khorsabad tribute scenes are the identities of the foreigners referred to in accompanying texts. It seems likely, however, that the people depicted as wearing boots and fur cloaks are Medes, since men in similar garb are identified as Medes in the inscribed battle scenes which decorate other Khorsabad palace chambers[93]. The figures wearing variations on a long fringed garment have tentatively been identified by Muscarella as Phrygians on the basis of the type of fibula shown on one figure[94]. The sculptures in Room X are the only Sargonid tribute reliefs in which an attempt has been made to show interaction among the figures. It is also the only Khorsabad relief in which a basic and surprisingly limited repertoire of tribute gifts has been expanded to include a group of camels.

---

[89] For the courtiers, see Loud, *Khorsabad*, I, figs. 38-44; Botta and Flandin, *Monument*, I, pl. 30.

[90] Ibid., pl. 29; Loud, *Khorsabad*, I, figs. 28-35.

[91] Botta and Flandin, *Monument*, II, pls. 103-106; V, 147 ff.

[92] Botta and Flandin, *Monument*, II, pls. 122-136; Loud, *Khorsabad*, I, 40-42 and figs. 41-55.

Finally, in Room XI, two separate scenes are represented which depict the king receiving foreign tribute bearers[95]. Here, the king, standing as usual, has a more extended retinue of attendants and weaponbearers behind him than is shown on Facades n and L or in Room VI. The foreigners in both processions are all dressed alike—in the same costume as is worn by the tributaries in Room VI. They bring only wineskins, bowls and city models. None, apparently, adopts the clenched fist gesture.

Several general statements may be made about the Khorsabad tribute scenes:

(1) The king always stands, and the retinue behind him varies from one attendant to a whole file of attendants and weaponbearers. But the king is never followed by his horses or chariot; and we must assume that these scenes are meant to be thought of as taking place indoors, in contrast to some of the ninth century examples in which the king is standing under a parasol and/or followed by his chariot [Pl. 59b].

(2) They all clearly represent ceremonial processions which are not episodes in an extended narrative representational sequence.

(3) The foreign tribute bearers are treated with dignity. Although some of them assume the clenched fist gesture, and all are apparently unarmed, they all stand erect. The submission gesture, when it is

---

[93] M. El-Amin, "Die Reliefs mit Beischriften von Sargon II, in Dûr-Sharrukîn", *Sumer* 9, 1953, 214-228.

[94] O.W. Muscarella, "Fibulae Represented on Sculpture", *JNES* 26, 1967, 82. The man wearing the fibula appears in Room VI.

[95] Botta and Flandin, *Monument*, II, pl. 137; V, 158-159.

assumed, seems to be only a symbolic vestige of the idea of showing explicitly a vassal's submission to his king.

(4) With the exception of the figures in Room X, only one type of foreign people is ever represented within any one room.

(5) No attempt is made to distinguish the different peoples by the type of gifts they are shown bringing. The gift types are extremely limited in variety and are of a symbolic nature.

In a general way these reliefs seem to parallel a passage in the Khorsabad Display Inscription—a text which appears in Facade n and Room X, as well as in Room IV (decorated with scenes of prisoners of war) and Court VII (the Throne Room). The passage describes a celebration in which princes from all lands participated joyously, together with Assyrian nobles and courtiers, in the presentation of gifts to Sargon:

> With the princes of (all) countries, the governors of my land, scribes and superintendents (justices), nobles, officials and elders of Assyria, I took up my abode in that palace and instituted a feast of music. Gold, silver, vessels of gold and silver, precious stones, bronze, iron, vessels of bronze, all (kinds) of shrubs (evergreens), choice oil, brightly colored (woolen) garments and robes of linen, violet and purple (cloth), elephant hides, ivory, antimony, maple (?) and boxwood, large Egyptian horses, broken to the yoke, mules, asses, camels, cattle,—as their rich gifts, I received[96].

This idea is also stressed in the gateway inscriptions of the Khorsabad palace:

> From the princes of the four regions (of the world), who had submitted to the yoke of my rule, whose lives I had spared, together with the governors of my land, the scribes and superintendents, the nobles, officials and elders (?), I received their rich gifts as tribute. I caused them to sit down at a banquet and instituted a feast of music[97].

It would seem that perhaps the reliefs on the walls of Facade n and Facade L were meant to convey the impression of a ceremony such as is described in these texts—some festivity involving the presentation of a symbolic encomium rather than a yearly tax tribute. It is, therefore, surprising (especially in view of the richness of the descriptive passage in the Display Inscription) how limited is the repertoire of gifts and the variety of ethnic and court figure types represented on these Khorsabad sculptures. The Khorsabad reliefs of foreign tributaries are perhaps the least colorful of Assyrian tribute representations[98].

---

[96] Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, II, 38-39. Also note the slightly different version found in Room XIV: ibid., 44-45.

[97] Ibid., 50-51.

The motif of "joyous" gift giving seems a strange counterpart to the other themes of the Khorsabad palace reliefs—the historically specific siege scenes and the rather brutal scenes of the receipt of prisoners of war [Pl. 53b]. It appears, nevertheless, that the Khorsabad tribute reliefs may have been intended to represent the abstract idea of a certain type of ceremony—a festive celebration of Sargon's power—rather than a detailed and veristic illustration of a specific historical occasion. If this is in fact the case, it explains the de-emphasis of the submission gesture and the omission of any stooping figures in these reliefs.

As I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the symbolic impact of an encomium presentation, in contradistinction to the presentation of a levied tax, may lie in its actual enactment (or its portrayal in art) as a ritual which is voluntarily and even cheerfully engaged in by the subject peoples. If, then, a "voluntary" celebration of Sargon's power is what is being represented on the Khorsabad reliefs, that voluntarism is expressed simply by the minimizing of those images which connote submission; it is not conveyed in positive terms by the use of a different imagery altogether. This is an important point to which we shall return in our ensuing discussion of the internal imagery of the Apadana tribute scene.

The reliefs of Sargon at Khorsabad are the latest known Assyrian representations of tribute processions. The great sculptures of Sennacherib and Assurbanipal abound in depictions of foreign peoples, but always in the context of actual warfare.

Achaemenid Independence of Assyrian Models for the Tribute Scene

Our review of neo-Assyrian representations of tribute processions indicates how limited must have been the Achaemenids' reliance upon these reliefs as models for their own rendition of the tribute presentation ceremony. One point of rather broad similarity might be the idea of showing the king facing the tribute bearers while his retinue of attendants appears behind him. But the Achaemenid relief presents such an elaborate systematization of this concept, where the Assyrian representations are so simply conceived, that it is difficult to see any similarity here as being truly significant.

---

[98] Though cf. Walser's remarks to the contrary (*Völkerschaften*, 14): "Die Reliefs von Chorsabad sind mit unübertrefflichen Realismus und lebendigem Schwung gezeichnet, gegenüber dem sich die Persepolisreliefs steif und ungelenk ausnehmen".

The Khorsabad reliefs (especially those of Facade n), with balancing scenes of foreign tributaries and Assyrian courtiers bringing gifts to the king, might be considered conceptually similar to the Apadana relief system in that a parallelism seems to have been consciously established in both cases between foreign vassals and court nobility. In the case of Sargon's reliefs the nobles are, however, actually bringing gifts to the king. Furthermore, they are represented within relief compositions which are distinct from those involving foreigners—even though the two thematic types are identically structured. On the Apadana facade the interest in expressing visually the balancing function of vassals and members of the Iranian nobility—the two groups which form the king's power base, as it were—is articulated within an entirely different compositional structure. And here, only the foreigners actually bring gifts. The court nobles, the guards and the grooms represent the king's retinue drawn up to a halt behind him.

This is not to say that the Apadana relief does not owe a great deal to the Assyrian representational tradition in terms of various details of sculptural images. In fact, there are interesting reworkings of certain Assyrian sculptural images to be found on the Apadana reliefs. Some of these will be discussed briefly later in this chapter. But it was not to representations *specifically of tribute processions* that the Achaemenids apparently turned for basic conceptions of the composition and mood of their own relief.

Sculptural Iconography and Actual Court Protocol

The Achaemenid rejection of Assyrian models of the tribute procession scene type was probably not a result of the inaccessibility of Assyrian prototypes. Ninth century Assyrian models for tribute representations seem to have been assimilated into the west Iranian sphere at least in the minor arts. This is shown by the representation inscribed onto the rim of the so-called Ziwiye trough [Pl. 61b]; and, though we have no Urartian tribute representation to date, we might expect this theme in Urartian metalwork and monumental wall painting[99]. It thus seems likely that the Achaemenids were familiar with the Assyrian scene type and consciously chose not to use Assyrian models in the formulation of their own tribute scene. In this context it is interesting to recall that the *actual* ceremonies of the Assyrian kings (which, as will be discussed below, *seem to have been quite faithfully reproduced in their art*) were participated in by the not-too-distant ancestors of Cyrus and Darius. It is thus probable that the Assyrian way of organizing and enacting court ceremonies *in actuality* was familiar to the Achaemenids. It is even probable that the Achaemenids derived some of their own actual diplomatic protocol from Assyrian practice—perhaps indirectly through the Medes. If this is in fact the case, it suggests that the Achaemenids rejected for the tribute *representation* not only Assyrian sculptural models, but, also, the whole concept of portraying the theme realistically.

There is reason to believe that Assyrian representations of the motif of tribute presentation reflect actual court protocol to some extent. It is clear from analyses of certain metaphorical literary allusions to the act of submission that the actual symbolic gestures which originally inspired these literary figures must have been an important part of the protocol surrounding diplomacy in the ancient Near East[100]. Some of these metaphors are easily understood, such as, "to kiss the feet ..." For this particular example we have representational evidence suggesting that the original actual symbolic gesture which inspired the literary metaphor remained in use (see below). Certain other literary expressions of diplomacy, such as "to strike the head", "to touch the throat", or "to grasp the hem", are, to us, less obvious in meaning. Attempts have recently been made to understand the sense of these literary expressions of diplomacy, in part by studying artistic representations of gestures—representations which may help to establish the context in which a particular symbolic act might have been performed in actuality[101].

---

[99] Ziwiye trough: Porada, *Ancient Iran*, 124-125 and figs. 68-69; Parrot, *Assur*, pl. 176. Porada dates the trough design stylistically to the late eighth century. A fragment of the rim which is now in Tehran shows a tributary carrying a city model. See C.K. Wilkinson, "More Details on Ziwiye", *Iraq* 22, 1960, 214, fig. 2. The only monumental Assyrian reliefs we know of which show this motif are those of Sargon. If this is any indication of date, then it corroborates Porada's suggestion.

Urartu: Although there are no known tribute procession representations from Urartu, one procession of gift bearers is known to me—which seems to show a cult ceremony. See a partly preserved bronze belt: H.J. Kellner, *Urartu; ein wiederentdeckter Rivale Assyriens. Katalog der Ausstellung* (Munich: Prähistorische Staatssammlung München, 1976), Abb. 39.

[100] J.M. Munn-Rankin, "Diplomacy in Western Asia in the Early Second Millennium", *Iraq* 18, 1956, 68-110.

Possibly the clenched fist gesture is one of these images which illustrates sculpturally an actual gesture and also an Assyrian term for a specific type of ceremonial submission. The tributaries on Assyrian reliefs who are shown making the clenched fist gesture seem to be portrayed as they might in actuality have been expected to stand. Figures of specific royal personages, vassal kings, make this gesture, as do those representing anonymous tribute bearers. On the bronze gates of Shalmaneser, for instance, the Assyrian king is shown receiving the dowry for the daughter of King Sangara of Charchemish, while the vassal Sangara and the princess approach with their clenched fists raised[102]. This gesture, as it is used in so many of the Assyrian tribute scenes, seems likely to have portrayed an actual gesture of ceremonial submission which was made by a vassal before his lord in this specific type of situation. I stress the concept of *symbolic* submission here, because when the Assyrian wished to show submission in the context of war, the dignity of "voluntarily" assuming a *symbolic* posture seems not to have been generally afforded the conquered prince [e.g., Pl. 53a].

The representation on the central panel of the throne dais of Shalmaneser lends support to the idea that many gestures represented in Assyrian art illustrate actual ones used in specific contexts. Here Shalmaneser is shown shaking or striking hands with the king of Babylon, Marduk-zakir-shumi, to whom Shalmaneser offered protection in 851 B.C. [Pl. 57a][103]. Apparently the type of treaty relationship into which the two kings are shown entering at this moment was one which demanded the use of this particular gesture in the ratification ceremony. The hand shaking or striking may be paralleled in a literary metaphor for the act of entering into such a relationship[104]. By contrast, in the two separate tribute scenes which are represented on the sides of the dais, moving away from the front panel, the clenched fist gesture is made by other vassals at the moment of their confrontation with Shalmaneser—implying once again that its use may have been a normal part of the protocol in ceremonies of just *this* type.

---

[101] A.D. Kilmer, "Symbolic Gestures in Akkadian Contracts from Alalakh and Ugarit", *JAOS* 94/2, 1974, 182; See also, R.A. Brauner, "'To Grasp the Hem' and I Samuel 15 : 27,", *JANES* 6, 1974, 34-38.

[102] King, *Bronze Reliefs*, pl. XXXIV.

[103] Mallowan, *Nimrud*, II, figs. 447-448.

[104] Kilmer, "Symbolic Gestures", 183 (under "Treaties").

Similarly, the inclusion on some Assyrian tribute scenes (such as those on Shalmaneser's Black Obelisk) of a vassal on hands and knees before the figure of the king must serve to parallel visually the familiar literary metaphor of kissing the feet of the king. Note, for instance, the wording of Sargon's Cyprus Stele inscription :

> ..., (these kings) heard from afar, in the midst of the sea, of the deeds which I was performing in Chaldea and the Hittiteland, their hearts were rent, fear fell upon them, gold, silver, [furniture] of maple(?) and boxwood, of the workmanship of their land, thay brought before me in Babylon, and they kissed my feet[105].

Indeed, we find the same literary expression used in the Cyrus Cylinder text to describe the actions of the subject rulers when Cyrus entered Babylon in triumph :

> All the kings of the entire world from the Upper to the Lower Sea, those who are seated in throne rooms, (those who) live in other [types of buildings as well as] all the kings of the West land living in tents, brought their heavy tributes and kissed my feet in Babylon...[106]

It is probable that the Achaemenids borrowed from Assyria not only the literary formulae, but also the actual court protocol for ceremonial enactments of the vassal/king relationship such as kissing the feet of the king. Thus it is especially interesting that this type of visual image (as well as others such as the clenched fists), with its strong symbolic meaning, would have been consciously avoided by the planners of Darius' tribute relief.

The Assyrians seem to have been primarily interested in veristic portrayals of scenes as they took place. The concordance of certain gestures represented in art with symbolic literary expressions for nuances of diplomatic ventures certainly implies that we are seeing in these tribute scenes visions of how in actuality protocol demanded that King Sangara, for instance, was to present himself before the great Shalmaneser. The implication of this seems to be that the Assyrians were not, for propagandistic reasons, purposely representing the "mood" of their tribute processions as either more humiliating or more elevating to the vassals than they were in actuality. Rather, the intent seems to have been to illustrate faithfully the salient aspects of a scenario as it took place. The Achaemenids, on the other hand, seem to have deliberately sought for their Apadana relief a visual imagery which would convey a particular impression—an impression which was not necessarily predicated upon the replication of actuality.

---

[105] Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, II, 102-103.

[106] Pritchard, *The Ancient Near East*, 208.

Internal Images of the Apadana Relief: Hand-Holding Into the Presence of the King

The internal imagery which characterizes the tribute procession relief at Persepolis departs radically from that found in Egyptian or Assyrian representations of the same theme. The first man in each tribute delegation is shown being led forward by the hand toward the figure of the enthroned king [Pls. 23-24 and Fig. 11]. By contrast, the leaders of Egyptian delegations generally are depicted on their knees, beseechingly [Pl. 57b], while leaders of delegations to the Assyrian king generally either kiss the feet of the king or hold their hands clenched at face level as a sign of submission [Pls. 57a, 59a-b, 60b]. An understanding of the hand-holding image is clearly crucial to our iconographical analysis of the Apadana tribute representation.

In Egypt and in Mesopotamia the image of a figure being led by the hand is associated with religious scenes in which a person is brought into the presence of a divinity.

Mesopotamian Prototypes for the Hand-Holding Image

Presentation Scenes

The image of a petitioner entering into the presence of an enthroned deity is known in glyptic art as early as the Early Dynastic Period[107]. It becomes a common theme in the Akkadian Period, at which time the dramatic scenario becomes conventionalized to include a petitioner led toward the seated god by a minor divinity who grasps him by the wrist or, more rarely, by the hand[108]. In the neo-Sumerian Period this theme becomes the primary subject of cylinder seals [Pl. 62a][109].

---

[107] Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, 74 and Pl. XVm.

[108] Ibid., pls. XVIIIe and XXd; G.A. Eisen, *Ancient Oriental Cylinder and Other Seals with a Description of the Collection of Mrs. William H. Moore*, OIP, XLVII (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940), nos. 40, 41 and 45.

[109] Ibid., nos. 49-50; Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, fig. 37; Moortgat, *Mesopotamia*, pl. G 1-4; Strommenger, *Mesopotamia*, pl. 128. Although some of the neo-Sumerian seals show a king enthroned rather than a god, these scenes are taken to represent an audience before a deified king. And the interceding figure is always a divinity in such cases: E.D. Van Buren, "Homage to a Deified King", *ZA* 50, 1952, 92-120; E. Sollberger, "Three Ur-Dynasty Documents", *JCS* 19, 1965, 26-30.

From the reign of Gudea in particular we have, in addition to the fine examples of seal representations of the presentation theme, several reliefs from Telloh which portray Gudea being led into the presence of a deity [Pl. 62b][110]. Although on some neo-Sumerian seals the ushering divinity actually takes the petitioner by the hand, more often the artist chose an easier formula—allowing the ushering divinity to grasp the figure by the wrist[111]. In the Old Babylonian Period presentation scenes remain important, but the petitioner is rarely shown being actually led forward by an interceding deity[112].

Presentation scenes disappear from the repertoire of cylinder seal subjects in the Kassite Period. But the late Kassite representation on the kudurru of Melishihu II indicates that the theme survived (or was deliberately revived) for occasional use in relief sculpture [Pl. 63][113]. Here the age-old image is used as a visual complement to the contract which the kudurru text records. Melishihu himself, not an interceding deity, takes his daughter by the wrist and leads her toward the enthroned goddess Nana. As on the Persepolis reliefs, an incense burner stands before the enthroned figure, separating her from the approaching petitioners. We find the presentation theme employed also on the foundation tablet of Nabuapaladdina, a Babylonian king of the ninth century. This is the tablet mentioned already in Chapter I (nn. 78-79) which (itself archaizing when made in 870 B.C.) was copied by Nabopolassar in the last quarter of the seventh century.

In these Mesopotamian presentation scenes the hand-holding image may connote the control of the usher over the petitioner, in the sense that the latter is being led, perhaps with a certain amount of pious trepidation, into the presence of an awe-inspiring power much greater than himself. Yet these scenes surely cannot have been meant to suggest coercion in any military sense.

The only Mesopotamian examples of a person led by the wrist in any overtly coercive context occuron the reliefs of Assurbanipal[114].

---

[110] A. Parrot, *Tello: Vingt campagnes de fouilles (1877-1933)* (Paris: A. Michel, 1948), figs. 35a and 38; Moortgat, *Mesopotamia*, pls. 189-190.

[111] Eisen, *Collection of Mrs William H. Moore*, pl. VI, no. 40, for an example of actual hand-holding.

[112] Porada, *Corpus*, 41-43; Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, 149-155.

[113] Moortgat, *Mesopotamia*, pl. 230; Seidl, "Kudurru-Reliefs", 26 and 197 ff. Also note a badly eroded kudurru which evidently had a similar scene carved on it (Seidl's no. 24: 26 and 202).

[114] (a) Barnett, *Assyrian Palace Reliefs and their Influence*, pl. 117 (B.M. 124793, capture of King Ummanaldas of Elam); (b) Paterson, *Assyrian Sculptures*, pls. 65-66

In these two cases there is no apparent relation to the age-old presentation motif, either in mood or compositional structure.

By contrast, the similarity of the Apadana central panel to the Mesopotamian presentation scenes is striking in terms of tone and dramatic structure. This similarity becomes particularly intriguing when we consider the relationship on the Apadana facade between the scene on the central panel and the approaching tribute groups on wing B [Fig. 11]. The structure of the Apadana composition allows the viewer mentally to transfer each of the delegation units one at a time into place as part of the dramatic scenario of audience being enacted on the central panel. This mental transference is made possible by the strict paratactic structure of the tribute groups and by the fact that the repetition of the unit of tree, followed by usher leading chief delegate by hand, actually presents the viewer with the visual impact of a cylinder seal which has been rolled out continuously down the long wing of the stair. This observation is not as impressionistic as it may at first seem. The image of a person led solemnly by the hand toward a greater presence is known in ancient Mesopotamia almost exclusively in the context of ritual scenes the history of which has been briefly outlined above. These scenes are known almost exclusively on cylinder seals. I would suggest the possibility that the Apadana wing B relief conveys the visual impact of a continuously rolled seal impression because the conceptualization of the image was borne of a conscious use of an ancient motif which, in the minds of the planners of the monumental relief, was associated strongly with its primary medium of representation : the cylinder seal.

(Assyrian officer leading King Ummanigash to Madaktu). Also note a prisoner being taken by the wrist on the neo-Elamite stele or statue base (Amiet, *Elam*, fig. 410c). In Greek art until the fifth century, the image of one figure led by the hand (or, most often, the wrist) seems also to have been associated with overt coercion (e.g., in scenes of the rape of Helen). See G. Neumann, *Gesten und Gebärden in der griechischen Kunst* (Berlin : W. de Gruyter, 1965), 59-66. (Note that I make a distinction here between the motif of one person being led by another and the motif of dancing figures whose hands are joined for this purpose—a motif found in archaic Greek art, where no coercion is intended). Some classical representations of actual hand-holding involve Hermes leading a deceased person to Hades (e.g., H. Diepolder, *Die attischen Grabreliefs des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* [Berlin : H. Keller, 1931], 19 and Taf. 13/1). In these scenes the stylization of the image (though bearing no resemblance to the Achaemenid stylization of the hands) does convey an intimate tenderness, even though the context clearly suggests the reluctance of the deceased to submit to the inevitable journey. These Attic reliefs can have had no influence upon the Apadana reliefs, of course. But it is interesting to speculate that perhaps the Achaemenid use of the motif influenced the later Greek usage in a funerary context. I shall explore this idea further in another paper.

The archaic Mesopotamian hand-holding presentation motif was within the active iconographic vocabulary of the planners of the Apadana relief; and it was surely the source of inspiration for the conceptual outlines of the monumental composition. There is ample evidence of its availability as a model. Seals were frequently passed on from one generation to another and were often valued as antiques in the ancient Near East[115]. Right in the Persepolis Treasury several antique seals have been found—including an Old Babylonian presentation seal[116].

We now know, furthermore, that the antique presentation motif was actually revived, and adapted to a more contemporary mode, for at least one cylinder seal which was in everyday use during the Achaemenid Period. Among the corpus of Persepolis Fortification tablet seal impressions which I am preparing for publication, the use of this presentation seal has been identified on twenty-two tablets dated to the twenty-second and twenty-third years of Darius[117]. This seal shows a figure seated on a high-backed chair, holding a staff in the left hand and apparently raising the right hand. One figure approaches the enthroned personage, leading another by the wrist or hand.

It thus seems possible that the Apadana relief reflects a conscious selection of the antique theme of the presentation scene as an eloquent way of rendering the type of relationship between king and vassal states which the Achaemenids wished to have expressed. I think there can be no doubt that the designers of the Apadana facade were aware of the aura of religiosity and pious trepidation implicit in the presentation scene as a type.

Egyptian Prototypes

The Hand-Holding Pattern

The great care which was taken in the rendering of the interlocking fingers of the hand-holding image on the Apadana relief suggests further that the image was an important iconographical element. On the Persepolis reliefs a standard formula has been worked out for the rather difficult representation of one figure leading another by the hand. This in itself indicates that the clarity of the pose was considered important. The sculptural solution arrived at for the display of hand in hand is an admirable one in its visually logical organization of the fingers. The usher grasps the delegate's hand so that his (the usher's) thumb extends straight down below his fist. The first and second fingers of the delegate protrude straight out as they emerge from within the fist of the usher's hand which grasps them. We understand the delegate's third and fourth fingers to be hidden within the usher's fist, while the delegate's thumb is free and rests along the downturned knuckles of the usher's hand [Pl. 23][118].

---

[115] E.g., the "dynastic seal" of Ugarit used c. 600 years after its manufacture: D. Collon, *The Seal Impressions from Tell Atchana/Alalakh*, AOAT, XXVII (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1975), 165-166.

[116] Schmidt, *Persepolis*, II, 47 and pl. 16.

[117] Hallock's seal no. 22, occurring on published Fortification tablets 184-198: Hallock, *Fortification Tablets*, 121-123, as well as on additional tablets as yet unpublished.

In Egypt, hand-holding was an important iconographical element in scenes in which the deceased is led to the place of the weighing of the souls. This type of representation is documented throughout the history of ancient Egyptian art—from the Old Kingdom through the Roman Period. It can hardly be mere coincidence that the Persepolis sculptural solution for rendering this image is almost exactly paralleled by Egyptian examples from various periods [Pls. 64-65][119]. The similarities are so close that I believe we can postulate a situation in which the conceptualization of the central panel and wing B reliefs was derived from a monumentalization of the ancient Mesopotamian presentation scene, while the sculptural solution for the rendition of the hand-holding image itself was formulated on the basis of Egyptian models.

The hand-holding image was clearly made a key iconographical element of the Achaemenid tribute procession representation because the image meant something to the Achaemenids and was calculated to convey a certain impression. Consciously derived from prototypes of religious scenes of presentation, it seems to have been meant to convey a feeling of dignified humility and solemn intimacy.

Furthermore, the sculptural solution arrived at for the rendition of the image seems to have been as much prescribed by the planners of Achaemenid art for specific reasons as was the image which the form

[118] Hinz, *Funde und Forschungen*, Taf. 30; Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, pls. 29B and 46B.

[119] E.g.: (A) Stele, First Intermediate Period (Oriental Institute): D. Dunham, *Naga ed-Dêr Stelae of the First Intermediate Period* (London: Oxford University Press, 1937), Pl. 81; (B) Relief in the tomb chapel of Amenirdis, the Divine Consort of Amon, showing Amenirdis led by Anubis, mid-seventh century: W. Hölscher, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu*, IV, *Post-Ramessid Remains*, OIP, LXVI (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954), pl. 17a; (C) Stele, c. 20 B.C. (British Museum 399).

articulates. In spite of stylistic changes and variations in the artistic quality of hand-holding representations on the various Achaemenid reliefs of tribute and dignitary processions carved during the course of the empire, the basic outlines of the hand-holding formula were strictly adhered to in Achaemenid art for a period of almost two hundred years[120]. The sculptural form of the image cannot be considered the "invention" of an Egyptian stone mason who incidentally happened to have been given the order to carve the first hand-holding group on the Apadana. Rather, the form for the image must have been made with the full understanding that it expressed by its form and also by its contextual connotations in Egyptian art precisely the sense of reciprocal intimacy and ceremonial solemnity which was called for on the Apadana relief.

Internal Images on the Apadana Relief: Courtly Gestures

On the central panel and on wing A of the Apadana relief other gestures are also used as iconographical elements. It is not within the scope of this study to pursue a complete analysis of these gestures, since, unlike the hand-holding image as it is used on wing B, these gestures are not crucial elements in the iconography of the tribute scene, *per se*. Thus, I shall discuss only selected aspects of these gestures as they relate specifically to the meaning of the tribute scene as a whole and to our understanding of the possible sources of inspiration for the Achaemenid representation.

The Hand-Over-Wrist Gesture

The hand-over-wrist gesture is made by two attendants on the central panel [Pls. 17-19]. It is also made by the first nobleman in each register of wing A [Pl. 22], and by certain other of the figures on wing A as well. It seems to connote the idea of being at "parade rest".

The hand-over-wrist gesture is first documented in Mesopotamia in the neo-Sumerian Period, and particularly in the art of Gudea. It does not seem to have been interchangeable in function with the common attitude of tightly clasped hands[121]. The latter is generally considered to be the characteristic attitude of the worshiper. The hand-over-wrist pose seems, rather, to have been reserved for a contextually specific type of servant-master relationship between either man and god or minor deity and greater divinity. Thus we find the attitude assumed by figures in an attendant capacity within the religious hierarchy, especially in presentation scenes of the neo-Sumerian Period [Pl. 62b][122]. Gudea himself assumes this pose on a serpentine statuette from Telloh which is dedicated to the goddess Geshtinanna as "she transmits prayers"[123]. For an understanding of the gesture, it is perhaps of significance to note the correlation of this pose on the statuette with its dedication to a lesser deity to whom Gudea appeals as an intermediary between himself and the actual recipient of his prayers. When Gudea dedicates a statue to Ningirsu himself, he poses with hands tightly clasped in the typical fashion [as in Pl. 38].

---

[120] Central Building: Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, pls. 68B (figures 3-4 and 5-6 from right to left) and 74B (figures 4-5 and 5-6 from left to right); Stair of Artaxerxes I: Tilia, *Studies and Restorations*, pl. CLXIX, fig. 96; Stair of Artaxerxes III: ibid., pl. CLVI, fig. 70.

It seems likely that these neo-Sumerian presentation scenes were, to some extent, modeled on actual etiquette practice at the secular court[124]. The hand-over-wrist posture was probably the attitude assumed by anyone with a free hand when in actuality at court and in the presence of the ruler. And within the "divine court", an earthly ruler might assume the role of an attendant or petitioner before his patron deity.

The hand-over-wrist gesture may have maintained its significance in an unbroken tradition down into the thirteenth century B.C. when, in Elam, we find the next concentrated documentation of its popularity. The nearly life-sized bronze statue of the Elamite queen Napir-Asu wife of Untash-^{d}Gal (c. 1275-1255) is the most spectacular of several representations of female figures with the hand-over-wrist pose (perhaps all of them representing Napir-Asu) known from this period at Susa [Pl. 66][125]. A series of moulded brick fragments from Susa which are now housed in the Louvre also show a female figure in this pose[126]. These brick fragments may date to the Middle Elamite Period as well. As in the neo-Sumerian Period, the hand-over-wrist gesture in the Middle Elamite Period seems to have co-existed with, rather than acted as an alternative form for, the clasped hand pose[127].

---

[121] Though cf. S.V. Kinnier-Wilson, " The Kurba'il Statue of Shalmaneser III", *Iraq* 24, 1962, 97, and M. Falkner "Gebetsgebärden und Gebetsgesten", 175-177. Falkner views the hand-over-wrist image as a variant of the Sumerian prayer gesture.

[122] E.g., the two relief fragments from Telloh restored in Berlin as fragments of one relief: Moortgat, *Mesopotamia*, pls. 189-190; fragment of a steatite vessel from Telloh: ibid., pl. 200; seal impressions: ibid., pl. G3-4, Frankfort, *Art and Architecture*, fig. 107, Eisen, *Collection of Mrs. William H. Moore*, pl. VII, 52.

[123] Frankfort, *Art and Architecture*, 97 and fig. 100; Contenau, *Manuel*, II, 722-723 and fig. 507. Contenau describes the gesture as "une variante de celle de l'humilité". For the inscription see V. Scheil, "Une nouvelle statue de Gudêa", *RAssyr* 22, 1925, 14. Note also a similar neo-Sumerian statue, this of the Patesi Alla: Parrot, *Tello*, fig. 46b.

The two types persist into the neo-Elamite Period as well—as is shown by an inscribed rock relief at Shikaft-i Salman in Khuzistan[128]. Here, a King Hanni, vassal of the Elamite Shutruk-Nahhunte II (717-699) is shown with hands clasped. Next to him appears his wife, who assumes the Napir-Asu type attitude. The royal couple are meant to be shown approaching a deity who is not actually represented in relief. An interesting variant on the hand-over-wrist gesture is found on the partially preserved neo-Elamite rock relief at Naqsh-i Rustam[129]. A neo-Elamite king stands to the right of a scene which (before it was obliterated by Sasanian relief carvers) included seated divinities. The king holds his left hand at his waist with the index finger pointed—as in the Assyrian prayer gesture. His right hand is crossed over the left wrist. The queen (who wears a mural crown) stands to the other side of the original relief panel. Unfortunately, this figure is obliterated below the shoulders.

In the neo-Elamite Period, as well as in the neo-Sumerian Period, it thus seems that the use of the hand-over-wrist attitude may have ultimately been a reflection of courtly mannerisms which were transferred to the realm of the temple hierarchy—in which secular rulers were, in a sense, attendant upon their gods.

---

[124] Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, 186, 188 and 192-193, for remarks on the idea that Mesopotamian cult ritual was modeled on secular court practice.

[125] Strommenger, *Mesopotamia*, pl. 183. Other representations include the stele of Untash-^{d}Gal from Susa (Amiet, *Elam*, pls. 282-285); and statuette (ibid., pl. 268).

[126] P. Amiet, "Disjecta membra aelamica : le décor architectural en briques émaillées à Suse", *Arts Asiatiques* 32, 1976, 17-18 and figs. 19 and 22. Amiet has combined these bricks so as to produce a figure holding a towel in one hand, with the other hand crossed over it at the wrist. But, as can be seen from close examination of his fig. 19, the two bricks do not belong together. During a visit to the Louvre Amiet kindly allowed me to study the many brick fragments, and I found other bricks which *do* join—to produce an exact counterpart of the Napir-Asu pose.

[127] Another series of moulded brick fragments in the Louvre shows a male figure with hands clasped in front of him : Amiet, "Disjecta membra aelamica", 15-16, and figs. 1-3.

[128] Amiet, *Elam*, 552-553; Vanden Berghe, "Les reliefs élamites", 34-36 and pl. XXIV

[129] Amiet, *Elam*, 560-563 (esp. 563); Porada, *Ancient Iran*, fig. 42.

The Persepolis hand-over-wrist gesture is similar to these Mesopotamian and Elamite examples in form and in usage. The formal similarities would appear closer were it not for the fact that the Persepolis figures are all rendered in profile. And conceptually, the main difference is only that the figures who make the gesture at Persepolis are transposed into the earthly sphere and are attendant upon the king rather than upon a divinity.

Although it is certainly possible that the hand-over-wrist gesture as used at Persepolis was derived from the third and second millennium representational tradition (perhaps through Elam), an Assyrian representational tradition must also be taken into account.

In the neo-Assyrian Period reliefs showing the king surrounded by courtiers and officers become very popular (particularly in the context of tribute processions, as we have seen). These attendants commonly pose with one hand placed loosely in the other at about waist level, in a gesture which (within the secular milieu) seems to have functioned similarly to the older Mesopotamian hand-over-wrist gesture[130]. During the reigns of Assurnasirpal through Sargon this pose was used almost exclusively in such contexts [Pls. 43, 44a, 54b, 57a, 59a-b, 60a][131].

Under the reigns of Sennacherib and, especially, Assurbanipal, the use of a modified hand-over-wrist gesture was common, co-existing with the hand-in-hand pose [Pl. 67a][132]. Actually, when examined closely, it is apparent that this gesture really consists of one hand clasped around the wrist of the other so that the thumb is on one side of the wrist and the other four fingers hang straight down along the other side [Pl. 67b][133].

---

[130] Any superficial resemblance to the ancient Mesopotamian attitude of piety (with tightly clasped hands) is, however, probably fortuitous.

[131] One exception seems to occur on a lost relief from Khorsabad which was drawn by Flandin (Botta and Flandin, *Monument*, I, pl. 63). This figure holds a baton in his left hand and holds the left wrist from underneath so that the thumb is the only finger not visible. Another exception appears on the throne dais of Shalmaneser, where some courtiers cross their inside hand over the back of the outside hand's knuckles (Mallowan, *Nimrud*, II, fig. 371).

[132] E.g., Paterson, *Assyrian Sculptures*, pls. 42, 44-45, 55-56, 57-58, 65-66, 62-64, 100; Gadd, *Stones*, pls. 26, 34, 36, 38, 42; E.F. Weidner, *Die Reliefs der assyrischen Könige*, I, AfO Beiheft, IV (Berlin: Archiv für Orientforschung, 1939), figs. 53 and 109.

[133] This is especially clear on Gadd, *Stones*, pl. 38 [and also here, Pl. 67b, bottom register, far left], where one officer crosses his hand away from the viewer. Also see Parrot, *Assur*, pl. 177B for a Ziwiye treasure ivory plaque with figures who assume variations on this modified hand-over-wrist pose.

In spite of this formal difference between the late Assyrian pose and the Persian hand-over-wrist gesture [Pl. 19], the superficial visual effect produced by the two types is often quite similar. This is partly because in both Assyrian and Achaemenid art the figures are rendered in profile. Also, the similarity is enhanced in certain cases where the image occurs in conjunction with the superimposition of one attendant figure upon another (as we find it in the Apadana central panel). This combination of patterns is paralleled clearly in the sculpture of Assurbanipal [compare Pl. 17 with Pl. 67a][134]. The similarities of the Achaemenid compositional use of the hand-over-wrist gesture to this late Assyrian usage suggest Achaemenid familiarity with monumental Assyrian artistic traditions, specifically of the reign of Assurbanipal.

Other Courtly Gestures

It is, however, most interesting that the hand-in-hand gesture, which is so important a part of Assyrian representations of processions of officials (*and which is found also on artifacts from the Ziwiye treasure*) is not used once at Persepolis[135]. Its use on wing A of the Apadana would have formed a natural continuity with neo-Assyrian tradition where we should have most expected it. But instead of depicting long files of officials all in the same pose, the Achaemenid planners designed a lively fugue of several stock gestures spun out in various combinations along the rosette-banded horizontals of wing A. These gestures and postures include hand-holding, touching one's neighbor on the chest, fingering one's own cloak strap, stroking one's beard, holding a flower, and turning around to address another figure in the line. When we recall the files of officials shown on Assyrian reliefs we must, by comparison, be struck by the sterility of their rhythms. The various attitudes assumed by the figures on wing A of the Apadana are of great interest, and deserve to be studied in more detail than is possible within the scope of this discussion[136].

---

[134] Compare Gadd, *Stones*, pl. 42 with Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, pl. 121.

[135] Parrot, *Assur*, pl. 177.

[136] Note, for instance, that the mannerism of playing with the kandys strap is documented on an Iranian silver statuette in Berlin (H.H. von der Osten, *Die Welt der Perser* [Stuttgart: O. Kilpper, 1965], Taf. 73). The image is also represented on a wall painting of a mid-fifth century tomb in Lycia which has been excavated by M.J. Mellink (M.J. Mellink, "Excavations at Karataş-Semayük and Elmalı, Lycia, 1973", *AJA* 78, 1974, 351 and pl. 68, figs. 14 and 15). Interestingly, the stylization of the fingers used for some of these gestures is closely paralleled in archaic Greek

These postures serve a purely aesthetic function—as they move the eye along toward the central panel. But clearly, the deeper intent was to create the impression of animated interaction of the figures in this procession, and to suggest a certain mood of courtly intimacy among them. Under the circumstances, it is of particular interest that the figures are dressed alternately in the Persian and the Median costume. It cannot be said with absolute certainty whether the alternating costumes were meant to suggest alternating Median and Persian clansmen or, rather, alternating military and courtly aspects of the Iranian nobility in general[137]. The latter seems most plausible to me (see below). But in either case, an impression of the intimate interaction of the two types of figures was emphatically stated here through the use of the series of courtly gestures. And Xenophon's description of an Achaemenid protocol which demanded that courtiers thrust their hands into their sleeves when in the presence of the king certainly receives no confirmation from the Apadana reliefs (*Cyrop.* VIII. iii. 12; *Hellenica* II. i. 8).

Conclusion

A. *The Intended Meaning of the Apadana Tribute Procession*

At the beginning of this chapter I discussed the two types of tribute (taxation and encomium)—the presentation of either of which the Apadana relief might have been intended to represent. The hand-holding image, as it is used on wing B, casts an aura of religiosity over the scene—derived as the image seems to have been, from antique Mesopotamian presentation scenes, with influence also from Egyptian scenes of presentation to the Underworld. The use of the hand-holding image rather than the use of any classical image of submission (such as the Assyrian clenched fist gesture) suggests that the Apadana relief depicts a ceremonial presentation of symbolic gifts of praise to the Achaemenid king. Similarly, the type of tribute

---

sculpture. Compare, for instance, the rendition of the fingers of the youth on the Brother and Sister Stele in New York (Richter, *Handbook*, pl. 73) with the strikingly similar rendition on the Apadana wing A (Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, pl. 52: bottom register, sixth figure from left; middle register, fifth and eighth figures from right).

[137] Herzfeld (*Iran*, 260) suggests that the motivation for showing figures in the Median and Persian garb alternately was "... to create a regular rhythm of representing alternately folds or plain material". While an aesthetic penchant for pattern may have been a factor here, I think there can be no doubt that the alternation was intended to have some iconographic value.

brought by the delegates suggests the concept of an encomium rather than the concept of an annually levied tax. Whether the Apadana relief illustrates a type of ceremony which actually took place as it is depicted is, however, a more difficult issue.

Arguments Against the No Ruz Interpretation

In post-Achaemenid Iran, No Ruz has been the archetypal celebration involving a ritual of presentation of encomia to the ruler. Thus, on this analogy, the Apadana tribute relief has traditionally been understood as an illustration of part of an Achaemenid No Ruz ceremony[138]. Certain problems connected with the No Ruz interpretation have already been discussed in Chapter III—then in the context of the platform carriers motif. One problem is that we have no contemporary Achaemenid description of any No Ruz ceremony. We are forced to use the descriptions of the Sasanian No Ruz celebrations, as recorded by Arab scholars, as our only source for what an Achaemenid New Year's festival might have entailed. A fragmentary anecdote from an Arabic source dating to about the eleventh century A.D. describes No Ruz gifts presented to the Sasanian king by various foreign nations as well as by the members of the Persian elite[139]. As might be expected, these gifts are luxury items which reflect (and thus are symbolic of) the resources of the lands whence come the particular foreign delegates. The same may be said in general about the gifts brought by the foreign delegates on the Apadana facade.

But, on the other hand, the conspicuous absence of a Persian delegation bearing gifts on the Apadana facade seems very much out of character with what we can surmise of the nature of the Persian No Ruz celebration during the Sasanian Period and later[140].

[138] E.g., Walser, *Völkerschaften*, 20 and 23-24; *AA* 81, 1966, 546. Ghirshman, "A propos de Persépolis", 267. Since we have comparatively little first-hand information on the nature of Achaemenid kingship it is customary in general to assume a broad continuity of traditions from the Achaemenid Period through the Sasanian Period—thus allowing information on the Sasanians to be applied to the Achaemenids. See, for instance, G. Widengren, *The Sacral Kingship of Iran*, Numen Supplement, IV (Leiden : E.J. Brill, 1959).

[139] R. Ehrlich, "The Celebration and Gifts of the Persian New Year (Nawrūz) According to an Arabic Source", *Dr. Modi Memorial Volume* (Bombay : Fort Printing Press, 1930), 100-101.

[140] Note Herzfeld's description, quoted by Walser, of a twentieth century No Ruz celebration involving the presentation of gifts to the governor of Shiraz : *Völkerschaften*, 20-21. Especially important in the No Ruz, as we can understand it from the Sasanian

It is, thus, perhaps more likely that the Apadana relief was intended to represent (albeit in concrete terms) a certain abstract vision of empire and of imperial harmony rather than an *illustration* of an *actual* No Ruz ceremony[141]. This idea is also suggested by the nature of the two other Persepolis tribute reliefs. These depict abbreviated renditions of the Apadana facade system. Only the groups of foreign tribute delegations are represented on these later reliefs. No sculptural allusion is made to the central panel motif or to the wing A motif. This implies that it was simply a non-specific concept of foreigners willingly bearing gifts which was considered the essence of the Apadana relief system, at least by later generations of Achaemenid planners[142].

Significance of the Gift of Median Clothes

Another aspect of the Apadana relief is also of interest in this discussion of the intended meaning of the sculpture. On wing B of both the north and east facades of the Apadana, four delegations bring a set of Median clothes [Pl. 24][143]. The four delegations who bring the Median costume do not in every case correspond on the north and the east facades, although in every case those who bring it also wear some version of the same garment (it having been, in reality, a riding habit used not only by the Medes but also by other people of the Iranian area, including the Persians themselves)[144]. The fact that the north and east facades do not correspond exactly suggests that it was not so important *which* of the Iranian peoples were shown bringing the riding costume. One might infer from this that the Apadana relief was probably not planned on the basis of a scribal list of gifts actually brought by the specific delegations for any one particular No Ruz ceremony. Once again, this suggests that the relief

---

Period and later, is the concept of the presentation of gifts specifically from the ruler's own people as an enactment of some type of feudal relationship.

[141] See Amiet, "L'art achéménide", 167, and Trümpelmann, "Tore von Persepolis", 163.

[142] See Nylander, "Al-Bērūnī", 147.

[143] Delegations I (n & e), III (n), IX (n & e), XI (n & e), and XVI (e) of the Apadana. Median clothes are also brought by delegations on the reliefs of Artaxerxes I and III.

[144] G. Widengren, "Some Remarks on Riding Costume and Articles of Dress among Iranian Peoples in Antiquity", Studia Ethnographica Upsaliensis, XI (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1956), 228-276 (esp. 235-241).

may have been intended to portray the idea of praise to the Achaemenid king in an abstract sense.

Furthermore, on the Apadana facades the individual components of the riding costume (long-armed kandys, trousers with sewn-in feet, and tunic) are always carried by three men; and they are always held in such a way as to display clearly the distinctive features of each item. At various times and in various places in the world, garments have been considered special gifts of honor[145]. And not least in Achaemenid Iran, the clothing of the king seems to have held great symbolic power[146]. But here, on the tribute reliefs, it was clearly of special importance that the garments brought be recognized as the Iranian ("Median") riding habit. Herodotus helps us to understand the possible significance to the Persians of such a gift:

> ... and they [the conspirators against Gaumata] resolved, if another of the seven than Otanes should gain the royal power, that Otanes and his posterity should receive for themselves specially a yearly gift of Median raiment [ἐσθῆτά τε Μηδικὴν] and all such presents as the Persians hold most precious[147].

Herodotus' story suggests that the riding costume may have been an item of traditional value in the Iranian sphere. His account implies, moreover, that such a gift could be given to an honored friend as well as to a king, and that it was not appropriate, especially or exclusively, as a gift for the No Ruz celebration.

The image of tributaries bringing the distinctly Iranian riding costume is later echoed in Lycian sculpture—this time as part of a tribute procession on the Nereid Monument from Xanthos [Pl. 69][148]. It is quite possible that the planners of the Nereid Monument had seen the Persepolis reliefs—or drawings of them[149]. But I think we may assume that the image was used on the Nereid Monument precisely because the presentation of the riding costume was in actuality a typically Persian expression of a vassal's privileged relation to his overlord. Many Persian customs of this type were undoubtedly acquired by the Lycian elite class during the Achaemenid Period[150].

---

[145] E.g., 2 Kings 5: 2; Chronicles 9: 24. Note remarks of Munn-Rankin, "Diplomacy in Western Asia", 92.

[146] See Eddy, *The King is Dead*, 44-46 for a discussion and a collection of the sources.

[147] Herod. III.84. This "ἐσθῆτά Μηδικὴν" may refer specifically to the Iranian riding costume. According to Xenophon (*Anab.* I. ii. 27), the possessions most prized by the Persians were, by contrast, a horse with a golden bridle, a golden necklace, a bracelet, a sword, and a *Persian robe* ("στολὴν Περσικὴν"). Note, however that in *Cyrop.* VIII. iii. 1, Xenophon refers to a "Μηδικὴν στολὴν". Ambiguities in the Greek references suggest that they were not well informed on the distinctions *made by the Achaemenids* concerning their various garment types.

[148] British Museum, frieze block no. 895.

[149] The paintings on the shields of the Persians on the Alexander Sarcophagus prove that motifs from the Persepolis reliefs were in circulation as drawings available to artists of the fourth century. See von Graeve, *Der Alexandersarkophag*, 102-109.

At one time I thought that the king was shown on the Apadana receiving the "Median" costume as a symbolic political statement concerning the Persian king's relation to the Medes. Such an interpretation might have suggested that the frequent alternation of figures wearing Persian and Median dress on Persepolis reliefs was meant to be a symbolic political reference, perhaps to a new harmony between the two groups following the scarring episode of the usurpation of the throne by the Median Gaumata. But in view of the Herodotus passage and the Lycian relief, I now think that we are perhaps nearer the truth in supposing that the costume was represented as an important gift simply because it was the costume worn by the Iranians in combat. It was used as a symbol for the king-as-warrior[151]. If this is so, it increases the probability that figures wearing the Median costume on Persepolis reliefs were not *necessarily* meant to represent Medes.

Note, for instance, the figure in Median dress on Darius' tomb relief who is labeled with the caption "Aspathines, bow-bearer, holds the battle-ax of Darius the King"[152]. Herodotus (III. 70) counts one Aspathines among the members of the Persian nobility who, along with Darius, defeated Gaumata though Darius does not mention this man in his Behistun text. The portrayal of Aspathines in Median costume raises important questions on the principles governing the use of the Median and Persian garments on Achaemenid reliefs[153].

Assuming that Herodotus was correct in describing Aspathines as a Persian nobleman, then we have here clear indication that the use of the Median costume on Achaemenid reliefs was not always meant as a means of identifying that person as a Mede; rather it could also be used to show a person in his aspect as horseman/military man. If, on the other hand, Aspathines was a Mede, that would indicate that Herodotus was wrong on two counts: (1) that Aspathines was a Persian aristocrat and (2) that he was a helper of Darius in the conspiracy against the Median usurper Gaumata—for it seems highly unlikely that Darius would have enlisted the support of a Mede at this time. The Aspathines who appears on Darius' tomb is most probably the same Persian noble mentioned by Herodotus and is probably also the same person (Asbazama) who figures as issuer in important transactions recorded on three Persepolis Fortification tablets[154].

---

[150] The remarks of Eddy (*The King is Dead*, 39) on the Persian aristocracy's tendency to imitate the manners and customs of the hellenistic rulers, are applicable as an analogy here. Note also G.Z. Thomas, *Richer than Spices* (New York: Knopf, 1965), as a type study in the cultural impact of styles set by elite groups.

[151] There are no known *Achaemenid* representations of the Achaemenid king actually wearing the riding costume. But Darius III is shown wearing it on the Alexander Mosaic: Becatti, *The Art of Ancient Greece and Rome*, pl. 207.

[152] Kent, *Old Persian*, 140.

[153] See Schmidt, *Persepolis*, III, 86; Hinz, *Funde und Forschungen*, 63-92; H. von Gall, "Persische und medische Stämme", 261-283.

On wing A of the Apadana the figures in Persian and Median garb may, thus, have been meant to suggest the harmonious interaction of the two functional aspects of the Persian nobility—their military and courtly aspects—rather than the interaction of Medes and Persians.

B. *Summary Remarks*

In conclusion, then, the intent behind the Apadana tribute procession seems to have been to show an idealized vision of the conceptual structure of the Achaemenid Empire, with the figure of the king and crown prince in the center, the Persian nobility (in their two aspects as military and court personages) behind them, and the gift bearing delegates from the subject lands (not including Persia itself) coming toward the royal pair. This idealized vision is cast in the form of an elaborate tribute procession. Thus the king in the central panel is shown receiving an official who seems to announce the imminent arrival of the delegates from the lands of the empire with their gifts. Behind the audience scene on the central panel the procession of guards, royal chariots, and Persian nobles has come to a standstill in anticipation of the ceremony. The entire facade is, then, a grandiose unified composition which focuses upon the figure of the king.

Much of this chapter has been devoted to an analysis of Egyptian and Mesopotamian representations of tribute processions, in an attempt, first, to understand the nature of the sources upon which the Achaemenids *might have* drawn for the portrayal of their vision of imperial order and power; and, second, to discover the ways in which they accepted, rejected, or reworked these available portrayals to suit their own political demands.

---

[154] PFT 1853 (year 28 of Darius), 12 (year 2 of Xerxes) and 12a (year 3 of Xerxes). See Hallock, *Fortification Tablets*, 509, and Cameron, *Treasury Tablets*, 102-104 and 108-109. Cameron, 103, discusses the probability that this is the same Aspathines as mentioned by Herodotus and represented on Darius' tomb as bowbearer.

In Egypt, the tribute procession motif was never a part of the *traditional* imperial iconography. Representations of the theme are almost exclusively confined to scenes in the tombs of Dynasty 18 court officials—tombs which were, however, used as sources by Late Period artists. These representations differ in many ways from the Achaemenid type. But the paratactic nature of the bracketed register structure of the Apadana facade may have been derived from Egyptian tradition. Similarly, the idea of forming the bracketing element out of the image of the king in audience under a baldacchino may have been inspired by Egyptian prototypes. The representation of the idea of "all lands' bringing tribute within a single tableau may also have come ultimately from exposure to Egyptian iconography of empire, where, as we have already seen in other contexts, this type of conceptualization of imperial dominion is pervasive.

Utterly divergent from Egyptian tradition is, however, the Achaemenids' depiction of the tribute procession as an event participated in voluntarily by dignified delegates of the subject nations. By contrast, Egyptian representations, and texts accompanying them, stress the military power of the pharaoh over the subjects bringing gifts even in cases where in historical reality the pharaoh had no such power.

In Mesopotamia, the only clear tradition of representations of tribute processions is found in the neo-Assyrian Period, and then only in the reigns of Assurnasirpal through Sargon. There can be little doubt that Achaemenid planners were familiar with the Assyrian representational type—either through the intermediary of pre-Empire Persian and Median traditions derived from Mesopotamia, or through antique Assyrian imports in their minor arts, or even through first-hand observation of Assyrian reliefs and paintings still visible in the sixth century (a potential means of transmission which should not be underestimated). Furthermore, the Assyrian representations seem to have been intended to illustrate the salient aspects of actual court practice. I have suggested that actual Assyrian protocol would have been well within the heritage-memory of the Achaemenids, and that Achaemenid court etiquette may have been in part dependent upon the Assyrian tradition. Thus, it is of special interest that the Achaemenid tribute procession relief departs so radically from Assyrian representations—and hence also from what we can gather must have been actual court practice in the receipt of tribute.

The reliefs of Sargon seem to have been intended to suggest a "joyous" celebration of the presentation of encomia to the king. Yet this concept is expressed at Khorsabad only by the *de-emphasis* of the traditional Assyrian images of submission commonly seen on tribute reliefs. There is no *specific iconography of voluntary gift giving* documented in Assyrian art. By contrast, on the Apadana relief, the hand-holding image seems to have been specifically designed to perform this function. The representation of the twenty-three delegates and ushers on wing B seems to have been derived from the Mesopotamian presentation scene, in which a petitioner (sometimes himself an earthly king) is led by the hand toward the figure of an enthroned deity. The sculptural form used to articulate the hand-holding image was selected from traditional Egyptian scenes of presentation to the Underworld.

In the history of ancient Near Eastern art, the Apadana relief is, then, absolutely unique. A theme which, in Assyria and Egypt, was used to describe the military subjugation of the tributaries, was transformed by the Achaemenids into a scene of pious reverence through a conscious sculptural allusion to age-old Mesopotamian and Egyptian motifs of the petitioner's introduction into the presence of an awe-inspiring divinity.

VII

THE KING APPEARING IN STATE

Description

The motif of the king appearing in state, followed by one or more attendants, occurs first on the doorjamb reliefs of the two portico entrances to Palace P at Pasargadae [Fig. 6; Pls. 2-3] [1]. These reliefs, in my opinion, date to the reign of Cyrus [2]. Here, the king wears an inscribed robe which was once covered with applied metal decoration. He carries a long staff, the tip of which rests on the ground before his forward foot. Behind the king stands one figure of smaller size who may have carried a parasol [3]. On the jambs of both portico doors of Palace P this figure group is represented as facing out of the main hall.

During the reign of Darius this same motif, albeit in a more elaborate form, was used as the subject of reliefs decorating doorjambs of the Palace of Darius [Fig. 7; Pls. 15a-b] and the Central Building [Fig. 12; Pl. 25b][4]. The king, always carrying a staff in his right hand and a lotus blossom in his left, is followed by two overlapping attendants in Persian dress. The attendant in the rear plane always carries a flywhisk and towel. In the north doors of the Palace of Darius the attendant occupying the front plane carries a small object (perhaps a small covered bowl similar in function to a finger bowl) [5]. In the south door of this palace the attendant in this plane holds a parasol over the head of the royal figure [6]. In the north and south doors of the Central Building this motif is repeated with the king under the parasol. Here, the figure of Ahuramazda within the winged disc hovers above the group, facing in the same direction as the king and his attendants[7].

---

[1] Nylander, *Ionians*, figs. 44 a and b.

[2] See Catalogue Entry II for a discussion of these reliefs and of the dating controversy surrounding them.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Palace of Darius: Catalogue Entry VII; Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, pls. 138-141. Central Building: Catalogue Entry IX; Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, pls. 75-76.

[5] Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, pl. 140. Schmidt, 226, mistakenly describes the servant as placing one hand over the other. But comparison with the relief in the Harem, south door (ibid., pl. 193A) shows how this relief should be reconstructed.

[6] Ibid., pls. 138-139.

During the reign of Xerxes the motif was used again, in the form achieved under the patronage of Darius, on doorjamb reliefs of the Harem [Pl. 27] and the Palace of Xerxes[8].

Discussion

In essence, these reliefs of the Great King, in full regalia and followed by smaller attendants, project a clear and simple statement of the monarch's magnificence. They portray the ruler in his stately aspect of simply being the king, removed from any distracting temporal or narrative context. Yet, for all their apparent simplicity, these reliefs function in a rather complex way in relation to the architecture they decorate. It is well beyond the scope of this study to present a comprehensive discussion of Achaemenid sculpture in its function as architectural decoration, though this issue deserves more attention[9]. But I shall, within the limitations of this chapter and Chapter VIII, attempt to suggest ways in which an analysis of architectural placement may help us to understand the intended meaning and impact of this particular motif.

The king and his attendant(s) are shown standing, each figure always posed with the inside foot placed before the outside foot. This stance does not necessarily indicate motion forward. It is, in fact, a conventional way for stationary standing figures to be rendered in ancient Near Eastern art. But these particular figures are represented on the jambs of doors. They are, thus, situated *between* rooms. It seems possible that we were meant to perceive them as appearing in the doorways, as if frozen in the act of moving from one room into another[10]. The plausibility of this idea is suggested by certain variations in the composition of the motif—variations which seem to be dependent upon the specific rooms between which the figures are placed. On those doorjambs which show the king between an inner chamber of a building and the main hall of that building (a situation in which the king is always represented facing *into* the main hall), the attendant carrying the flywhisk and towel is always represented beardless. This detail may have been intended as a visual allusion to the beardless palace servants represented on the jambs of doors within the complex of private rooms—the chambers from within which the royal retinue might, then, have been meant to appear to have just emerged. On the other hand, when the figures are situated on doorjambs leading from the main hall to the outside of the palace, both attendants are bearded figures. This fact suggests that perhaps the beardless servants attended the king only within the palace, and that, therefore, by changing the flywhisk carrier to a bearded figure here, an allusion has been made to the idea of the king's imminent departure from the palace[11].

---

[7] Ibid., pls. 75 and 79.

[8] Ibid., pls. 193-194 and 178-181.

[9] Frankfort, Achaemenian Sculpture", 12-14, has stressed the negative aspect of the subservience of Achaemenid sculpture to architecture; but he has not attempted to analyze the ways in which the sculpture and the architecture interrelate—how, for instance, sculpture is frequently designed to articulate aspects of the actual structure and function of architectural members (as on the stairway reliefs). Nylander has discussed some aspects of the interrelation of Achaemenid architecture and sculpture ("Ritual Persepolis"), but the subject still deserves comprehensive treatment.

[10] This concept has often been taken for granted (e.g., Erdmann, "Persepolis: Daten und Deutungen", 29-31); but precisely because the concept has been assumed *a priori*, some interesting aspects of the motif have not been given the attention they deserve.

Furthermore, when the king is shown in a doorway leading to a main hall from an inner chamber (in which case he always faces toward the main hall) he is not protected by a parasol (except in the Palace of Xerxes). Rather, the second attendant in such cases carries the small covered bowl, which is likely to have had a domestic function of some sort. But, when the king is shown between the main hall and the outside of the palace (in which case he always faces out), he invariably stands under the parasol. Thus the parasol seems to have been used (perhaps from the time of Cyrus on) to suggest that the king is in the act of leaving the palace to go out into the sun.

To be sure, the parasol used by Achaemenid kings must have acquired, by metaphorical extention, a non-practical aspect as a symbol of the royalty of the figure shaded by it. If so, it, like the baldacchino, may have been used in actuality on occasions when it was not necessary as a protection against the elements (indoors, or at night, for instance)[12]. But the contexts in which the parasol is found in Achaemenid architectural sculpture imply that it is being used as an iconographical device intended specifically to indicate that the king is being shown appearing in state while in the act of leaving a given palace[13].

---

[11] Presumably the beardless figures on the doorjambs of the Palace of Darius represent palace eunuchs. See Reade, "The Neo-Assyrian Court and Army", 91-92 and 95-96, for a critical discussion of the analogous problems of identifying as men or eunuchs beardless figures on Assyrian reliefs. Note, however, that on certain Achaemenid reliefs bearded and unbearded figures are shown in a chain of alternation which can have been intended only as a decorative device: e.g., sculptures of servants, alternately in Median and Persian dress, who climb stairs of the Palace of Darius and the Palace of Xerxes. Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, pl. 161, for an illustration in which the alternation of bearded and beardless figures is visible.

In summary, then, it would seem that these reliefs were meant to convey an impression of the king, in the company of his attendant(s), passing through the doorways in which he is depicted; he is not merely posing emblematically. The motif may then be understood to depict a group of figures captured sculpturally in a moment of transition from one particular royal room to another. These reliefs thus illustrate the real function of the specific architectural feature they are imposed upon. This concept of the figures' being frozen in the act of passing from one room to another is also applicable to the motif of the royal hero, which will be discussed in Chapter VIII, and to the motif of the king carried by the subject peoples. It must be stressed parenthetically, however, that this does not mean that any or all Achaemenid doorjamb sculptures necessarily illustrate groups which in actuality passed through the specific doorways in which they are represented sculpturally (or through any doorways at all, for that matter)[14].

This aspect of the reliefs has implications for an attempt to understand the intended impact of the motif. It has been pointed out, with specific reference to the motif of royal hero combat, that these Achaemenid doorjamb reliefs occupy rather insignificant architectural positions in comparison to reliefs on the exteriors of buildings[15]. This is true in terms of the possible impact of such reliefs as conveyors of blatantly propagandistic messages meant for public consumption. But the doorjamb reliefs do have a unique impact in that the figures are, in effect, projected into real space. Although, being placed on ledges, the sculpted figures do not literally step on the actual threshold of the passageway they decorate, they do protrude somewhat into the actual passageway, so that anyone actually walking through the real space is aware of the intrusive presence of the monumental figures on either side of him. This is especially true of the Persepolis reliefs, in which the figures are not set into frames, as are the earlier reliefs of Palace P at Pasargadae.

---

[12] On the history of the parasol, and for cultural analogies for its use as a symbol of kingship even in contexts in which it was, practically speaking, unnecessary, see T. S. Crawford, *A History of the Umbrella* (New York: Taplinger Publishing Co., 1970).

[13] I cannot follow Roos ("An Achaemenian Sketch Slab", 53-54), who suggests that the sole factor for determining the presence or absence of the parasol was the height of the doorjamb to be decorated rather than whether or not the king is shown leaving a particular building.

[14] Herzfeld first stated the "general rule" that at Persepolis "all the sculptures represent scenes actually taking place at the very spot" (*Iran*, 258). But, as I have had occasion to mention at other points within this study, Nylander has demonstrated that this literal correspondence of reliefs to the architecture they embellish is hardly feasible in every case. See, most recently, comments in "Al-Bērūnī", 149 and n. 49.

[15] Ibid., 146.

A related aspect of the intended impact of these reliefs of king with attendants concerns the direction of movement of the figures. The figures of the king and his attendants always face anyone who is entering a main hall from the outside, or entering an inner chamber from the main hall. This convention of directional patterns seems, in fact, to determine the direction of movement of all the royal figures on doorjamb reliefs at Persepolis. A primary factor determining this consistently imposed pattern of movement of the figure of the king seems to have been the desire to confront anyone initially entering a given room with the magnificence of the vision of the king in state. This impact of the splendor of the king upon the visitor may have been intended in part to serve a protective function. The king, by facing out, "protects" his chambers much as the guards shown emerging from the guardrooms of the Tačara portico "protect" the palace by advertising the presence of watchmen[16].

Near Eastern Prototypes

The representational motif of the king appearing in state, followed by attendants, in a context which is isolated from any extended narrative scheme, has been recognized as an unusual one for which no precedents exist in Mesopotamia[17]. It has been suggested that we have here the visual expression of an indigenous and possibly purely Iranian concept of kingship and of the king's relation to the members of his court—a symbolic statement of an old Iranian feudal hierarchy[18]. In point of fact, there do exist some examples from Egypt and Assyria of a similar motif—and even of a similar motif used in an architectural context which is analogous to that in which the Achaemenid motif is found. But the obvious importance of the motif to the rather limited repertoire of Achaemenid sculpture, compared to its relatively rare occurrence elsewhere in the ancient Near East, suggests that the motif captured more of the essence of kingship for the Achaemenids than it did for either the Egyptians or the Assyrians.

---

[16] For the guards, see Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, pls. 136-137. Similarly, the royal hero, who seems to be attacking the beast who would otherwise enter the inner chamber, may perhaps be understood to "protect" his palace chambers in a more active sense.

[17] Barnett, "Persepolis", 75; Farkas, *Achaemenid Sculpture*, 15; Nylander, *Ionians*, 126.

[18] Nylander, *Ionians*, 138.

Egyptian Prototypes

From Egypt, interesting parallels for the motif occur in the First Court of Ramses III in the Great Temple at Medinet Habu. On the east and west walls of both the northern and southern colonnades of this court Ramses III is shown in sunk relief walking into the colonnade. On the west wall of the south colonnade the pharaoh holds a long staff in his left hand and the "ka" symbol in his right [Pl. 70a][19]. Behind him are two attendants whose heads come up only to the height of Ramses' knees. One holds a flywhisk, the other a fan. Before the king walk two more attendants, one with fan and one with an incense receptacle. These two figures turn their heads back toward the pharaoh as they attend him. The protective vulture flies over the figure of the pharaoh much as Ahuramazda, within the winged disc, hovers over the figure of Darius on the jambs of the north and south doors of the Central Building at Persepolis. The relief on the east wall of this same colonnade and those on both end walls of the northern colonnade are similar, though not identical[20].

The royal paraphernalia held by the Egyptian attendants differs greatly from the type held by the Persian figures. And the almost grotesque difference in size between the pharaoh and his attendants compared to the relatively minor distinction on the Achaemenid reliefs clearly reflects a different artistic tradition. In this extreme hierarchical distinction the Egyptian representation seems to express a different conception of the nature of kingship and of the relationship between the king and his courtiers[21]. Thus, the Egyptian parallel is of interest here, but not because it is likely to have provided a prototype for the first Persian rendition of the motif in Palace P at Pasargadae; rather, it is of interest because it shows so clearly how the same representational motif can in different cultures and within a different artistic idiom suggest very divergent conceptions of kingship and hierarchical order.

---

[19] The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu*, II; *Historical Records of Ramses III*, OIP, IX (Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1932), pls. 123A and 60B.

[20] Ibid., pls. 123 B, 60 A, 124 A and B.

[21] Note here the remarks of Groenewegen-Frankfort (*Arrest and Movement*, 44-46), on the expression in art of the Egyptian concept of kingship.

Assyrian and Urartian Prototypes

Seals

An unusual emblematic Assyrian rendition of a figure (presumably the king) standing, behind a rearing quadruped, and followed by one attendant who shades him with a parasol, occurs on impressions of a stamp seal found on bullae from Sennacherib's palace at Nineveh, known now from Layard's drawing of them[22]. The parasol is an important iconographical element in neo-Assyrian reliefs of all periods. It seems generally to be used in narrative contexts in which outdoor scenes are depicted; and thus it functions as an accoutrement of the king, any symbolic connotations of which are subordinate to its practical function[23]. This emblematic seal design is, then, unusual in this respect. The hairstyles of the figures and also the proportions of the parasol as Layard has rendered them suggest a late eighth century date[24], affirming contemporaneity with the provenance. If it is not unique in Assyrian glyptic art this motif is, nevertheless, rare in any period.

From Urartu we have evidence of a similar motif—and this also found on a stamp seal. At Toprak Kale, seal impressions have been found which display a king standing under a parasol which is held by his beardless attendant[25]. The king holds a staff in his left hand and raises his right hand. Before the king is a walking lion. Behind the attendant is a trident-like symbol.

---

[22] A.H. Layard, *A Second Series of the Monuments of Nineveh* (London : J. Murray, 1853), pl. 69.

[23] For an attempt to define iconographical variants of the basic motif of king with attendants in the period of Assurnasirpal, see J. Stearns, "Reliefs from the Palace of Ashurnaṣirpal II", AfO Beiheft, XV (Berlin: Archiv für Orientforschung, 1961), 59-61.

[24] Hrouda, *Kulturgeschichte*, 106, for typology of Assyrian parasols.

[25] M. Van Loon, *Urartian Art* (Leiden: Nederlands historisch-archaeologisch Instituut, 1966), 152 and fig. 18 (E 1). Now known, inscribed with royal name Rusa, from Karmir-Blur and Bastam also.

Monumental Art

The seal impressions from Toprak Kale remind us that the cultures of northwest Iran were greatly influenced by Assyria and that they in turn provided one means of transmission of Assyrian art to the Iranian newcomers to the Zagros area in the first centuries of the first millennium. Thus, while no monumental renditions of the king appearing in state are known in Urartian art, we are probably justified in assuming that the ephemeral nature of wall painting has deprived us of much material for the study of Urartian traditions[26].

From Assyrian palace reliefs we do have some evidence of monumental representations of the king appearing in state in an emblematic compositional structure.

The Reign of Assurnasirpal

In the throne room of the Northwest Palace of Nimrud, Assurnasirpal is represented standing and holding a staff while a courtier of the same size stands behind him holding a flywhisk, a bow and a mace (?). This tableau appears twice, placed symmetrically on either side of an inset panel which shows the king and a genius once on either side of the sacred tree [Pl. 45a][27]. The flanking scenes of the king standing in state are not directly related in any narrative sense to the inset orthostat. Thus, they can be said to be somewhat similar to the Achaemenid reliefs in that both depict the king in an abstract context. On this ninth century Assyrian relief the king's status is not emphasized by representing him larger than his attendant, though on another relief from the same room this distinction is made between the king and the courtiers behind him[28]. The flywhisk and parasol carriers of Assurnasirpal are apparently always represented without beards, even when the scene they are in clearly takes place out of doors.

A variation on this representational idea is found on a stele which probably dates to the reign of Assurnasirpal. Here, the figure of a king is shown standing alone—once on each side of the stele. On the obverse he holds a bowl and a sword; on the reverse he holds a bowl, a sword, and a staff[29]. There are no divine symbols in the field, as is customary on Assyrian stele which show the king alone. These reliefs may, however, have been intended to allude to a libation ceremony performed by the king—in which case they would have suggested a specific meaning rather than a more generalized aspect of appearance in state.

---

[26] Azarpay, *Urartian Art and Artifacts*, 19-21. M.J. Mellink, "Notes on Anatolian Wall Painting", *Mélanges Mansel* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1974), 538-539.

[27] Meuszyński, "The Throne-Room of Aššur-naṣir-apli II", figs. 5 and 7; and fig. 70, for reconstruction of positions of the reliefs.

[28] Strommenger, *Mesopotamia*, pl. 204, bottom. He is not, however, taller than the crown prince whom he faces.

The Reign of Sargon

Several doorjamb reliefs from Sargon's palace at Khorsabad are important parallels for the basic concept of decorating doorjambs with sculptural representations of court personages [Fig. 20]. On the jambs of one Khorsabad door, Botta found remains of reliefs depicting, in mirror image on both jambs, two court personages proceeding in the same direction [Pl. 70b][30]. Even when Flandin drew these reliefs, only the feet and lower portions of the robes of the figures were preserved. It appears that both figures must have been clothed in the same type of robe—indicating that the reliefs depict two courtiers rather than the king, in his customary elaborate royal robe, followed by one attendant. But even though both figures apparently represent courtiers, these reliefs show a marked similarity to the Achaemenid motif of king with attendant(s) in that they depict more than one figure, facing in the same direction, appearing in a doorway.

The jambs of two other Khorsabad palace doors are decorated with a different motif. Here, the king, standing, is followed by a beardless attendant who holds a flywhisk and towel [Pl. 71a][31]. The attendant is represented on the same scale as the king (as is customary in the reliefs of Sargon). Facing the king and his attendant is another court personage—presumably the crown prince. This compositional unit is extracted from the extended scenes at Khorsabad which depict the king, with one or more attendants behind him, greeting his crown prince who heads a file of courtiers [Pl. 60a][32].

---

[29] J.M. Munn-Rankin, "Two Reliefs of an Assyrian King with Bowl", *Iraq* 36, 1974, 169-171.

[30] Botta and Flandin, *Monument*, pl. 80 (Room IV, Door D).

[31] Ibid., pls. 80 (Room IV, Door T); 85 and 101 (Room V, Doors E and U).

[32] Loud, *Khorsabad*, I, figs. 35 and 45.

The motif differs in concept from the Achaemenid reliefs under discussion in that the addition of the crown prince transforms the composition into one in which the king appears to approach another figure (or to be approached by another figure); he does not simply appear in state as he passes from one room to another. On the other hand, these Khorsabad reliefs do display a similar monumental sculptural conception in that the king is presented in a context which is abstracted from any specific narrative situation. As with the Achaemenid reliefs, this motif of the Sargon Period seems designed primarily to project an abstract idea of the magnificence of the king. Furthermore, the documentation of doorjamb reliefs at Khorsabad which do, in fact, depict two court figures (albeit non-royal figures) appearing in doorways as if moving from one room to another, shows a striking similarity to the Achaemenid reliefs in conception of the use of doorjambs as vehicles for this type of representation. Thus, one can certainly speculate that the mound of Khorsabad may, perhaps, still hold within it doorjamb reliefs of king and attendant alone—reliefs which would parallel precisely the Achaemenid motif as we find it first at Pasargadae. Such a speculation is not unfounded. Reliefs which closely parallel the Achaemenid motif of king walking with an attendant, as it appears at Pasargadae, are found at Khorsabad; but they are carved on orthostats which *flank* doors, rather than upon the stone jambs of the doorways. Flanking Door K in Facade m, on either side of the guardian colossi, Sargon stands, facing toward the doorway. He is followed by one attendant [Pl. 71b][33]. The rest of the orthostats along this wall behind the attendant were destroyed even when Flandin drew the wall. Thus it is not known what type of reliefs may have adorned them. But based upon what we do know of the repertoire of Sargon's artists, it is likely that the rest of the wall was decorated with an entirely separate scene (perhaps even focusing in the other direction), or else that the rest of the wall behind the preserved attendant originally was decorated with additional images of courtiers.

An interesting variation on this motif is rendered in glazed brick relief along the right wall flanking the entrance to the Sin Temple at Khorsabad. Here the king stands, facing in toward the door to the temple. He holds a mace in his left hand and holds his right hand out in the greeting gesture. Behind the king appear representations of a lion, a vulture, a bull (all facing in toward the door as well), a tree and a plow. Then, bringing up the rear of this odd "procession" appears the figure of an attendant, holding a spear so that its tip rests on the ground before his foot[34].

---

[33] Botta and Flandin, *Monument*, pl. 42 (Gate K in Facade m).

The exploitation of stone doorjambs as surfaces for relief representations of real court personages (as opposed to genii and guardian figures) is not common in Assyrian palace decoration—at least as far as available information indicates. It is, thus, of particular interest that in the Khorsabad palace this use of doorjambs seems to have been quite frequent. It seems possible that the Achaemenids were influenced by the reliefs of Sargon either directly (through exposure to the ruins of the Khorsabad palace) or indirectly (through a tradition of Median Period architectural sculpture which itself was influenced by exposure to these reliefs).

Interestingly, the Khorsabad doorjamb reliefs, like those on the doorjambs of Palace P at Pasargadae, are set into frames. Other Pasargadae doorjamb reliefs (those of the presumably earlier Palaces S and R) are not set into such frames. This difference suggests the possibility that Cyrus' planners were directly influenced by a first-hand knowledge of the Khorsabad reliefs in their formulation and implementation of the idea for the Palace P motif. Thus they might have adopted the frame along with the representational motif[35]. Inspiration for the reliefs of Palaces R and S clearly came from entirely different sources. The best parallels for figures on these reliefs come from orthostats which flanked doorways or from free-standing altars—from monuments which had no need of the protective frames into which the Khorsabad doorjamb reliefs were set[36]. Perhaps this is why the reliefs of Pasargadae Palaces S and R—though carved on doorjambs—were not set into protective frames. At Persepolis none of the doorjamb reliefs are framed, suggesting that perhaps the sunken effect produced by the Palace P reliefs was considered unsatisfactory.

While the influence of the Khorsabad sculpture may have been strong among the planners of Palace P, it is clear that even in the period of Cyrus, the Achaemenid king (unlike Sargon) had always to be portrayed on a larger scale than his attendants. In this aspect, Achaemenid sculptural conventions, as they were established as early as the reign of Cyrus, reflect the iconographical principles of Assyrian sculpture of the seventh century.

---

[34] Loud, *Khorsabad*, I, 92-97 and fig. 104.

[35] Though a simpler explanation might be that they felt that these figures of the king, with all their applied metal decorations, needed more protection than did the relief figures in Palaces S and R.

[36] For parallels for the Palace S reliefs, see T.S. Kawami, "A Possible Source for the Sculptures of the Audience Hall, Pasargadae", *Iran* 10, 1972, 146-148; the Palace R figure is unparalleled in Assyrian art, but the winged genii to which it owes a good deal of its basic form, were represented on regular orthostat reliefs, frequently flanking doors in Assyrian palaces.

In summary, various aspects of the Achaemenid motif of king appearing with attendant(s) are paralleled by reliefs of the periods of Assurnasirpal and Sargon. Certain reliefs produced under the patronage of both of these kings emphasize the magnificence of the king in non-narrative contexts. After the reign of Sargon it seems, on the basis of present information, that depictions of the king in non-narrative compositional arrangements became increasingly uncommon[37]. And, as Barnett has observed:

> The grandiose groups of large figures fraught with majesty and symbolism, which Assurnasirpal and, later, Sargon loved, are abandoned. The observant eye of veristic narrative, an earthier approach, is substituted, perhaps (who knows?) the result of a subtle change of social or religious climate[38].

It is, then, fitting that the few examples of Assyrian sculptures which relate significantly to the Achaemenid motif come from the periods of Assurnasirpal and Sargon. Specifically in the sculpture of Sargon, the Achaemenid motif finds close prototypes in terms of its relation to the architecture it embellishes. Then, in the Achaemenid Period the full potential of the motif was realized. The Achaemenid planners achieved, through a deliberate manipulation of internal iconographical elements (such as the parasol and the beards of attendants), an unprecedented explicitness in illustrating the actual function of the specific doorjambs embellished by each relief. The close parallels particularly in the Sargon tradition suggest the possibility that Khorsabad remained partly visible at least in the age of Cyrus—influencing Achaemenid planners directly. But under the Achaemenids the motif assumed a significance as a statement of royal presence which it could not have commanded at Khorsabad, where adjacent decorative schemes were complex and, perhaps, even overpowering.

---

[37] Levine, "Neo-Assyrian Stelae", 58.

[38] Barnett, *Assyrian Palace Reliefs in the British Museum*, 26.

Conclusion

That a version of the motif of king appearing in state with attendant(s) was apparently rendered at Pasargadae as early as the reign of Cyrus is of great historical interest[39]. This particular sculptural expression of kingship seems to have retained its symbolic vitality and to have become during the reign of Darius one of the primary "codified" emblems of royal presence. The continuity of a tradition thus documented here between Cyrus and Darius (and on such an important point as the way of representing the king) may have significant implications for an understanding of Darius' perception of his relation to Cyrus. It suggests that the frequently voiced characterization of Darius' systematic disassociation from Cyrus is perhaps the result of a romanticized misinterpretation of the limited historical material available.

In his Behistun inscription Darius does not include Cyrus in his introductory genealogy; nor does he credit Cyrus with building the great empire which he inherited[40]. But Cyrus would have had no logical place in Darius' father-to-son genealogy. And in view of the circumstances surrounding Darius' accession (and especially in view of the fact that there must have been others in line to inherit the throne after the death of Cambyses and Smerdis), it seems quite natural that Darius should have rested his claim to the throne upon his *direct* relation, through his father, to the eponymous ancestor of the Achaemenid Dynasty rather than upon his less direct relationship to Cyrus' branch of the dynasty. Yet Darius' failure to eulogize Cyrus has suggested to some authorities that Darius was forever alienated and embittered[41].

Recent archaeological discoveries (as well as ancient sources) give a different picture of the situation. According to Arrian (*Anab.* VI.xxix), Cyrus' tomb remained a national shrine throughout the Achaemenid Period. And Stronach's excavations at Pasargadae have shown that the site was by no means abandoned—even though changes in architectural plans were undertaken after the death of

---

[39] On the dating of Palace P and the reliefs, see Catalogue Entry II. For a different view, compare Farkas, *Achaemenid Sculpture*, 3-4 and 29-30 during the ensuing discussion.

[40] Kent, *Old Persian*, 119-159.

[41] E.g., Mallowan, "Cyrus the Great", 3; and Farkas, *Achaemenid Sculpture*, 3, who finds Darius' silence on Cyrus difficult to rationalize.

Cyrus, particularly on the Takht[42]. It should be noted in this context that for those scholars who reject a date in the reign of Cyrus for the Palace P reliefs (even though their drapery is inscribed with the name of Cyrus as king), it must logically follow that Darius (to whom credit is frequently given for the relief and the CMc text) was hardly disdainful of the memory of Cyrus[43]. And, in any case, the Borger and Hinz reconstruction of the CMb text inscribed *above* the reliefs in Palace P clearly gives the name of Darius. Thus, whatever else the reconstruction says or implies, it compels us to believe that the text was carved over the relief depicting the figure of Cyrus during the reign of Darius.

As to the idea that Darius abandoned Pasargadae for political reasons: the recent discovery of pre-Darius palace remains near Takht-i Rustam (presumably Cambyses' unfinished tomb) suggests that Cambyses had already planned to build residential structures as well as his tomb at a new site in Fars[44]. Finally, Darius apparently went to great lengths to merge the two branches of the Achaemenid Dynasty by a series of marriages: to Atossa and Artystone (daughters of Cyrus), to Phaedyme (daughter of Otanes and wife of the late Cambyses), and to Parmys (daughter of the late Smerdis)[45].

There is, then, no evidence to suggest that Darius pursued a calculated course of disassociation from the memory of Cyrus. Rather, there is a preponderance of evidence to suggest that he did pay observance to his predecessor—if only, to be perhaps over-cynical, out of a keen sense of political expediency. Within this historical situation, the continued use of the motif of king with attendant(s) becomes one more piece of evidence suggesting that Darius was not trying to avoid having his identity as king associated with that of Cyrus.

Unquestionably, Achaemenid art and architecture under the patronage of Darius were infused with a new spirit. During his reign a set iconography was established and canonized. A new and far-reaching vision of empire obviously inspired much of this new Achaemenid art. Within this enlarged iconography developed under

---

[42] Catalogue Entry I; Stronach, "Pasargadae: Third Report", 17.

[43] For a discussion of the relations of the various texts at Pasargadae to the dating of the sculpture of Palace P, see Catalogue Entry II.

[44] Tilia, "Discoveries at Persepolis, 1972-73", 243-244; "Discovery of an Achaemenian Palace near Takht-i Rustam", 200-204.

[45] Herod. III. 88; Olmstead, *Persian Empire*, 109.

Darius, the motif of the king simply appearing in state, followed by his smaller attendants, seems to hark back to a simpler (but no less compelling) concept of kingship. It is just possible that Darius' use of the motif at Persepolis represented a calculated effort to preserve something of a past vision of royal splendor—to cast himself in the image of the archetypal Persian king.

Xenophon's description of the calculated magnificence of Cyrus seems fitting in this context:

> Next we shall describe how Cyrus for the first time drove forth from his palace; and that is in place here, for the magnificence of his appearance in state seems to us to have been one of the arts that he devised to make his government command respect.
>
> ...
>
> Next after these Cyrus himself ... upon a chariot appeared in the gates ... With him rode a charioteer, who was tall, but shorter than he; whether he was so in reality or whatever the reason; at all events, Cyrus looked much taller. And when they saw him, they all prostrated themselves before him, either because some had been instructed to begin this act of homage, or because they were overcome by the splendour of his presence, or because Cyrus appeared so great and goodly to look upon[46];

---

[46] Xen. *Cyrop.* iii. 1 & 14.

VIII

MYTHICAL VISIONS OF KINGSHIP AND POWER

Introduction

In the previous chapters we have been concerned with representations of the Achaemenid king *as king*—as ruler of a vast, harmonious empire, as pious disciple of Ahuramazda, as victor over all earthly enemies, and as embodiment of the splendid majesty of royalty. These representations are visual interpretations of the king in his role as actual ruler. Although he is portrayed larger than life and larger than any other figure in his presence, he is, nonetheless, portrayed as a human being—as an *historical* personage rather than as a *mythical* personage.

In this last essay we shall deal instead with representations of the Achaemenid king as mythical being. The focus of this chapter will be upon the Gatehouse "Genius" of Palace R at Pasargadae and the representations of the "Royal Hero" at Persepolis. In conjunction with these sculptural representations we shall also discuss certain seal representations which have a bearing upon the issue of identification of the mythical beings as the king.

As concerns both of these representational types, the greatest problem confronting us is basically whether or not we should in fact consider these beings as meant to portray some aspect of the royal person at all. By even including this chapter in a study on the king and kingship in Achaemenid art I have, in effect, taken a stand on the issue. I believe that we must consider these representations as relating directly to *kingship*—if not necesarily also to the king himself in a personal and historically specific sense.

A. *The Gatehouse "Genius"*

This winged figure (bare-footed, and wearing an Elamite royal robe, Elamite coiffure, and an Egyptian *'atef* crown) is carved on a doorjamb of Palace R so that he faces into the building [Fig. 5; Pl. 1][1]. The text which originally appeared over the figure ("I am Cyrus, an

---

[1] Catalogue Entry I.

Achaemenian") has not been accepted as a label for the sculpture in the sense that it necessarily identifies the figure as Cyrus. It may simply identify the building and the relief as the work of Cyrus.

The wings of the figure provide an immediate visual association with the winged genii of Assyrian orthostat reliefs and wall paintings —benevolent, protective creatures who guard doorways and sometimes appear in ritual capacities in conjunction with the Assyrian king [Pls. 45b & 72a][2]. But the other features of the figure show that we are not dealing here with any simple copy of an Assyrian guardian genius. It is noteworthy also that the Palace R being faces *into* the building. Assyrian genii who function as guardian figures flank the doorways and seem meant to *confront* anyone entering a room or a palace with their protective presence[3]. The fact that the Achaemenid figure has his back turned to anyone entering the Gatehouse suggests that a direct apotropaic function was not intended by this winged vision.

Yet surely the figure meant *something* to the Achaemenids. Surely it was not simply a vision, borne out of an enthusiasm for eclectic Phoenician ivory and metal work, placed in an architectural setting without any particular regard for its conceptual/functional context[4].

S. Smith has suggested that the winged figure reflects syncretic religious ideas current in the Near East in the sixth century[5]. And Barnett has postulated that it represents an Achaemenid adaptation of a representation of the Phoenician god Ba'al, placed in the Gatehouse as a deliberate allusion to Cyrus' embrace of the religions of the peoples in his new empire[6].

Mallowan interprets the figure as a sort of guardian angel of the king—not a representation of the king himself, but a vision of his kingship. Recalling Herodotus' story of Cyrus' prophetic dream of Darius with two wings (two *pairs*?)—one shadowing Asia and the other Europe (I. 209)—Mallowan implies the possibility that the story in Herodotus echoes a Persian tradition of world kingship in the guise of a winged being[7]. And Amiet, in a somewhat similar vein, sees the winged figure as a vision of Achaemenid ecumenical ideology[8].

---

[2] Frankfort, "Achaemenian Sculpture", 6. Frankfort does not note the important features which distinguish the Pasargadae figure from Assyrian usage, however.

[3] On apotropaic figures in Mesopotamian art see the forthcoming book by R.S. Ellis.

[4] Though cf. Farkas, *Achaemenid Sculpture*, 8.

[5] S. Smith, *Isaiah, Chapters XL-LV* (London: Oxford University Press, 1944), 124-125.

[6] R.D. Barnett, "ʿAnath, Baʿal and Pasargadae", *Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph* 45, 1969, 407-422.

As Amiet suggests, these various interpretations are not necessarily mutually exclusive—any more than religion and politics were mutually exclusive concerns of Cyrus' kingship. Here, as also in Palace S at Pasargadae, one has the feeling that Cyrus intended a grand message of ecumenical imperial harmony through these figures, with their complex religious associations with the old empires of the Near East, passing into the sanctuary of the Achaemenid homeland[9].

The Gatehouse figure is carefully designed, with its individual features (such as crown, robe and wings) meticulously rendered on the basis of first-hand associations with primary artistic source material. This fact increases the probability that the relief was meant to convey a particular message. Porada has noted that the crown is not an impressionistic rendition of an Egyptian type of crown based upon a Phoenician model; rather, it faithfully reproduces a specific Egyptian crown type, having extremely close parallels in the *hekhemet* crown—symbol of the war cry[10]. The robe is meant to recall the garb of the Elamite kings[11]. And the wings are skillfully carved in the manner of Assyrian genius wings. In shape and proportions they are paralleled almost precisely by wings of genii at Khorsabad [Pl. 72a][12]. But it is interesting to note that in internal style they hark back to a fashion current in Assurnasirpal's sculpture [Pl. 45b]. In the sculptures of Sargon, the small feathers on the edge of each wing run parallel to the line of the wing. Under Assurnasirpal, they run perpendicular to the line of the wing—just as they do on the Gatehouse figure[13]. As with many other elements of Achaemenid sculpture, such as the Behistun Ahuramazda and the guardian colossi of Persepolis, the style of the "Genius'" wings is Assyrian in spirit without actually being a *copy* of any one period of Assyrian style in every respect.

We must suppose that the Gatehouse "Genius" was planned to look the way it looks for specific reasons—with sculptural models carefully chosen. The figure remains enigmatic. But—whether it represents a syncretic deity, some metaphorical vision of an abstract idea of imperial domain, or a vision of Cyrus himself in a mythical aspect of ideal kingship—the Pasargadae "Genius" is an Achaemenid creation emerging from and responding to the demands of empire as Cyrus saw them.

---

[7] Mallowan, "Cyrus the Great", 2.

[8] Amiet, "L'art achéménide", 164.

[9] On Palace S, see Kawami, "A Possible Source for the Sculptures of the Audience Hall', 146-148.

[10] Porada, *Ancient Iran*, 158 and n. 27.

[11] Amiet, "L'art Achéménide", 164.

[12] Strommenger, *Mesopotamia*, pl. 226.

[13] Moortgat, *Mesopotamia*, fig. 257.

B. *The King as Archetypal Hero*

Representations of the so-called royal hero stabbing a rampant lion, lion monster, bull, or griffin monster, occur in doorjambs of the Palace of Darius, the "Harem", and the Throne Hall at Persepolis [Pl. 16a, 28a-b, 30]. In addition, in the Palace of Darius a variation on the theme occurs in the rendition of the hero (rendered with frontal torso) grasping a lion cub and holding a dagger at his side [Pl. 16b]. The motif of a figure stabbing or overcoming beasts in a mythical–heroic manner is echoed on ten of the fifteen known seal types inscribed with the name of an Achaemenid king. These seals are discussed in Catalogue Entry XIII—where it is evident that the hero motif, while not required for the inscribed office seals used at the Persian court, was nevertheless the one most frequently chosen. The hero motif also occurs on countless uninscribed seals[14]. In Catalogue Entry XI I have suggested, furthermore, that the foot in a strapped Persian boot (remains of a colossal statue found at Susa) may be part of a freestanding monument of the hero motif—perhaps of the variant type seen in relief only in the Palace of Darius at Persepolis [Pl. 31b].

Identity of the Hero

A great deal has been written in a general way about the royal hero motif on the Persepolis reliefs. These sculptures have generated special interest particularly concerning the identity of the hero[15]. On the basis of analogies with Assyrian art one would like to identify the hero as the king acting as an extension of his patron god (Ahuramazda in this case)[16]. Yet the headdress and the shoes of the Persepolis heroes do not conform to those worn by figures who clearly represent the king in all other contexts. Instead of the strapless shoes worn in Achaemenid sculpture only by royalty, the hero wears the strapped shoes common to all other figures in Persian dress in Achaemenid sculpture. And instead of a crown, the hero wears only a low band, similar to that worn by palace attendants on the reliefs. The problem is complicated by the fact that on many, many Achaemenid *seals* which display the hero motif, the combatant clearly *does* wear a crenelated crown.

---

[14] E.g., Porada, *Corpus*, pl. CXXII (815E), and CXXIII (819, 820E, 822), as well as uninscribed seals impressed on the Persepolis Treasury and Fortification tablets.

[15] Scholars identifying the hero as the king include: Duchesne-Guillemin, *Symbols and Values*, 118-120; M. Eliade, *The Myth of the Eternal Return*, The Bollingen Series, XLVI, trans. W.R. Trask (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), 37-38; Nylander, "Al-Bērūnī", 146; Schlumberger, "La coiffure du grand roi", 381; Porada, *Ancient Iran*, 159, and Review of *Persepolis*, II, 68. Deshayes, "Origine et signification", 3, sees the figure as a mythical hero distinct from the king. Barnett, "ʿAnath, Baʿal and Pasargadae", 419, suggests that it represents the king acting for Ahuramazda. And Bivar, "Religious Subjects on Achaemenid Seals", 95, suggests that the hero would have been thought of as a god.

The two types of heroic struggle represented on the Persepolis reliefs have immediate compositional antecedents in neo-Assyrian art. The motif of the hero grasping a lion cub is reminiscent of the colossi who guard the palace gate and also the entrance to the throne room at Khorsabad [Pl. 72b][17]. And, as noted already, the more common type finds close compositional parallels in the Assyrian "royal" seal type. In relief, a similar composition is found on an orthostat of the period of Assurbanipal—showing the crown prince slaying a lion [Pl. 55b].

These Assyrian representations in turn are ultimately derived from an age-old Mesopotamian tradition of genii and "Gilgamesh" heroes stabbing and grappling with lions and composite monsters[18]. Interestingly, however, the Assyrian king is never shown in ritual combat with fantastic monsters. His prowess, while a marvel to behold, is yet exerted within the realm of real beings. Only gods, genii and mythical heroes fight the strange dragons and other winged creatures who frequent Assyrian (and neo-Babylonian) glyptic scenes[19]. On the other hand, the Achaemenid hero (whether he was in fact intended to portray some idealized vision of kingship or, less likely in my opinion, some mythical hero completely distinct from the person or idea of the king) is shown stabbing a set of unreal creatures in addition to the lion and bull. Heroic humans in combat with such beings are not found in *monumental* Assyrian and Babylonian art, though the Achaemenid representations of the creatures themselves find approximate parallels in the brick reliefs of the Gate of Ishtar at Babylon, as well as in the repertoire of Mesopotamian seal motifs.

---

[16] Barnett, "'Anath, Ba'al and Pasargadae", 419. On the Assyrian "royal" seals (really palace seals used by officials to mark royal property) see A.J. Sachs, "The Late Assyrian Royal Seal Type", *Iraq* 15, 1953, 167-170; and A.R. Millard, "The Assyrian Royal Seal Type Again", *Iraq* 27, 1965, 12-16. This seal type shows the Assyrian king in full regalia slaying a lion.

[17] Parrot, *Assur*, fig. 36; Botta and Flandin, *Monument*, I, pls. 4 and 7.

[18] E.g., Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, pl. XVII, d, and Parrot, *Assur*, fig. 318.

[19] Porada, *Ancient Iran*, 159; Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, pl. XXXV, b and k. Note particularly the important remarks by Porada in her Review of *Persepolis*, II, 68.

In light of these issues, we must ask ourselves first: Who is the Achaemenid hero? and second: What is the meaning of his mastery over this odd mythical menagerie?

First of all, I should like to suggest the possibility that the hero on the Persepolis *reliefs* wears the non-royal shoes and the plain headband precisely because he was meant to represent the king as "a Persian Man". This conception of the king as the archetypal embodiment of the qualities of "a Persian Man" is suggested in a straightforward metaphor in Darius' tomb inscription:

> ... look at the sculptures (of those) who bear the throne, then shalt thou know, then shall it become known to thee: the spear of a Persian man has gone forth far: then shall it become known to thee: a Persian man has delivered battle far indeed from Persia[20].

In making this pronouncement, Darius is really saying that *he* delivered battle far indeed from Persia. The same metaphor is used in the trilingual cuneiform inscription on the statue of Darius from Susa[21].

The literary metaphor and the sculptural vision of the archetypal hero of "a Persian Man" may conceivably reflect an Indo-Iranian concept of kingship the prestige of whose memory Darius (followed by his successors) consciously wished to evoke[22]. For obvious political reasons Darius was at least as concerned with stressing his Aryan descent as an Achaemenid Persian as he was with spelling out his blood ties to a particular line of previous kings of the recent past. And so Darius presents himself in his tomb inscriptions:

---

[20] Kent, *Old Persian*, 138.

[21] Kervran, et al., "Une statue de Darius", 249-250.

[22] In this context, note the remarks of Porada, *Ancient Iran*, 159: "It is possible that Darius, who had to establish his rule against great opposition within his country and without, utilized religion and iconography to support his rule and to confirm his claim to power". Eliade, on the other hand, sees Darius' use of the hero motif as having no political motivation—being rather a pure response of a king in an "archaic society" who really believes that he is the hero who slays dragons (*The Myth of the Eternal Return*, 37 f).

> I am Darius the Great King, King of Kings, King of countries containing all kinds of men, King in this great earth far and wide, son of Hystaspes, an Achaemenian, a Persian, son of a Persian, an Aryan, having Aryan lineage[23].

Most interestingly, then, the Achaemenid Period seals which bear representations of a *crowned* figure in animal combat or as master of beasts reflect an ironical twist in this imperial manipulation of imagery for ideological purposes. The *seal* representations (with their rich variations on the basic combat/hero theme) generally stem directly from the age-old Mesopotamian seal tradition—a tradition which probably would have been perpetuated regardless of whether or not Darius had chosen the theme for monumental sculpture[24]. But what is of great significance here is that the people commissioning these seals—the people setting the trends in glyptic workshops—clearly equated the hero figure *with a figure who should wear a royal crown.* In other words, among the people commissioning seals or buying them ready-made, a demand was created to transform the Mesopotamian hero into a crowned figure in Persian dress (where in the Mesopotamian tradition he was almost always a mythical figure, a genius, or the like). This is a clear indication that in the minds of the people working at the courts of the Achaemenid Empire, and in the mind of the king himself, the hero and the king stood for one and the same idea.

The paradox is, then, that on the official Achaemenid reliefs, which were commissioned directly by the king, the heroic royal ideal is deliberately portrayed in the *non-royal* garb of "a Persian man" in order to suggest a very specific aspect of kingship; but on the seals—commissioned not by the king, but by court bureaucrats and the general populace—this calculated refinement of the motif is not a necessary attribute. Rather, the hero is, as a rule, portrayed in full royal regalia. And on many other seals of the Achaemenid Period crowned "royal" figures also abound—engaged in all manner of activities from the most super-human feats to those of everyday court life. This popularity of the crowned figure in glyptic art of the

---

[23] Kent, *Old Persian*, 138 (DNa).

[24] Representational compositions in the two media do seem to have influenced each other, however. Note an Achaemenid seal showing a motif almost identical to the relief of hero grasping a lion cub in the Palace of Darius: Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, Pl. XXXVII, a. I suspect that in this case the relief may have actually influenced the person who commissioned the seal. The most important difference between seal and relief is (once again) that on the seal the hero is crowned.

Achaemenid Period is an interesting phenomenon worthy of further discussion. But it must be analyzed in the context of the popular art of the Achaemenid Period rather than the imperial art of the Achaemenid kings[25].

The Meaning of the Combat

It has been suggested that the reliefs of heroic combat at Persepolis illustrate the enactment of a cosmic New Year's ritual in which the forces of chaos must be annually subdued[26]. In the Iranian New Year's festival, as we piece together evidence of it from Al-Beruni and others, there does seem to have been a ritual combat between a dragon and a god (or the king, as the god's representative)[27]. But, as Nylander has pointed out, the Achaemenid reliefs of the hero combat bear no particular relationship to the Iranian New Year's ritual described for other periods of history[28]. While it is probable that the Achaemenids did celebrate a New Year's festival which included the enactment of some ritual combat followed by a *hieros gamos*, the Persepolis reliefs do not seem to be illustrating this ritual celebration *as such*.

It appears more likely that the motif as used at Persepolis had a more generalized apotropaic significance. In the placement of the motif on doorjambs, a principle is consistently followed whereby anyone entering a building or entering a private chamber from the main hall is confronted by the hero figure. The intruder is, in other words, placed in the same relation to the hero as is the slain beast. The king, the heroic archetype of a Persian Man, protects his domain from creatures who symbolize any and all hostile forces. We see here in a sense an image of the king-as-victor transposed to a cosmic plane, while at Behistun we saw this image presented on an historical plane.

---

[25] Note, for instance, hunting scenes with monsters as well as lions: Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, Pl. XXXVII, d, h, m, and n; Persepolis Treasury seal # 26 (Schmidt, *Persepolis*, II, 10 and pl. 8): an interesting audience scene between two crowned figures. The Persepolis Fortification tablets offer the richest extant corpus of Achaemenid seals. Studied in conjunction with the texts they ratify, these seals will provide useful information concerning issues such as the relation of seal owner's status or occupation to the type of motif found on his seal.

[26] E.g., Eliade, *The Myth of the Eternal Return*, 37-38. On such ritual combat enactments in various ancient Near Eastern cultures see T. H. Gaster, *Thespis: Ritual, Myth and Drama in the Ancient Near East* (New York: Henry Schuman, 1950).

[27] G. Widengren, *Die Religionen Irans* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1965), 41-49.

[28] Nylander, "Al-Bērūnī", 144-147.

This theory should pose no irreconcilable difficulties. There is, for instance, no real problem inherent in the supposition that those very creatures shown as slain intruders in the combat scenes are also found in a "helpful" context, as impost blocks for column capitals in the same buildings. In any pastoral/agrarian society the capricious forces of nature which embody all that is most feared and most destructive are also those upon which life, prosperity, and social stability depend.

IX

PAX PERSIANA: AN IMPERIAL COSMOS

At the beginning of this study I suggested that Achaemenid art might be an important primary historical source on the Achaemenid Period: an historical source not in the sense that it gives us much concrete information on specific events, but rather in the sense that it provides a basis for understanding how the Achaemenid kings wished to perceive their empire and how they wished it to be perceived by others.

In order to demonstrate the validity of seeing this art as such a source I have analyzed the process of creation of the iconography of Achaemenid kingship and empire. This analysis has suggested that the essence, the creative genius, of the art lies in the calculated articulation of the visions behind it, not in the inventiveness of the artisans who ultimately executed those visions.

Out of the tangled threads of a distant Indo-Iranian heritage and a more recently assimilated system of Near Eastern traditions, the Achaemenid Persians wove a pattern of their own imperial design. Achaemenid art, the art of the Achaemenid kings, was planned under the close scrutiny of the king himself according to consistently imposed principles calculated to convey a very particular mood and message. Indeed, the same conceptual patterns occur over and over again in the art of the Achaemenid kings with such regularity as allows us to see this as an official programmatic effort on a grand and universal scale. Thus, the concepts which form the basis of Achaemenid art could be translated into various artistic languages for dissemination among the peoples of the empire—just as the imperial Achaemenid texts were rendered in Aramaic, Egyptian, Greek, and Lycian as well as in the three cuneiform languages used for monuments on Persian soil.

What was meant to be the thrust of this Achaemenid programme? What can this art tell us about the concerns of the Great King?

We have seen the Achaemenid king as a stately presence—standing or enthroned; as first bowman of his people on royal coins, and on his tomb facade posed before the fire altar in the presence of

Ahuramazda; as king of the world: raised on high by the subject peoples of his empire or receiving praise gifts from the peoples of the world; as pious victor over Lie-followers and recipient of the favor of Ahuramazda; as the heroic ideal of a Persian Man slaying hostile forces embodied in the forms of intruding beasts; and perhaps also as a winged vision of a religious ecumenicalism.

Among all the interesting issues which these representations raise, a particularly intriguing aspect of Achaemenid art is the consistent portrayal of the king in a *dynastic* rather than a *personal* image. On the royal coins it is the *concept* of the Achaemenid king as archer that signifies, not the *person* of any specific king. And similarly on the Achaemenid reliefs, one is hardpressed to find any significant stylistic or iconographic feature specifically intended to distinguish the representation of one king from another. In striking contrast to the Egyptian and Assyrian kings, to the western satraps and, later, the Hellenistic rulers and the Parthian and Sasanian inheritors of the Iranian legacy, the Achaemenids seem consciously and meticulously to have subsumed the personal image of royalty in the dynastic one.

This quality of Achaemenid art is particularly noteworthy because it presents a picture of the Persian kings which differs so markedly from what we gather from the classical sources which we traditionally rely upon for our information. In *The Persians* of Aeschylus, for instance, we enter a world of antithesis, of embroidered personalities, of ambivalent feelings and tormented relationships. But when we move from the classical tradition to pass among the *self*-portraits of the Great Kings at Persepolis we move from a realm of opposing personalities to a realm of calculated sameness. (For it would be a mistake to suppose that barren imagination was what determined the lack of individuality in these royal figures). Neither Aeschylus' word-portraits nor the Achaemenids' form-portraits can be taken at face value, of course. But we learn from the Achaemenid reliefs that to the Persian kings the representation of *kingship*, in the figure of an archetypal king who exists out of time) had more appeal than the representation of idiosyncratic *personality*. This aspect of Achaemenid art may have had its roots in a preoccupation with the values of stability and the perpetuation of a constant hierarchical order.

Certainly everything about Achaemenid art suggests this concern with control and order. It is significant to note that historical suspence plays no part in Achaemenid art: the threatening forces represented by the beasts in the royal hero reliefs have already been stabbed or wrestled into submission; the subversive Lie-followers have already been defeated; the empire has already been acquired and organized into a smoothly functioning, harmonious cosmos.

Stylistic vigor and the dynamism of ephemeral encounters and fleeting charisma seem to have no place in the canon of Achaemenid art. Only in the Behistun monument do we find a hint of this; and there the linear vigor of the relief is an iconographical device, a self-conscious allusion. In fact, the style of Achaemenid sculpture consistently functions as the handmaiden of its iconography. The canonical style elicits a sense of placidity, of refinement, of ordered control. These same qualities find expression also on the more direct level of imagery, as well—wherein imperial power is described through elaborate metaphors of the harmonious ecumenical interactions of the subject peoples in cooperative praise and support of the King of Kings.

The internal imagery of these metaphors was carefully culled from models which had clear associations with the realms of piety, reverence, and astral forces. Transposed to an imperial context this imagery suggested a sense of spiritual and cosmic authority more pervasive and absolute than any gained through mere military force.

The world is at peace on the walls of Persepolis as it never was in actuality. While news of the Persian sack of Miletus was striking terror in the Athenian soul, artisans from near and far were carving dreams in stone for Darius. It is easy to be cynical about this paradox between the actuality and the art of Pax Persiana. And yet, even to have conceived this *vision* of an imperial cosmos where the Four Quarters sing harmonious praises to the power of the king was something unprecedented in the ancient world: a haunting finale for the pre-Hellenic East.

CITED LITERATURE*

Abenda, P. "Expressions of Kingship in Assyrian Art", *JANES* 2, 1969, 41-52. (IV:50; V:62)

Adams, R. McC. "Anthropological Perspectives on Ancient Trade". *IXth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences*, Aug.-Sept., 1973. (I:57)

Afshar, A., Dutz, W., and Taylor, M.E. "Giraffes at Persepolis". *Archaeology* 27, 1974, 114-117. (VI:10)

Albright, W.F. *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel.* 6th edition. Garden City: Anchor Books, 1969. (III:87)

Aldred, C. *Akhenaten.* London: Thames and Hudson, 1968. (I:41)

Alföldi, A. "Die Geschichte des Throntabernakels". *La nouvelle clio* 2, 1950, 537-566. (VI:19)

Al-Masʿūdī. *Les prairies d'or*, II. Trans. by C.B. de Meynard and P. de Courteille. Paris: Imprimerie imperiale, 1863. (I:62)

Amandry. P. "La Grèce d'Asie et l'Anatolie du 8^e au 6^e siècle avant Jésus-Christ". *Anatolica* 2, 1968, 87-102. (I:26)

——. "Toreutique achéménide". *Antike Kunst* 2, 1959, 38-56. (IV:16)

Amiet, P. "L'art achéménide". Acta Iranica, I. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974, 163-170. (III:68; IV:17, 68; VI:141; VIII:8, 11)

——. "Disjecta membra aelamica: le décor architectural en briques émaillés à Suse". *Arts Asiatiques* 32, 1976, 13-28. (VI:126, 127)

——. *Elam.* Auvers-sur-Oise: Archée, 1966. (III:18, 68; V:33; VI: 52, 114, 125, 128, 129)

——. "La glyptique de la fin d'Élam". *Arts Asiatiques* 28, 1973, 3-32. (I:76, 102; II:234; III:56, 84)

——. *Glyptique susienne des origines à l'époque des Perses achéménides.* MDP, XLIII. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1972. (IV:17)

——. "Les statues de Manishtusu, roi d'Agadé". *RAssyr* 66, 1972, 97-109. (III:1)

Andrae, W. *Das wiedererstandene Assur.* Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1938. (I:60)

Anthes, R. "Die Vorführung der gefangenen Feinde vor den König". *ZÄS* 65, 1930, 26-35. (V:106, 109)

The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Edited by M. Civil, I.J. Gelb, A.L. Oppenheim, E. Reiner. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971. (IV:49)

Atkinson, K.M.T. "The Legitimacy of Cambyses and Darius as Kings of Egypt". *JAOS* 76, 1956, 167-177. (I:106; II:247, 254-256)

Azarpay, G. "Crowns and Some Royal Insignia in Early Iran". *Iranica Antiqua* 9, 1972, 108-115. (III:62, 88)

[*] Unless otherwise indicated, the numbers given after each bibliographic entry refer to chapters (Roman numerals) and footnotes (Arabic numerals).

——. *Urartian Art and Artifacts: A Chronological Study.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968. (III:60; VII:26)

Badawy, A. *A History of Egyptian Architecture.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968. (III:32)

Baines, J. “The Destruction of the Pyramid Temple of Sahure”. *Göttinger Miszellen* 4, 1973, 9-14. (II:56)

Baker, H.S. *Furniture in the Ancient World.* New York: Macmillan Co., 1965. (III:60, 63, 64)

Bakry, H.S.K. “A Fragment of a Sphinx Found in the Mortuary Temple of Amenōphis III”. *MDAIK* 23, 1968, 68. (III:32)

Balcer, J.M. “The Date of Herodotus IV. 1. Darius’ Scythian Expedition”. *HSCP* 76, 1972, 99-132. (II:43, 97, 98)

Balkan, K. “Inscribed Bullae from Daskyleion-Ergili”. *Anatolia* 4, 1959, 123-128. (II:243)

Barnett, R.D. “ʿAnath, Baʿal and Pasargadae”. *Mélanges de l’Université Saint Joseph* 45, 1969, 407-422. (VIII:6, 15, 16)

——. *Assyrian Palace Reliefs and their Influence on the Sculptures of Babylonia and Persia.* London: Batchworth Press, 1960. (IV:12, 14, 18, 24; V:69, 95; VI:64, 71, 76, 114)

——. *Assyrian Palace Reliefs in the British Museum.* London: British Museum, 1970. (IV:21; V:72, 79; VII:38)

——. “The Earliest Representations of Persians”. *A Survey of Persian Art*, XIV. Edited by A.U. Pope. Tehran: Asia Institute of Pahlavi University, 1967, 2997-3007. (VI:68)

——. “The Excavations of the British Museum at Toprak Kale near Van”. *Iraq* 12, 1950, 1-43. (III:60, 62)

——. “More Balawat Gates: A Preliminary Report”. *Symbolae Biblicae et Mesopotamicae Francisco Mario Theodoro de Liagre Böhl Dedicatae.* Edited by M.A. Beek, A.A. Kampman, C. Nijland, and J. Ryckmans. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1973, 19-22. (VI:67)

——. “Persepolis”. *Iraq* 19, 1957, 55-76. (II:137, 160; III:33; VI:10; VII:17)

——. *Sculptures from the North Palace of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh (668-627 B.C.).* London: British Museum Publications, Ltd., 1976. (I:37)

Barnett, R.D. and Falkner, M. *The Sculptures of Aššur-nasir-apli II (883-859 B.C.), Tiglathpileser III (745-727 B.C.), Esarhaddon (681-669 B.C.) from the Central and South-West Palaces at Nimrud.* London: British Museum, 1962. (III:63, 72, 82; IV:18; V:68, 70, 71; VI:72, 73, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84)

Barrelet, M.-Th. “La ‘figure du roi’ dans l’iconographie et dans les textes depuis Ur-Nanše jusqu’à la fin de la Ire Dynastie de Babylone”. *CRRAI* 19, 1974, 27-138. (III:2, 12; V:49)

Barth, F. *Nomads of South Persia: The Basseri Tribe of the Khamseh Confederacy.* Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1961. (I:91)

Barton, G.A. *The Royal Inscriptions of Sumer and Akkad.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1929. (I:9; II:82; III:4, 5, 7, 13, 14; VI:60, 61, 62)

Basmachi, F. “An Akkadian Stela”. *Sumer* 10, 1954, 116-119. (VI:57)

Bayliss, M. “*The Cult of Dead Kin in Assyria and Babylonia*”. *Iraq* 35, 1973, 115-125. (III:64)

Becatti, G. *The Art of Ancient Greece and Rome; From the Rise of Greece to the Fall of Rome*. Translated by J. Ross. New York : Harry N. Abrams, Inc., n.d. (II:274; VI:151)

Beck, P. "A Note on the Reconstruction of the Achaemenid Robe". *Iranica Antiqua* 9, 1972, 116-122. (V:102)

Bengtson, H. ed. *The Greeks and the Persians : From the Sixth to the Fourth Centuries*. Translated by J. Conway. New York : Delacorte Press, 1968. (I:118)

Bickerman, E.J. "À propos d'un passage de Charès de Mytilène". *La Parola del Passato* 91, 1963, 241-255. (VI:22)

Bissing, F.W. von. *Denkmäler ägyptischer Sculptur*. Munich : F. Bruckmann, 1914. (III:30; V:109)

Bivar, A.D.H. "A Persian Monument at Athens, and its Connections with the Achaemenid State Seals". *W.B. Henning Memorial Volume*. Edited by M. Boyce and I. Gershevitch. London : Lund Humphries, 1970, 43-61. (II:232; VI:14)

——. "Religious Subjects on Achaemenid Seals". *Mithraic Studies*. Edited by J.R. Hinnells. Manchester : Manchester University Press, 1975, 90-105. (IV:6; VI:14; VIII:15)

Bleeker, C.J. *Egyptian Festivals; Enactments of Religious Renewal*. Numen Supplement, XIII. Leiden : E.J. Brill, 1967. (III:80)

Bode, F.A. "Symbolic Elements of Achaemenian Architectural Ornament". Lecture delivered at the VIth Congress of Iranian Art and Archaeology. Oxford, 1972. (VI:14)

Boese, J. "Zur stilistischen und historischen Einordnung des Felsreliefs von Darband-i-Gaur". *Studia Iranica* 2, 1973, 3-48. (V:47)

Borchardt, L. *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs S͡a*^{3}*-hu-re*ʿ, II. WVDOG, XXVI. Leipzig : J.C. Hinrichs, 1913. (V:112)

Borger, R. *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons Königs von Assyrien*. AfO Beiheft, IX. Graz : Archiv für Orientforschung, 1956. (V:59)

Borger, R. and Hinz, W. "Eine Dareios-Inschrift aus Pasargadae". *ZDMG* 109, 1959, 117-127. (II:21)

Bothmer, B. *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period*. Brooklyn : The Brooklyn Museum, 1960. (II:68; V:103; VI:49)

Botta, P.-E. and Flandin, E. *Monument de Ninive*. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1850. (III:60; IV:14, 39; V:73, 74, 75; VI:88, 89, 91, 92, 95, 131; VII:30, 31, 33; VIII:17)

Bowman, R.A. *Aramaic Ritual Texts from Persepolis*. OIP, XCI. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970. (IV:6)

Brauner, R.A. "'To Grasp the Hem' and I Samuel 15:27". *JANES* 6, 1974, 34-38. (VI:101)

Breasted, J.H. *Ancient Records of Egypt*. Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1906. (I:42, 43, 44)

Brendel, O.J. *Prolegomena to a Book on Roman Art*. MAAR, XXI. Rome : American Academy in Rome, 1953. (I:1)

Brentjes, B. "Zum Vorbild des Annubanini-Reliefs". *Das Altertum* 12, 1966, 131-135. (V:43, 45, 48, 51)

Brilliant, R. *Gesture and Rank in Roman Art*. Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, XIV. New Haven : Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1963. (I:46)

Brinkman, J.A. "Sennacherib's Babylonian Problem". *JCS* 25, 1973, 89-95. (I:109, 111)

Broneer, O. "The Tent of Xerxes and the Greek Theater". California University Publications in Classical Archaeology, I. Berkeley : University of California Press, 1943, 305-312. (I:119)

Brunner, H. "Zum Verständnis der archäisierenden Tendenzen in der ägyptischen Spätzeit". *Saeculum* 21, 1970, 151-161. (VI:49)

Budge, E.A.W. *Assyrian Sculptures in the British Museum; Reign of Ashurnasir-pal, 885-860 B.C.* London : British Museum, 1914. (IV:19, 51; V:67, 86)

Burchardt, M. "Datierte Denkmäler der Berliner Sammlung aus der Achämenidenzeit". *ZÄS* 49, 1911, 69-80. (II:58)

Burn, A.R. *Persia and the Greeks: The Defense of the West, c. 546-478 B.C.* London : Edward Arnold, 1962. (I:103, 118)

Calmeyer, P. *Reliefbronzen in babylonischen Stil.* Munich : Beck, 1973. (IV:17)

——. Review of *Die Völkerschaften auf den Reliefs von Persepolis* by G. Walser. *ZDMG* 123, 1973, 174-179. (III:64; VI:56)

——. "The Subject of The Achaemenid Tomb Reliefs". *Proceedings of the IIIrd Annual Symposium on Archaeological Research in Iran.* Tehran : Iran Centre for Archaeological Research, 1975, 233-242. (IV:34, 36, 58, 64)

——. "Zur Genese altiranischer Motive [I]". *AMI* n.F. 6, 1973, 135-152. (I:72; III:81, 83)

——. "Zur Genese altiranischer Motive III. Felsgräber". *AMI* n.F. 8, 1975, 99-113. (II:92; IV:4)

——. "Zur Genese altiranischer Motive IV. 'Persönliche Krone' und Diadem". *AMI* n.F. 9, 1976, 45-95. (II:150)

——. "Zur Rekonstruktion der 'Standarte' von Mari". *CRRAI* 15, 1967, 161-169. (V:47)

Cameron, G.G. "Ancient Persia". *The Idea of History in the Ancient Near East.* Edited by R.C. Dentan. New Haven : Yale University Press, 1955, 79-97. (I:110)

——. "Darius, Egypt and the 'Lands Beyond the Sea'". *JNES* 2, 1943, 307-313. (II:42, 65)

——. "Darius the Great and his Scythian (Saka) Campaign : Bisitun and Herodotus". Acta Iranica, IV. Leiden : E.J. Brill, 1975, 77-88. (II:97; III:33)

——. *History of Early Iran.* Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1936. (I:56, 71, 101)

——. *Persepolis Treasury Tablets.* OIP, LXV. Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1948. (II:232; VI:154)

——. "The Persian Satrapies and Related Matters". *JNES* 32, 1973, 47-56. (II:41; III:88)

Canby, J.V. "Decorated Garments in Ashurnasirpal's Sculpture". *Iraq* 34, 1972, 31-53. (IV:20; V:85)

Capart, J. *Thebes; The Glory of a Great Past.* Brussels : Vromant and Co., 1926. (V:107)

Carratelli, G. "Greek Inscriptions of the Middle East". *EW* 16, 1966, 31-36. (I:16)

Chandra, P. *The Tuti-nama of the Cleveland Museum of Art and the Origins of Mughal Painting.* Graz : Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstatt, 1976. (I:49)

Chandra, P. and Ehnbom, D., *The Cleveland Tuti-nama Manuscript and the Origins of Mughal Painting*. Catalogue of the Exhibition. Chicago: The David and Alfred Smart Gallery, The University of Chicago, 1976. (I:49, 50)

Charbonneaux, J., Martin, R., and Villard, F. *Archaic Greek Art (620-480 B.C.)*. Translated by J. Emmons and R. Allen. New York: Geo. Braziller, 1971. (I:17; II:35)

Chassinat, É. "Textes provenant du Sérapéum de Memphis". *Recueil de Travaux* 22, 1900, 163-180. (II:249)

Childs, W. "The Lycian City-Reliefs and their Mediterranean Traditions". Ph.D. Dissertation. Princeton University, 1971. (III:44)

Collon, D. *The Seal Impressions from Tell Atchana/Alalakh*. AOAT, XXVII. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1975. (VI:115)

Contenau, G. *Manuel d'archéologie orientale*, I-IV. Paris: A. Picard, 1927-1947. (III:1, 8, 9; V:59; VI:123)

Cook, J.M. *The Greeks in Ionia and the East*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1962. (I:20)

Cooney, J.D. "Three Early Saite Tomb Reliefs". *JNES* 9, 1950, 193-203. (VI:49)

Cowley, A.E. *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923. (V:19)

Crawford, T.S. *A History of the Umbrella*. New York: Taplinger Publishing Co., 1970. (VII:12)

Culican, W. *The Medes and Persians*. New York: Praeger, 1965. (I:101)

Curzon, G.N. *Persia and the Persian Question*. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1892. (I:63)

Dandamaev, M. "La politique religieuse des Achéménides". Translated by J. Duchesne-Guillemin. Acta Iranica, IV. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975, 193-200. (IV:6, 29)

——. *Persien unter der ersten Achämeniden*. Translated by H.-D. Pohl. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert, 1976. (II:245; V:3, 36, 54)

Daressy, G. "Notes et remarques". *Recueil de Travaux* 24, 1902, 160-167. (III:42)

Davies, N. de G. *The Temple of Hibis in el Khargeh Oasis*, III. PMMA, XVII. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1953. (II:260-265; III:28)

——. *Paintings from the Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rēʿ at Thebes*. PMMA, X. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1935. (VI:38)

——. *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rēʿ at Thebes*. PMMA, XI. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1943. (VI:38)

Debevoise, N.C. "The Rock Reliefs of Ancient Iran". *JNES* 1, 1942, 76-105. (V:32; VI:52)

Delaunay, J.A. "A propos des 'Aramaic Ritual Texts from Persepolis' de R.A. Bowman". Acta Iranica, II. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974, 193-217. (IV:6)

de Mecquenem, R. "Contribution à l'étude du palais achéménide de Suse". MDP, XXX. Paris: Ernst Leroux, 1947, 1-119. (II:54, 203, 205, 206)

de Morgan, J. "Découverte d'une sépulture achéménide à Suse". MDP, VIII. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1905, 29-58. (I:32)

de Morgan, J. and Scheil, V. "Les deux stèles de Zohâb". *Recueil de Travaux* 14, 1893, 100-106. (V:38, 39)

Deshayes, J. "Origine et signification des représentations symboliques à Persépolis". *Revue de la faculté des lettres et des sciences humaines de l'Université de Tehran*, 1966, 2-6 (VI:14; VIII:15)

Desroches-Noblecourt, C. *Tutankhamen*. New York: New York Graphic Society, 1963. (V:96)

de Waele, E. "Les reliefs rupestres d'Izeh-Malamir". *Archéologia* 60, 1973, 31-45. (III:82, 84; V:32; VI:52, 71)

Diepolder, H. *Die attischen Grabreliefs in des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* Berlin: H. Keller, 1931. (VI:114)

Dietz, O.E. "Zwei Inschriften am Felsen von Sar-i-Pūl-i-Zohāb: Anubanini 1 und 2". *AfO* 24, 1973, 73-77. (V:37, 40, 42)

Dieulafoy, M. *L'acropole de Suse.* Paris: Hachette, 1893. (II:98, 123)

——. *L'art antique de la Perse: Achéménides, Parthes, Sassanides.* Paris: Librairie centrale d'architecture, etc., 1884-1885. (I:6)

Drews, R. "The Fall of Astyages and Herodotus' Chronology of the Eastern Kingdoms". *Historia* 18, 1969, 1-11. (II:1)

——. *The Greek Accounts of Eastern History.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973. (I:118)

Driel, G. van. *The Cult of Aššur.* Assen: Van Gorcum, 1969. (V:87)

——. "On 'Standard' and 'Triumphal' Inscriptions". *Symbolae Biblicae et Mesopotamicae Francisco Mario Theodoro de Liagre Böhl Dedicatae.* Edited by M.A. Beek, A.A. Kampman, C. Nijland, and J. Ryckmans. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1973, 99-106. (III:2, 3)

Driver, G.R. *Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century B.C.* Abridged and revised edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957. (I:55; II:84)

Duchesne-Guillemin, J. "À la recherche d'un art mazdéen". *Vth Congress on Iranian Art and Archaeology.* Tehran, 1968, 265-271. (IV:32)

——. "La religion des Achéménides". *Beiträge zur Achämeniden-geschichte.* Edited by G. Walser. Historia-Einzelschriften, XVIII. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1972, 59-82. (IV:6, 28)

——. "Religion et politique, de Cyrus à Xerxès". *Persica* 3, 1972, 1-9. (IV:32, 53, 58, 59)

——. *Symbols and Values in Zoroastrianism: Their Survival and Renewal.* New York: Harper and Row, 1966. (III:55; VIII:15)

Dunham, D. *Naga ed-Dêr Stelae of the First Intermediate Period.* London: Oxford University Press, 1937. (VI:119)

Eddy, S.K. *The King is Dead: Studies in the Near Eastern Resistance to Hellenism 334-31 B.C.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1961. (I:117; III:62; VI:28, 146, 150)

Ehrlich, R. "The Celebration and Gifts of the Persian New Year (Nawrūz) According to an Arabic Source". *Dr. Modi Memorial Volume.* Bombay: Fort Printing Press, 1930, 95-101. (VI:139)

Eilers, W. "Le texte cunéiforme du cylindre de Cyrus". Acta Iranica, II. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974, 25-34. (I:107)

Eisen, G.A. *Ancient Oriental Cylinder and Other Seals with a Description of the Collection of Mrs. William H. Moore.* OIP, XLVII. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940. (VI:108, 111, 122)

El-Amin, M. "Die Reliefs mit Beischriften von Sargon II, in Dûr-Sharrukîn". *Sumer* 9, 1953, 214-228. (VI:93)

Eliade, M. *The Myth of the Eternal Return.* Translated by W.R. Trask. The Bollingen Series, XLVI. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971. (VIII:15, 22, 26)

Ellis, R.S. "A Note on Some Ancient Near Eastern Linch Pins". *Berytus* 16, 1966, 41-48. (IV:16)

——. *Apotropaic Figures in Mesopotamian Art.* Forthcoming. (VIII:3)

——. *Foundation Deposits in Ancient Mesopotamia.* Yale Near Eastern Researches, II. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968. (I:34, 77, 79, 80)

——. "Some Observations on Mesopotamian Art and Archaeology". *JAOS* 95, 1975, 81-94. (V:30)

The Epigraphic Survey. *Medinet Habu, II: Historical Records of Ramses III.* OIP, IX. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932. (VII:19, 20)

——. *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak, III: The Bubastite Portal.* OIP, LXXIV. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954. (III:37; V:107)

Erdmann, K. "Griechische und achaemenidische Plastik (zum gegenwärtigen Stand der Diskussion)". *FuF* 26, 1950, 150-153. (I:26; II:37)

——. "Persepolis: Daten und Deutungen". *MDOG* 92, 1960, 21-47. (II:163, 165; III:79; VII:10)

Erman, A. *The Ancient Egyptians: A Sourcebook of their Writings.* Translated by A.M. Blackman. New York: Harper and Row, 1966. (I:66)

——. "Säitische Kopien aus Der el Bahri". *ZÄS* 52, 1915, 90-95. (VI:49)

Erman, A. and Grapow, H., *Wörterbuch der aegyptischen Sprache.* Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1926-1931. (III:50, 59)

Fairman, H.W. "An Introduction to the Study of Ptolemaic Signs and their Values". *BIFAO* 43, 1945, 51-138. (III:59)

Fakhry, A. *Bahria Oasis*, I. Cairo: Government Press, 1942. (III:41, 58)

Falkner, M. "Gebetsgebärden und Gebetsgesten". *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie*, III. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1957-1971, 175-177. (IV:50; VI:121)

Farkas, A. *Achaemenid Sculpture.* Leiden: Nederlands historisch-archaeologisch Instituut, 1974. (I:60, 116; II:13, 26, 36, 39, 133, 135, 146, 157, 159, 161, 223; III:62; IV:70; V:16, 29, 47, 51, 95, 98, 100; VI:51; VII:17, 39, 41; VIII:4)

——. "The Horse and Rider in Achaemenid Art". *Persica* 4, 1969, 57-76. (II:273)

Frankfort, H. "Achaemenian Sculpture". *AJA* 50, 1946, 6-14. (I:81; II:12; VII:9; VIII:2)

——. *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient.* 4th edition, revised. Harmondsworth: Penguin Paperback Edition, 1970. (I:60, 78; III:2; V:57; VI:55, 122, 123)

——. *Cylinder Seals: A Documentary Essay on the Art and Religion of the Ancient Near East.* London: Macmillan and Co., 1939. (III:54, 55, 57; IV:37; V:89; VI:107, 108, 109, 112; VIII:18, 19, 24, 25)

——. "Oriental Institute Museum Notes: A Persian Goldsmith's Trial Piece". *JNES* 9, 1950, 111-112. (I:31)

Frankfort, H. Lloyd, S., and Jacobsen, T. *The Gimilsin Temple and the Palace of the Rulers at Tell Asmar.* OIP, XLIII. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940. (V:45, 48)

Frye, R.N. "Gestures of Deference to Royalty in Ancient Iran". *Iranica Antiqua* 9, 1972, 102-107. (IV:49, 64; V:16)

——. *The Heritage of Persia.* New York: Mentor Books, 1963. (I:84, 98)

——. "The Institutions". *Beiträge zur Achaemenidengeschichte.* Edited by G. Walser. Historia Einzelschriften, XVIII. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1972, 83-93. (I:88, 98)

——. "Persepolis Again". *JNES* 33, 1974, 383-386. (II:154)

Furumark, A. *The Settlement at Ialysos and Aegean History, c. 1550-1400 B.C.* Opuscula Archaeologica, VI. Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup, 1950. (VI:37)

Gaballa, G.A. "Minor War Scenes of Ramesses II at Karnak". *JEA* 55, 1969, 82-88. (V:107)

Gadd, C.J. *The Stones of Assyria.* London: Chatton and Windus, 1936. (I:60; III:63; IV:51; VI:65, 132, 133, 134)

Gall, H. von. "Die Kopfbedeckung des persischen Ornats bei den Achämeniden". *AMI* n.F. 7, 1974, 145-161. (II:144, 145, 147-150)

——. "Neue Beobachtungen zu den sog. medischen Felsgräbern". *Proceedings of the IInd Annual Symposium on Archaeological Research in Iran.* Tehran: Iran Centre for Archaeological Research, 1974, 139-154. (IV:66)

——. "Persische und medische Stämme". *AMI* n.F. 5, 1972, 261-283. (I:103; VI:153)

——. "Zu den 'medischen' Felsgräbern in Nordwestiran und Iraqi Kurdistan". *AA* 81, 1966, 19-43. (IV:52, 66)

Gardiner, A.H. "The Coronation of King Haremhab". *JEA* 39, 1953, 13-31. (III:34)

——. *Egyptian Grammar.* 3rd edition, revised. London: Oxford University Press, 1957. (III:46, 50)

Gaster, T.H. *Thespis: Ritual, Myth and Drama in the Ancient Near East.* New York: Henry Schuman, 1950. (VIII:26)

Gershevitch, I. *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959. (V:13)

Ghirshman, R. "L'écriture cunéiforme vieux-perse". *JNES* 24, 1965, 244-250. (II:27, 28)

——. "Notes iraniennes VII, à propos de Persépolis". *Artibus Asiae* 20, 1957, 265-278. (I:116; II:163; III:76; VI:138)

——. *Persia: From the Origins to Alexander the Great.* Trans. by S. Gilbert and J. Emmons. London: Thames and Hudson, 1964. (II:81, 85; IV:65)

Gnoli, G. "Politique religieuse sous les Achéménides". Acta Iranica, II. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974, 117-190. (III:75; IV:31, 54, 59)

Godard, A. *The Art of Iran.* Translated by M. Heron. New York: Praeger, 1965. (II:210-212, 217-219)

——. *Le trésor de Ziwiyè (Kurdistan).* Haarlem: J. Enschedé, 1950. (IV:20)

Goldman, B. "Origin of the Persian Robe". *Iranica Antiqua* 4, 1964, 133-152. (V:102)

Gombrich, E.H. *Art and Allusion.* The Bollingen Series, XXXV/5. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969. (V:93)

Goosens, G. "Les recherches historiques à l'époque néo-babylonienne". *RAssyr* 42, 1948, 149-159. (I:77)

Goyon, G. *Nouvelles inscriptions rupestres du Wadi Hammamat.* Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1957. (II:270)

Groenewegen-Frankfort, H.A. *Arrest and Movement: An Essay on Space and Time in the Representational Art of the Ancient Near East.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951. (VI:20, 21, 41, 42; VII:21)

Gropp, G. "Beobachtungen in Persepolis". *AMI* n.F. 4, 1971, 25-49. (I:63; II:136; III:79; VI:28)

Güterbock, H.G. "Die historische Tradition und ihre literarische Gestaltung bei Babyloniern und Hethitern bis 1200". *ZA* 42, 1934, 1-91. (VI:59)

——. "Narration in Anatolian, Syrian, and Assyrian Art". *AJA* 61, 1957, 62-71. (V:25, 66, 67)

Gunn, B. "Inscriptions from the Step Pyramid Site". *ASAE* 26, 1926, 177-202. (III:28)

Gunter, A.C. "Representations of Urartian and Western Iranian Architecture on the Assyrian Reliefs". Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Columbia University, 1975; and paper presented to the American Oriental Society, Philadelphia, March 1976. (I:69)

Habachi, L. "Sethos I's Devotion to Seth and Avaris". *ZÄS* 100, 1974, 95-102. (III:52)

Haldar, A. "On the Wall Painting from Court 106 of the Palace of Mari". *OrSu* 1, 1952, 51-65. (IV:46)

Hallo, W.W. and Simpson, W.K., *The Ancient Near East: A History.* Edited by J.M. Blum. New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1971. (I:41, 44, 68, 74; III:27; V:109, 110)

Hallock, R.T. "The Evidence of the Persepolis Tablets". *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Advance Fascicule of Vol. II. Cambridge: The University Press, 1971. (II:233)

——. "Notes on Achaemenid Elamite". *JNES* 17, 1958, 256-262. (II:21)

——. "The 'One Year' of Darius I". *JNES* 19, 1960, 36-39. (II:45; V:15, 22)

——. "On the Old Persian Signs". *JNES* 29, 1970, 52-55. (II:27, 41)

——. *Persepolis Fortification Tablets.* OIP, XCII. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969. (I:25, 30, 53, 54, 76; II:98; VI:117, 154)

——. "The Use of Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets". *Seals and Sealings in the Ancient Near East.* Edited by M. Gibson and R.D. Biggs, forthcoming. (II:233, 234)

Hamberg, P.G. *Studies in Roman Imperial Art with Special Reference to the State Reliefs of the Second Century.* Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1945. (I:1)

Hansman, J. "Elamites, Achaemenians, and Anshan". *Iran* 10, 1972, 101-125. (I:101)

Harmatta, J. "Les modèles littéraires de l'édit babylonien de Cyrus". Acta Iranica, I. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974, 29-44. (I:108, 111; V:104, 105)

Harrison, E.B. *Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture.* The Athenian Agora, XI. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1965. (II:31)

Hartner, W. "The Earliest History of the Constellations in the Near East and the Motif of the Lion-Bull Combat". *JNES* 24, 1965, 1-16. (VI:14)

Hartner, W. and Ettinghausen, R. "The Conquering Lion, the Life-Cycle of a Symbol". *Oriens* 17, 1964, 161-171. (VI:14)

Hayes, W.C. "Egypt: Internal Affairs from Tuthmosis I to the Death of Amenophis III". *CAH* fasc. 10^2. 3rd. edition, revised. Cambridge: The University Press, 1962. (VI:35)

——. *Glazed Tiles from a Palace of Ramesses II at Kantir.* The Metropolitan Museum of Art Papers, no. 3. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1937. (III:24, 28, 33, 48)

——. *The Scepter of Egypt*, I. New York: Harper and Bros., 1953. (III:58)

——. *The Scepter of Egypt*, II. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959. (III:32)

Head, B.V. *The Coinage of Lydia and Persia.* San Diego: Pegasus Pub. Co., n.d. (II:224)

Helck, W. "Die Ägypter und die Fremden". *Saeculum* 15, 1964, 103-114. (III:33)

Hermerén, G. *Influence in Art and Literature.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975. (I:5, 58)

——. *Representation and Meaning in the Visual Arts: A Study in the Methodology of Iconography and Iconology.* Stockholm: Läromedelsforlaget, 1969. (I:1)

Herzfeld, E. *Am Tor von Asien: Felsdenkmale aus Irans Heldenzeit.* Berlin: D. Reimer, 1920. (V:37, 44)

——. "Bericht über die Ausgrabungen von Pasargadae, 1928". *AMI* 1, 1929, 4-16. (II:5, 18)

——. *Iran in the Ancient East.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1941. (I:7, 98; II:18, 101, 162, 172; IV:63; V:96; VI:137; VII:14)

——. "Pasargadae. Untersuchungen zur persischen Archäologie". *Klio* 8, 1908, 1-68. (II:2)

——. *The Persian Empire.* Edited by G. Walser. Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1968. (II:54, 55, 65; III:62)

Herzfeld, E. and Sarre, F., *Iranische Felsreliefs: Aufnahmen und Untersuchungen von Denkmälern aus alt- und mittelpersischer Zeit.* Berlin: E. Wasmuth, 1910. (II:7, 9, 105, 172; IV:49, 65; V:37, 44; VI:11)

Hinks, R. *Carolingian Art.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1962. (I:48)

Hinz, W. "Achämenidische Hofverwaltung". *ZAssyr* 61, 1971, 260-311. (I:51)

——. *Altiranische Funde und Forschungen.* Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1969. (II:94, 213, 217; III:33; IV:47, 64; VI:10, 11, 25, 118, 153)

——. "Die Behistan-Inschrift des Darius". *AMI* n.F. 7, 1974, 121-134. (II:41)

——. "Darius und der Suezkanal". *AMI* n.F. 8, 1975, 115-121. (II:63, 83)

——. "The Elamite Version of the Record of Darius' Palace at Susa". *JNES* 9, 1950, 1-7. (I:8)

——. "Die Entstehung der altpersischen Keilschrift". *AMI* n.F. 1, 1968, 95-98. (II:44; V:21)

——. *The Lost World of Elam.* Translated by J. Barnes. New York: New York University Press, 1973. (I:101)

——. *Neue Wege im Altpersischen.* Göttingen Orientforschungen, III. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1973. (I:8)

——. "Zu den Mörsern und Stösseln aus Persepolis". Acta Iranica, IV. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975, 371-385. (IV:6)

——. "Die Zusätze zur Darius-Inschrift von Behistan". *AMI* n.F. 5, 1972, 243-251. (II:27, 41)

Hölscher, W. *The Excavation of Medinet Habu, IV: Post-Ramessid Remains.* OIP, LXVI. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954. (VI:119)

——. *Libyer und Ägypter: Beiträge zur Ethnologie und Geschichte libyscher Völkerschaften nach den altägyptischen Quellen.* Ägyptologische Forschungen, IV. Glückstadt: J.J. Augustin, 1937. (III:33)

Hoffmann, H. *Attic Red-Figured Rhyta.* Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1962. (I:119)

——. "The Persian Origin of the Attic Rhyta". *Antike Kunst* 4, 1961, 21-26. (I:119)

Hoijer, H. "The Relation of Language to Culture". *Anthropology Today: Selections.* Edited by S. Tax. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962, 258-277. (I:82)

Hrouda, B. *Die Kulturgeschichte des assyrischen Flachbildes.* Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 1965. (III:64; IV:14; VII:24)

Hulin, P. "The Inscriptions on the Carved Throne-base of Shalmaneser III". *Iraq* 25, 1963, 48-69. (III:20)

Jacobstahl, P. "A Sybarite Himation". *JHS* 58, 1938, 205-216. (I:119)

Jankowska, N.B. "Some Problems of the Economy of the Assyrian Empire" (1947). Translated and reprinted in *Ancient Mesopotamia.* Edited by I.M. Diakonoff. Moscow: "Nauka" Publishing House, 1969, 253-276. (VI:7)

Jenkins, G.K. *Ancient Greek Coins.* London: Barrie and Jenkins, Ltd., 1972. (II:225, 226)

Junge, P.J. *Saka-Studien.* Klio Beiheft, XLI, n.F., Heft XXVIII. Leipzig: Dieterich, 1939. (V:2)

——. "Satrapie und Natio: Reichsverwaltung und Reichspolitik im Staat Dareios I". *Clio* 34 (n.F. 16), 1941. (VI:27)

Junker, H. "Die Feinde auf dem Sockel der Chasechem-Statuen und die Darstellung von geopferten Tieren". *Ägyptologische Studien Hermann Grapow zum 70. Geburtstag gewidmet.* Edited by O. Firchow. Berlin: Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 1955, 162-175. (III:30)

Kantor, H.J. "Achaemenid Jewelry in the Oriental Institute". *JNES* 16, 1957, 1-23. (II:26)

——. "A Fragment of Relief from the Tomb of Mentuemhat at Thebes (No. 34)". *JNES* 19, 1960, 213-216. (VI:49)

——. "Narration in Egyptian Art". *AJA* 61, 1957, 44-54. (V:27; VI:32)

Kaschnitz-Weinberg, G. von. *Kleine Schriften zur Struktur.* (Ausgewählte Schriften, I). Berlin: Mann, 1965. (VI:19)

Kawami, T.S. "A Possible Source for the Sculptures of the Audience Hall, Pasargadae". *Iran* 10, 1972, 146-148. (VII:36; VIII:9)

Keel, O. *Die Welt der altorientalischen Bildsymbolik und des Alte Testament, am Beispiel der Psalmen.* Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1972. (III:90)

Kellens, J. "Les formules du type HUBƎRƎTA-BAR en Avestique". Acta Iranica, III. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974, 133-147. (V:17, 118)

Kellner, H.J. *Urartu: Ein wiederentdeckter Rivale Assyriens.* Catalogue of the Exhibition. Munich: Prähistorische Staatssammlung München, 1976. (VI:99)

Kent, R.G. *Old Persian: Grammar, Texts, Lexicon.* AOS, XXXIII. New Haven : American Oriental Society, 1950. (I:8, 10; II:11, 16, 22, 41, 60, 61, 78, 81, 86-89, 95, 118, 124, 135, 138, 140-142, 183, 184, 209, 272; III:66, 69, 70, 91; V:13, 21, 22, 26, 55; VI:152; VII:40; VIII:20, 23)

Kervran, M., Stronach, D., Vallat, F., and Yoyotte, J. "Une statue de Darius découverte à Suse". *JA* 260, 1972, 235-266. (I:65; II:62, 66, 70-76, 78, 80; III:45; V:102; VIII:21) [Now with expanded discussions, as well as additional contributions by J. Perrot, D. Ladiray, M. Roaf and J. Trichet, in *Cahiers de la DAFI* 4, 1974.]

Kilmer, A.D. "Symbolic Gestures in Akkadian Contracts from Alalakh and Ugarit". *JAOS* 94/2, 1974, 177-183. (VI:101, 104)

King, L.W. *Bronze Reliefs from the Gates of Shalmaneser, King of Assyria, B.C. 860-825.* London : The British Museum, 1915. (III:63; VI:76, 102)

Kinnier-Wilson, S.V. "The Kurba'il Statue of Shalmaneser III". *Iraq* 24, 1962, 90-115. (VI:121)

Kitchen, K.A. *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt.* Warminster : Aris and Phillips Ltd., 1973. (III:37)

Kleiss, W. and Calmeyer, P. "Das unvollendete achaemenidische Felsgrab bei Persepolis". *AMI* n.F. 8, 1975, 81-98. (II:91)

Kraay, C.M. *Greek Coins and History.* London : Methuen, 1969 (II:231)

Krefter, F. "Persepolis; A propos : Beiträge zur Funktionsbestimmung". *AMI* n.F. 6, 1973, 153-162. (II:155)

——. *Persepolis Rekonstruktionen.* Teheraner Forschungen, III. Berlin : Deutsches archäologisches Institut, 1971. (II:105, 113, 139, 163, 170, 188; III:62, 76, 79)

Kyrieleis, H. *Throne und Klinen.* JDAI Ergänzungsheft, XXIV. Berlin : Deutsches archäologisches Institut, 1969. (III:60, 61, 63, 64, 85; IV:16)

La Persia e il mondo greco-romano. Rome : Accademia dei Lincei, 1966. (I:118)

Lange, K. and Hirmer, M. *Egypt: Architecture, Sculpture, Painting in Three Thousand Years.* 4th edition, revised. Translated by R.H. Boothroyd. London : Phaidon Press, 1968. (III:32; VI:16)

Langlotz, E. "Zur Deutung der 'Penelope'." *JDAI* 76, 1961, 72-99. (I:120)

Lauer, J.-Ph. and Leclant, J. "Découverte de statues de prisonniers au temple de la pyramide de Pépi I". *RÉgypt* 21, 1969, 55-62. (III:31)

Layard, A.H. *Nineveh and Babylon.* London : J. Murray, 1897. (I:60)

——. *Nineveh and its Remains.* New York : G.P. Putnam, 1849. (I:61; III:64)

——. *The Monuments of Nineveh.* London : J. Murray, 1849. (III:56)

——. A Second Series of the Monuments of Nineveh. London : J. Murray, 1853. (VII:22)

Leclant, J. "Une statuette d'Amon-Rê-Montou au nom de la Divine Adoratrice Chepenoupet". *Mélanges Maspero*, I/4. Mémoires publiées par les membres de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, LVI. Cairo, 1961, 73-98. (III:28)

Lecoq, P. "La langue des inscriptions achéménides". Acta Iranica, II. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974, 55-62. (II:41)

——. "Le problème de l'écriture cunéiforme vieux-perse". Acta Iranica, III. Leiden : E.J. Brill, 1974, 25-107. (II:27, 41)

Lefebure, M.G. *Le tombeau de Petosiris.* Cairo: Imprimerie de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1924. (I:31)

Lehmann, W.P. "Linguistic Structure as Diacritic Evidence on Proto-Culture". *Indo-European and Indo-Europeans.* Edited by G. Cardona, H.-M. Hoenigswald, and A. Senn. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970, 1-10. (I:82)

Lentz, W., and Schlosser, W. "Persepolis: Ein Beitrag zur Funktionsbestimmung". ZDMG Supplement, I, 1969, 957-983. (III:79)

——. "Persepolis: Weitere Beiträge zur Funktionsbestimmung". *ZDMG* 121, 1971, 254-268. (III:79)

Lerner, J. "A Painted Relief from Persepolis". *Archaeology* 26, 1973, 116-122. (II:68; V:96)

Levine, L.D. "Two Neo-Assyrian Stelae from Iran". Occasional Paper, XXIII, Art and Archaeology. Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1972. (V:22, 61, 62, 64; VII:37)

Lexicon der Ägyptologie, I. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1975. (VI:49)

Littleton, C.S. *The New Comparative Mythology: An Anthropological Assessment of the Theories of Georges Dumézil.* Revised edition. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973. (I:84)

Lloyd, A.B. *Herodotus, Bk. II: Introduction.* Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975. (I:114)

L'Orange, H.P. *Studies in the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship in the Ancient World.* Oslo: H. Aschehoug, 1953. (III:75)

Loud, G. *Khorsabad, I.* OIP, XXXVIII. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936. (I:60; III:20; V:98; VI:89, 90, 92; VII:32, 34)

——. *The Megiddo Ivories.* OIP, LII. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939. (III:54)

Luckenbill, D.D. *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, I-II. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1926-1927. (I:38, 73, 86, 87, 88, 89; IV:12; V:50, 56, 59; VI:86, 96, 97, 105)

Luschey, H. "Studien zu dem Darius-Relief von Bisūtun". *AMI* n.F. 1, 1968, 63-94. (I:22, 60; II:39, 40, 219; IV:14, 37; V:5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 16, 18, 80, 91, 100, 101)

Madhloom, T.A. *The Chronology of Neo-Assyrian Art.* London: Athlone Press, 1970. (I:69)

Mallowan, M.E.L. "Cyrus the Great (558-529 B.C.)". *Iran* 10, 1972, 1-17. (II:6, 27; VII:41; VIII:7)

——. *Nimrud and its Remains*, I-II. London: Collins, 1966. (I:60; III:20; IV:42; VI:64, 66, 68, 69, 70, 71, 103, 131)

Mallowan, M.E.L. and Davies, L.G. *Ivories from Nimrud (1949-1963), II: Ivories in Assyrian Style.* London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 1970. (III:20)

Mariette, A. *Karnak: Étude topographique et archéologique.* Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1875. (III:38)

Martin, W.J. "Tribut und Tributleistungen bei den Assyrern". *Studia Orientalia* 8/1, 1936, 3-50. (VI:7, 36, 55)

Mauss, M. *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies.* Translated by I. Cunnison. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1954. (VI:6)

Mayrhofer, M. *Onomastica Persepolitana: Das altiranische Namengut der Persepolis-Täfelchen*. Vienna: Österreichische Akad. der Wissenschaften, 1973. (I:103)

——. "Xerxès, roi des rois". Acta Iranica, I. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974, 108-116. (II:118)

Meade, C.G. "Excavations at Bābā Jān, 1967". *Iran* 7, 1969, 115-130. (I:90)

Mellaart, J. "The Late Bronze Age Monuments of Eflatun Pinar and Fasillar near Beyşehir". *Anatolian Studies* 12, 1962, 111-117. (III:54)

Mellink, M.J. "An Akkadian Illustration of a Campaign in Cilicia?" *Anatolia* 7, 1963, 101-115. (VI:57, 58)

——. "Excavations at Karataş-Semayük and Elmalı, Lycia, 1973". *AJA* 78, 1974, 351-359. (VI:136)

——. "Notes on Anatolian Wall Painting". *Mélanges Mansel*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1974, 537-547. (VII:26)

Ménant, J. "La stèle de Chalouf". *Recueil de Travaux* 9, 1887, 131-157. (II:47)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Los Angeles County Museum of Art. *From the Land of the Scythians: Ancient Treasures from the Museums of the U.S.S.R., 3000 B.C. - 100 B.C.* New York and Los Angeles: The Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1975. (II:26)

Meuszyński, J. "The Throne-Room of Aššur-naṣir-apli II (Room B in the North-West Palace at Nimrud)". *ZA* 64, 1975, 51-73. (IV:40; V:66, 67; VII:27)

Millard, A.R. "The Assyrian Royal Seal Type Again". *Iraq* 27, 1965, 12-16. (VIII:16)

Misch, G. *A History of Autobiography in Antiquity*. Translated by E.W. Dickes. London: Routledge and Paul, 1950. (I:2)

Momigliano, A. *Alien Wisdom: The Limits of Hellenization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975. (I:118)

Moortgat, A. *The Art of Ancient Mesopotamia: The Classical Art of the Near East*. Translated by J. Filson. London: Phaidon, 1969. (II:222; III:6, 8, 20; IV:18, 37, 41, 46, 50, 56; V:30, 35, 49, 56, 63, 65; VI:57, 60, 74, 75, 109, 110, 113, 122; VIII:13)

Müller, H.-W. *Ägyptische Kunst*. Frankfurt am Main: Umschau, 1970. (III:30, 47, 53)

Müller, K.F., "Das assyrische Ritual, I: Texte zum assyrischen Königsritual". *MVAG* 41, 1937, 1-91. (III:71)

Munn-Rankin, J.M. "Diplomacy in Western Asia in the Early Second Millennium". *Iraq* 18, 1956, 68-110. (VI:100, 145)

——. "Two Reliefs of an Assyrian King with Bowl". *Iraq* 36, 1974, 169-171. (VII:29)

Muscarella, O.W., "Fibulae Represented on Sculpture". *JNES* 26, 1967, 82-86. (VI:94)

——. Review of *Achaemenid Sculpture* by A. Farkas. *BASOR* 223, 1976, 71-72. (I:31)

——. Review of *Die Völkerschaften auf den Reliefs von Persepolis* by G. Walser. *JNES* 28, 1969, 280-285. (III:33; VI:6, 10)

Musée du Louvre. *Antiquités égyptiennes: Catalogue-Guide*, I. Paris: Musée du Louvre, 1932. (III:58)

Naville, E. *The Temple of Deir el Bahari.* London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1894-1908. (VI:33, 34)

Neumann, G. *Gesten und Gebärden in der griechischen Kunst.* Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1965. (VI:114)

Nims, C.F. "The Transition from the Traditional to the New Style of Wall Relief under Amenhotep IV". *JNES* 32, 1973, 181-187. (I:39)

Noe, S.P. "Hoard Evidence and its Importance". Hesperia Supplement, VIII. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1949, 235-242. (II:231)

——. "Two Hoards of Persian Sigloi". *NNM* 136, 1956. (II:230)

Nylander, C. "Al-Bērūnī and Persepolis". Acta Iranica, I. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974, 137-150. (III:77; VI:14, 142; VII:14, 15; VIII:15, 28)

——. "ΑΣΣΥΡΙΑ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΑ: Remarks on the 21st 'Letter of Themistokles'". *Opuscula Atheniensia* 8, 1968, 119-136. (II:41)

——. "Clamps and Chronology (Achaemenian Problems II)". *Iranica Antiqua* 6, 1966, 130-146. (IV:3)

——. *The Deep Well.* Translated by J. Tate. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1970. (V:55)

——. *Ionians in Pasargadae: Studies in Old Persian Architecture.* Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Civilizations, I. Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1970. (I:4, 6, 19; II:12-14, 19, 24, 34, 37, 221; V:92; VII:1, 17, 18)

——. "Masons' Marks in Persepolis—A Progress Report". *Proceedings of the IInd Annual Symposium on Archaeological Research In Iran.* Tehran: Iran Centre for Archaeological Research, 1974, 216-222. (I:27; II:176)

——. "Old Persian and Greek Stonecutting and the Chronology of Achaemenian Monuments: Achaemenian Problems I". *AJA* 69, 1965, 49-55. (II:19, 96)

——. "Ritual Persepolis—A Critical Discussion". Lecture delivered at the VIth Congress of Iranian Art and Archaeology. Oxford, 1972. (VI:28; VII:9)

——. "The Standard of the Great King". Lecture delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America. Washington, 1975. (VI:30)

——. "The Toothed Chisel in Pasargadae: Further Notes on Old Persian Stonecutting". *AJA* 70, 1966, 373-377. (II:19, 20)

——. "Who Wrote the Inscriptions at Pasargadae?—Achaemenian Problems. III". *OrSu* 16, 1967, 135-180. (II:27, 41)

Olmstead, A.T., *History of the Persian Empire.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949. (I:88, 94, 103; II:119, 120, 122, 153, 257, 271; III:44; V:2, 7, 16; VII:45)

Olmstead, C.M., "Studies in the Stylistic Development of Persian Achaemenid Art". Unpublished M.A. Thesis. The University of Chicago, 1936. (II:133, 134)

Oppenheim, A.L., *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964. (I:36, 37; III:2; V:87; VI:124)

——. "The Golden Garments of the Gods". *JNES* 8, 1949, 172-193. (II:26)

Orlin, L.L. "Athens and Persia ca. 507 B.C.: A Neglected Perspective". *Michigan Oriental Studies in Honor of George G. Cameron.* Edited by

L.L. Orlin. Ann Arbor: Dept. of Near Eastern Studies, University of Michigan, 1976, 255-266. (I:118)

Orthmann, W., *Untersuchungen zur späthethitischen Kunst.* Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde, VIII. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 1971. (VI:71)

Paley, S.M., *King of the World: Ashur-nasir-pal II of Assyria, 883-859 B.C.* Brooklyn: The Brooklyn Museum, 1976. (I:37)

Pallis, S.N. "The History of Babylon 538-93 B.C." *Studia Orientalia Ioanni Pedersen.* Hauniae: E. Munksgaard, 1953, 275-294. (I:111)

Panofsky, E. *Meaning in the Visual Arts.* Garden City: Doubleday, 1935. (I:1)

Parker, R.A. "Darius and His Egyptian Campaign". *AJSL* 58, 1941, 373-377. (II:60)

——. "Persian and Egyptian Chronology". *AJSL* 58, 1941, 285-301. (II:45)

——. *A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes.* Providence: Brown University Press, 1962. (III:74)

Parpola, S. *Letters from Assyrian Scholars to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal, Part I: Texts.* AOAT, V/1. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Butzon and Bercker Kevelaer, 1970. (I:35, 38)

Parrot, A. *Assur.* Paris: Librairie Gallimard, 1961. (II:222; III:54, 64; V:76, 78; VI:99, 133, 135; VIII:17, 18)

——. *Tello: Vingt campagnes de fouilles (1877-1933).* Paris: A. Michel, 1948. (VI:110, 123)

——. "Tête royale achéménide(?)". *Syria* 44, 1967, 247-251. (II:204, 216, 220)

Pascal, R. *Design and Truth in Autobiography.* London: Routledge and Paul, 1960. (I:2)

Paterson, A. *Assyrian Sculptures: Palace of Sinacherib.* The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1912-1913. (III:60; V:77, 79; VI:114, 132)

Pering, B. "Die geflügelte Scheibe in Assyrien". *AfO* 8, 1932, 281-296. (IV:37)

Perrot, J. "Le palais de Darius le grand à Šuš". *Proceedings of the IInd Annual Symposium on Archaeological Research in Iran.* Tehran: Iran Centre for Archaeological Research, 1974, 91-107. (II:203)

Pézard, M. and Pottier, E. *Catalogue des antiquités de la Susiane. Musée national du Louvre.* Paris: Musées Nationaux, 1926. (V:95)

Poebel, A. "Chronology of Darius' First Year of Reign". *AJSL* 55, 1938, 142-165. (II:45; V:14, 23)

Pollitt, J.J. *The Art of Greece, 1400-31 B.C.: Sources and Documents.* Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1965. (I:21)

Pope, A.U. "Persepolis as a Ritual City". *Archaeology* 10, 1957, 123-130. (III:79; VI:14)

Porada, E. "An Assyrian Bronze Disc". *Bulletin of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts* 48, 1950, 1-8. (VI:14)

——. *The Art of Ancient Iran.* New York: Crown Publishers, 1965. (I:4, 102; II:8-10, 163; IV:17, 61; V:41; VI:9, 14, 99, 129; VIII:10, 15, 19, 22)

——. *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections: The Collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library.* The Bollingen Series, XIV. Washington: Pantheon Books, 1948. (IV:21, 22, 37, 57; VI:112; VIII:14)

——. Review of *Achaemenid Sculpture* by A. Farkas. *The Art Bulletin* 58, 1976, 612-614. (II:152)

——. Review of *Persepolis, II* by E. Schmidt. *JNES* 20, 1961, 66-71. (IV:55)

——. *Tchoga Zanbil, IV: La glyptique.* MDP, XLII. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1970. (IV:17; V:41)

Porter, B. and Moss, R.L.B. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings, II: Theban Temples.* 2nd edition, revised. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972. (III:38)

Posner, E. *Archives in the Ancient World.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972. (I:45)

Posener, G. "Le canal du Nil à la Mer Rouge". *Chronique d'Égypte* 26, 1938, 259-273. (II:46)

——. *Littérature et politique de la XIIe dynastie.* Paris: H. Champion, 1956. (VI:53)

——. *La première domination perse en Égypte.* Bibliothèque d'étude, XI. Cairo: Imprimerie de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, 1936. (I:52, 114; II:47, 48, 50, 52, 53, 57, 59, 64, 248-254, 256, 269-270; V:102)

Potratz, J.A.H. *Die menschliche Rundskulptur in der sumero-akkadischen Kunst.* Leiden: Nederlands historisch-archeologisch Instituut, 1960. (III:16; V:51)

Pritchard, J.B. *The Ancient Near East: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures.* Princeton: Princeton Paperback Edition, 1965. (III:26, 51, 58, 82; V:108; VI:6)

Pryce, F.N. *Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities of the British Museum, I/1: Prehellenic and Early Greek.* London: Oxford University Press, 1928. (II:33)

Reade, J.E. "Elam and the Elamites". *AMI* n.F. 9, 1976, 97-105. (I:69)

——. "The Neo-Assyrian Court and Army: Evidence from the Sculptures". *Iraq* 34, 1972, 87-112. (III:64; IV:39; V:81; VII:11)

——. "The Palace of Tiglath-Pileser III". *Iraq* 30, 1968, 69-73. (VI:77, 78)

Richter, G.M.A. *Archaic Greek Art Against its Historical Background.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1949. (I:18)

——. "Greeks in Persia". *AJA* 50, 1946, 15-30. (I:13, 15, 81)

——. *A Handbook of Greek Art.* London: Phaidon Press, 1967. (II:26; VI:136)

——. *Kouroi: Archaic Greek Youths.* London: Phaidon Press, 1960. (II:33)

——. *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks.* 4th edition, revised. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970. (II:32, 35)

Ricke, H., Hughes, G.R., and Wente, E.F. *The Beit el-Wali Temple of Ramesses II.* Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition, I. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967. (V:111)

Ridgway, B.S. "Stone and Metal in Greek Sculpture". *Archaeology* 19, 1966, 31-42. (II:26)

Ridley, R.T. *The Unification of Egypt.* Deception Bay: Shield Press, 1973. (III:27)

Roaf, M. "The Subject Peoples on the Base of the Statue of Darius". *Cahiers de la DAFI*, forthcoming [4, 1974]. (II:98; III:33, 49; VI:10, 12)

Roaf, M. and Stronach, D. "Tepe Nūsh-i Jān: Second Interim Report". *Iran* 11, 1973, 129-140. (I:90; IV:61)

Robinson, E.S.G. "The Beginnings of Achaemenid Coinage". *NC* 18, 1958, 187-193. (II:231)

Roes, A. "The Achaemenid Robe". *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 8, 1951, 137-141. (V:102)

Roos, P. "An Achaemenian Sketch Slab and the Ornaments of the Royal Dress at Persepolis". *EW* 20, 1970, 51-59. (II:26, 68; VII:13)

Root, M.C. *Ancient Iran: A Guidebook to the Iranian Collection of the Oriental Institute*, forthcoming. (I:29)

——. "The Herzfeld Archive of The Metropolitan Museum of Art". *The Metropolitan Museum Journal* 11, 1976, 119-124. (II:18)

Rosellini, I. *I monumenti dell' Egitto e della Nubia, I: I monumenti storici*. Pisa: Presso N. Capurro, 1832. (V: 113)

Rostovtzeff, M. *Rome*. Translated by J.D. Duff. London: Oxford University Press, 1960. (I:47)

Russman, E.R. *The Representation of the King in the XXVth Dynasty*. Monographies Reine Élisabeth, III. Brussels: Fondation égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1974. (I:68)

Sachs, A.J. "The Late Assyrian Royal Seal Type". *Iraq* 15, 1953, 167-170. (VIII:16)

Saggs, H.W.F. *The Greatness that was Babylon*. New York: Mentor Books, 1962. (VI:85)

Sami, A. *Pasargadae: The Oldest Imperial Capital of Iran*. Translated by R.N. Sharp. Shiraz: Musavi Printing Office, 1956. (II:5, 6, 7)

Satō, S. "Miscellanea on the Achaemenid Empire". *Orient* 10, 1974, 21-30. (III:88)

Schapiro, M. *Words and Pictures: On the Literal and the Symbolic in the Illustration of a Text*. The Hague: Mouton, 1973. (II:37)

——. "Style". *Anthropology Today*. Edited by S. Tax. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962, 278-303. (I:5; V:92)

Scheil, V. "Documents et arguments—Inscriptions de Darius à Suez". *RAssyr* 27, 1930, 93-97. (II:49)

——. *Inscriptions des Achéménides à Suse*. MDP, XXI. Paris: Ernst Leroux, 1929. (I:8; II:205-209)

——. "Une nouvelle statue de Gudêa". *RAssyr* 22, 1925, 41-43. (VI:123)

——. "Nouvelles statues de Gudêa". *RAssyr* 27, 1930, 161-164. (III:16)

Schlumberger, D. *L'argent grec dan l'empire achéménide*. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1953. (II:229)

——. "La coiffure du grand roi". *Syria* 48, 1971, 375-383. (II:224; VIII:15)

Schmidt, E. *Persepolis, I*. OIP, LXVIII. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953. (I:63; II:101-104, 109-117, 127, 129-133, 135, 138, 145, 164, 167-170, 172, 173, 178-182, 185-189, 191-197, 203, 210, 215, 258, 259, 275, 276; III:85; IV:14, 15; V:6, 16, 94; VI:9, 10, 11, 15, 23, 24, 29, 118, 120, 134, 136; VII:5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 16)

——. *Persepolis, II: Contents of the Treasury and Other Discoveries*. OIP, LXIX. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957. (I:75, 120; II:139, 214, 232, 236-242; IV:17, 60, 61; V:2; VI:116; VIII:25)

——. *Persepolis, III: The Royal Tombs and Other Monuments*. OIP, LXX. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970. (II:85, 90, 93; III:67, 86; IV:58, 63, 65, 67, 69; V:11, 80; VI:153)

Schott, S. "Das Löschen von Fackeln in Milch". *ZÄS* 73, 1937, 1-24. (III:52)

Schwabacher, W. "Satrapenbildnisse: Zum neuen Münzporträt des Tissaphernes". *Charites: Studien zum Altertumswissenschaft*. Bonn: Athenäum-Verlag, 1957, 27-32. (II:228)

Seele, K.C. "Ramesses VI and the Medinet Habu Procession of the Princes". *JNES* 19, 1960, 184-203. (V:16)

Segall, B. "Notes on the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship". *The Art Bulletin* 38, 1956, 75-80. (I:112; IV:59)

——. "The Arts and King Nabonidus". *AJA* 59, 1955, 315-318. (I:112)

Seidl, U. "Die babylonische Kudurru-Reliefs". *BagMitt* 4, 1968, 7-220. (V:88; VI:113)

——. "Ein Relief Dareios' I. in Babylon". *AMI* n.F. 9, 1976, 125-130. (II:40; V:20)

Seyrig, H. "Antiquités syriennes". *Syria* 36, 1959, 38-89. (II:224, 227)

Shahbazi, A.S. "An Achaemenid Symbol, I: A Farewell to 'Fravahr' and 'Ahuramazda'." *AMI* n.F. 7, 1974, 135-144. (IV:30, 33)

——. "The 'One Year' of Darius Re-examined". *BSOAS* 35, 1972, 609-614. (II:45)

——. "The Persepolis 'Treasury Reliefs' Once More". *AMI* n.F. 9, 1976, 151-156. (II:152, 174)

Simons, J.J. *Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists Relating to Western Asia.* Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1937. (III:32, 42; V:106, 108, 113, 114)

Smith, S. *Assyrian Sculptures in the British Museum from Shalmaneser III to Sennacherib.* London: The British Museum, 1938. (VI:71)

——. *Isaiah, Chapters XL-LV.* London: Oxford University Press, 1944. (VIII:5)

Smith, W.S. *Ancient Egypt as Represented in the Museum of Fine Arts.* 3rd edition, revised. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1952. (III:39, 47, 58)

——. *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt.* Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1958. (I:40; III:47, 52, 58; VI:35, 38, 44, 48, 49)

——. *Interconnections in the Ancient Near East: A Study of the Relationships between the Arts of Egypt, the Aegean, and Western Asia.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965. (V:31, 97; VI:32, 37)

Sollberger, E. "Three Ur-Dynasty Documents". *JCS* 19, 1965, 26-30. (VI:109)

Sollberger, E. and Kupper, J.-R. *Inscriptions royales sumeriennes et akkadiennes.* Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1971. (III:3, 5)

Starr, C.G. "Greeks and Persians in the Fourth Century B.C." *Iranica Antiqua* 11, 1975, 39-99. (I:118)

Stearns, J. *Reliefs from the Palace of Ashurnaṣirpal II.* AfO Beiheft, XV. Berlin: Archiv für Orientforschung, 1961. (VII:23)

Steve, M.-J. "Inscriptions des Achéménides à Suse". *StIr* 3, 1974, 7-28, 135-169. (I:8)

Strassmaier, J.N. *Babylonische Texte, X-XII: Inschriften von Darius, König von Babylon.* Leipzig: E. Pfeiffer, 1897. (II:119)

Strelkov, A.S. "The Moscow Artaxerxes Cylinder Seal". *BAIIAA* 5, 1937, 17-21. (II:245; V:1, 3)

Strommenger, E. "Das Felsrelief von Darband-i-Gaur". *BagMitt* 2, 1963, 83-88. (III:17; V:47)

——. *5000 Years of the Art of Mesopotamia.* Translated by C. Haglund. New York: H.N. Abrams, 1964. (IV:46; VI:63, 109, 125; VII:28; VIII:12)

——. "Das Menschenbild in der altmesopotamischen Rundplastik von Mesilim bis Hammurapi". *BagMitt* 1, 1960, 1-103. (III:4, 8, 11, 15, 17)

——. *Die neuassyrischen Rundskulptur.* ADOG, XV. Berlin: Mann, 1970. (III:19)

Stronach, D. "Achaemenid Village I at Susa and the Persian Migration into Fars". *Iraq* 36, 1974, 239-248. (IV:3)

——. Excavations at Pasargadae: First Preliminary Report". *Iran* 1, 1963, 19-42. (II:3, 14)

——. "Excavations at Pasargadae: Second Preliminary Report". *Iran* 2, 1964, 29-39. (IV:2)

——. "Excavations at Pasargadae: Third Preliminary Report". *Iran* 3, 1965, 9-40. (II:2-5, 17, 23)

——. "Tappeh Nuši Jān: A Case for Building Rites in 7th/6th Century B.C. Media?" *Proceedings of the IInd Annual Symposium on Archaeological Research in Iran*. Tehran: Iran Centre for Archaeological Research, 1974, 223-238. (I:96)

Strong, D.E. *Roman Imperial Sculpture*. London: Alec Tiranti, 1961. (I:46)

Sunderland, E. "Early Man in Iran". *Cambridge History of Iran, I: The Land of Iran*. Edited by W.B. Fisher. Cambridge University Press, 1968. (I:83, 92)

Tadmor, H. "Assyria and the West: The Ninth Century and its Aftermath". *Unity and Diversity: Essays in the History, Literature, and Religion of the Ancient Near East*. Edited by H. Goedicke and J.M. Roberts. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975, 36-48. (VI:7)

Tadjvidi, A. "Report on Persepolis". *Iran* 8, 1970, 187. (V:2)

Thomas, G.Z. *Richer than Spices*. New York: Knopf, 1965. (VI:150)

Thompson, D.B. "The Persian Spoils in Athens". *The Aegean and the Near East: Studies Presented to Hetty Goldman*. Edited by S.S. Weinberg. Locust Valley, N.Y.: J.J. Augustin, 1956, 281-291. (I:119)

Thompson, G. "Iranian Dress in the Achaemenian Period". *Iran* 3, 1965, 121-126. (V:102)

Thompson, R.C. and Hutchinson, R.W. "The Site of the Palace of Assurnasirpal at Nineveh, Excavated in 1929-30 on Behalf of the British Museum". *AAA* 18, 1931, 79-112. (III:56)

Thureau-Dangin, F. "Statuettes de Tello". *MonPiot* 27, 1924, 97-111. (III:9, 10)

——. "Tell Aḥmar". *Syria* 10, 1929, 185-205. (V:59, 60)

Tilia, A.B. "Discoveries at Persepolis, 1972-73". *Proceedings of the IInd Annual Symposium on Archaeological Research in Iran*. Tehran: Iran Centre for Archaeological Research, 1974, 239-253. (II:198, 200, 202; IV:2; VII:44)

——. "Discovery of an Achaemenian Palace near Takht-i Rustam to the North of the Terrace of Persepolis". *Iran* 12, 1974, 200-204. (IV:2; VII:44)

——. "Recent Discoveries at Persepolis". *AJA* 81, 1977, 67-77. (II:135)

——. *Studies and Restorations at Persepolis and Other Sites of Fārs*. IsMEO Reports and Memoirs, XVI. Rome: Istituto italiano per il medeo ed estremo oriente, 1972. (II:105-107, 125, 129, 135, 143, 155, 172, 190, 199, 200; VI:10, 11, 120)

——. "A Study on the Methods of Working and Restoring Stone and on the Parts Left Unfinished in Achaemenian Architecture and Sculpture". *EW* 18, 1968, 67-95. (I:28; II:15, 20, 177)

Trümpelmann, L. "Tore von Persepolis: Zur Bauplanung des Dareios". *AMI* n.F. 7, 1974, 163-171. (II:135, 163, 166; VI:141)

——. "Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Monumentes Dareios' I. von Bisutun und zur Datierung der Einführung der altpersischen Schrift". *AA* 82, 1967, 281-298. (II:44, 45; V:15, 25)

Unvala, J.M. "The Winged Disk and the Winged Human Figure on Ancient Persian Monuments". *Dr. Modi Memorial Volume*. Bombay : Fort Printing Press, 1930, 488-513. (IV:28)

Uphill, E. "The Nine Bows". *JEOL* 19, 1966, 393-420. (III:22, 23, 29, 33, 34)

Vallat, F. "Deux inscriptions élamites de Darius Ier (DSf et DSz)". *StIr* 1, 1972, 3-13. (I:11)

Van Buren, E.D. "Homage to a Deified King". *ZA* 50, 1952, 92-120. (VI:109)

——. "The Rod and the Ring". *Archiv Orientální* 17, 1949, 434-450. (IV:43-46)

Vanden Berghe, L. "Les reliefs élamites de Malamir". *Iranica Antiqua* 3, 1963, 22-39. (VI:52, 128)

van de Walle, B. *Transmission des textes littéraires*. Brussels : Fondation égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1948. (I:66)

Vandier, J. *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*. 5 vols. Paris : A. and J. Picard, 1952-1969. (III:73; VI:31, 43, 50)

Van Loon, M. *Urartian Art : Its Distinctive Traits in the Light of New Excavations*. Leiden : Nederlands historisch-archaeologisch Instituut, 1966. (VII:25)

Varille, A. "Fragments de socles colossaux provenant du temple funéraire d'Aménophis III avec représentations de peuples étrangers". *BIFAO* 35, 1935, 173-179. (III:32)

——. "Nouvelles listes géographiques d'Aménophis III à Karnak". *ASAE* 36, 1936, 202-214. (III:32)

Vercoutter, J. *L'Égypte et le monde égéen préhellénique*. Bibliothèque d'étude, XXII. Cairo : Imprimerie de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, 1956. (I:66; VI:37, 39, 40)

——. "Les Haou-Nebout ( )". *BIFAO* 48, 1949, 107-209. (III:34)

von der Osten, H.H. *Die Welt der Perser*. Stuttgart : O. Kilpper, 1956. (VI:136)

Von Graeve, V. *Der Alexandersarkophag und seine Werkstatt*. Istanbuler Forschungen, XXVIII. Berlin : Mann, 1970. (I:24; VI:149)

Wäfler, M. *Nicht-Assyrer neuassyrischen Darstellungen*. AOAT, XXVI. Neukirchen-Vluyn : Neukirchener Verlag, 1975. (I:69)

Wainwright, G.A. "The Meshwesh". *JEA* 48, 1962, 89-99. (III:33)

——. "Some Sea-Peoples". *JEA* 47, 1961, 71-90. (III:33)

Walser, G. "Archäologische Gesellschaft zu Berlin, July 8, 1965". *AA* 81, 1966, 544-549. (VI:13)

——. *Audienz beim persischen Grosskönig*. Zurich, 1965. (VI:15, 17, 23)

——. "Missing Peoples in the Persepolis Processions". *The Memorial Volume : Vth International Congress*. Tehran, 1972, 368-372. (VI:10)

——. *Die Völkerschaften auf den Reliefs von Persepolis : Historische Studien über den sogenannten Tributzug an der Apadanatreppe*. Teheraner Forschungen, II. Berlin : Deutsches archäologisches Institut, 1966. (III:33, 61; VI:5, 6, 10, 11, 31, 54, 55, 98, 138, 140)

Ward, W. "Relations between Egypt and Mesopotamia from Prehistoric Times to the End of the Middle Kingdom". *JESHO* 7, 1964, 1-45, 121-135. (V:46)

Ward, W.H. *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia.* Washington: Carnegie Institution, 1910. (V:2)

Waterman, L. *Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire.* 3 vols. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1930. (I:38)

Weckman, G. "Believing Myth as Myth". *Myth and the Crisis of Historical Consciousness.* Edited by L.W. Gibbs and W.T. Stevenson. Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1975, 97-107. (I:2)

Weidner, E.F. "Die Annalen des Königs Assurbelkala von Assyrian". *AfO* 6, 1930, 75-94. (V:56)

——. *Die Reliefs der assyrischen Könige, I.* AfO Beiheft, IV. Berlin: Archiv für Orientforschung, 1939. (VI:132)

——. "Jojachin, König von Juda, in babylonischen Keilschrifttexten". *Mélanges offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud, II.* Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1939, 923-935. (I:95)

Weintraub, K.J. "Autobiography and Historical Consciousness". *Critical Inquiry* 1, 1975, 821-848. (I:2)

Weisberg, D. *Guild Structure and Political Allegiance in Early Achaemenid Mesopotamia.* Yale Near Eastern Researches, I. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967. (I:30)

Widengren, G. *Der Feudalismus im alten Iran.* Cologne: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1969. (V:83)

——. *Die Religionen Irans.* Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1965. (VIII:27)

——. "La royauté de l'Iran antique". Acta Iranica, I. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974, 84-89. (II:144)

——. *The Sacral Kingship of Iran.* Numen Supplement, IV. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1959. (VI:138)

——. "Some Remarks on Riding Costume and Articles of Dress among Iranian Peoples in Antiquity". Studia Ethnographica Upsaliensis, XI. Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1956, 228-276. (VI:144)

Wildung, D. "Der König Ägyptens als Herr der Welt?" *AfO* 24, 1973, 108-116. (III:30)

Wilkinson, C.K. "The Art of the Ancient Near East". *BMMA* 7, 1949, 186-198. (III:8)

——. "More Details on Ziwiye". *Iraq* 22, 1960, 213-220. (VI:99)

Wilson, J.A. Review of *The Temple of Hibis in el Khargeh Oasis, III,* by N. de G. Davies. *AJA* 60, 1956, 70. (II:266)

Winlock, H.E. *The Temple of Hibis in el Khargeh Oasis, I.* PMMA, XIII. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1941. (II:253, 257, 259, 267; V:96)

Wiseman, D.J. *Cylinder Seals of Western Asia.* London: Batchworth Press, 1958. (II:235; III:57)

——. "The Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon". *Iraq* 20, 1958, 1-91. (VI:68)

Wolf, W. *Die Kunst Ägyptens.* Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1957. (VI:49)

Wreszinski, W. *Atlas zur altaegyptischen Kulturgeschichte.* Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1914-1935. (III:32, 62; VI:43, 44)

Young, T.C., Jr. *Excavations at Godin Tepe: First Progress Report.* Occasional Paper, XVII, Art and Archaeology. Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1969. (I:90)

——. "The Iranian Migration into the Zagros". *Iran* 5, 1967, 11-34. (I:85, 93, 97, 99, 100)

Yoyotte, J. "La provenance du cylindre de Darius [BM 89. 132]". *RA* 46, 1952, 165-167. (II:235)

Zibelius, K. *Afrikanische Orts- und Völkernamen in hieroglyphen und hieratischen Texten.* Wiesbaden : Otto Harrassowitz, 1972. (II:52)

Classical Sources :

The Loeb Classical Library editions have been used for all of the texts listed below, with the exception of Ctesias, on which see König, F.W., *Die Persika des Ktesias von Knidos.* AfO Beiheft, XVIII. Berlin : Archiv für Orientforschung, 1972.

Aeschylus, *The Persians* (IV:10; IX: text p. 310)
Arrian, *Anabasis* (VII: text p. 297)
Ctesias, *Persica* (II:98; V:7)
Diodorus, *The Library of History* (II:46)
Herodotus, *The Histories* (I:113 and text. p. 32; II:46, 98 and text p. 129; IV: text p. 169; V:7, 117; VI:28, 147, and text pp. 230, 281; VII:45; VIII: text p. 301)
Pliny, *Natural History* (I:21)
Plutarch, *Alexander* (II: text p. 129)
——, *Themistocles (VI:18)*
Xenophon, *Anabasis* (VI:147)
——, *Cyropaedia* (III: text p. 159; VI:28. 147, and text p. 277; VII:46)
——, *Hellenica* (VI:text p. 277)

Old Testament References :

The Oxford Annotated Bible. Edited by H.G. May and B.M. Metzger. New York : Oxford University Press, 1962.
2 Chronicles 6.12 (III:87)
——. 9.24 (VI:145)
Daniel 6.8, 12, 15 (I:104)
Esther 1.19 (I:104)
——. 3.11-12 (II: text p. 119)
2 Kings 5.5, 2 (VI:145)
Psalm 22.3 (III:89)

LIST OF PLATES

Plate

1 Pasargadae, Palace R. Relief
(Photo by the Author)
2 Pasargadae, Palace P. Relief
(Herzfeld, "Pasargadae, 1928", Taf. III)
3a & b Pasargadae, Palace P. Reliefs
(Photos by the Author)
4a & b Ephesus Column Drum. Relief (B.M. 121)
(Photos by the Author, Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)
5a Siphnian Treasury Pediment
(Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors*, fig. 409)
5b Siphnian Treasury, West Frieze (Athena figure)
(Charbonneaux, et al., *Archaic Greek Art*, fig. 205)
6 Behistun Relief, Full View
(Luschey, "Darius-Relief", Taf. 26)
7 Behistun Relief, Head of Darius
(Luschey, "Darius-Relief", Taf. 33)
8 Behistun Relief, Ahuramazda
(Luschey, "Darius-Relief", Taf. 34 bottom)
9 Maskhoutah Canal Stele, Obverse Top
(Posener, *Première domination perse*, pl. IV)
10a Statue of Darius, Full View
(Kervran, et al., "Une statue de Darius", pl. I)
10b Statue of Darius, Detail of Drapery
(Kervran, et al., "Une statue de Darius", pl. II)
11 Statue of Darius, Figures on Left Side of Base (Persian and Mede)
(Photo Courtesy of Giuseppe Tilia)
12 Tomb of Darius, Full View
(Ghirshman, *Persia*, pl. 279)
13a & b Tomb of Darius, Details
(Schmidt, *Persepolis*, III, pl. 22A-B)
14 Tomb of Xerxes, Details
(Schmidt, *Persepolis*, III, pl. 43A-B)
15a Palace of Darius, South Door
(Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, pl. 138B)
15b Palace of Darius, North Door
(Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, pl. 140A)
16a Palace of Darius, West Door
(Photo by the Author)
16b Palace of Darius, Door in Room 5
(Hinz, *Funde und Forschungen*, Taf. 27)

17 Apadana, North Stair, Original Central Panel
(Ghirshman, *Persia*, pl. 255)
18 Apadana, East Stair, Original Central Panel Detail
(Tilia, *Studies and Restorations*, pl. CIII)
19 Apadana, North Stair, Original Central Panel Detail
(Photo by the Author)
20 & 21 Apadana, North Stair, Wing A Details
(Photos by the Author)
22 Apadana, East Stair, Wing A Details
(Photo by the Author)
23 Apadana, East Stair, Wing B Detail
(Walser, *Völkerschaften*, Taf. 35)
24 Apadana, East Stair, Wing B Detail
(Walser, *Völkerschaften*, Taf. 18)
25a Central Building, East Door
(Photo by the Author)
25b Central Building, South Door
(Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, pl. 75)
26a Central Building, North Stair Detail
(Photo by the Author)
26b Central Building, North Stair, Detail of Pieced Stonework
(Photo by the Author)
27 The "Harem", South Door
(Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, pl. 193 B)
28a The "Harem", East Door
(Photo by the Author)
28b The "Harem", West Door
(Photo by the Author)
29a The Throne Hall, South Door
(Walser, *Völkerschaften*, Taf. 6)
29b The Throne Hall, North Door
(Ghirshman, *Persia*, pl. 254)
30 The Throne Hall, South Door in East Wall
(Photos by the Author)
31a Susa Head
(Parrot, "Tête royal achéménide (?)", fig. 1a & b)
31b Susa Foot
(Photo by the Author, Courtesy of the Louvre)
32a Susa Drapery Fragment Sb 10060
(Photo by the Author, Courtesy of the Louvre)
32b Hamadan Head
(Parrot, "Tête royale achéménide (?)", pl. XIV)
33a & b Achaemenid Coins
(Jenkins, *Ancient Greek Coins*, figs. 116-117 and fig. 111)
34a Persepolis Treasury Seal #8
(Courtesy of the Oriental Institute, The University of Chicago)
34b The Moscow Artaxerxes Cylinder Seal
(Dandamaev, *Persien unter den ersten Achämeniden*, Taf. XIV)

35 The Apis Stele of Darius
(Posener, *Première domination perse*, pl. III)
36 Relief from the Temple of Hibis, Room K2
(Davies, *The Temple of Hibis*, III, pl. 24)
37 Statue of Manishtusu, Base Relief
(Amiet, *Les statues de Manishtusu*, fig. 7)
38 Statue of Ur-Ningirsu
(Strommenger, *Mesopotamia*, pls. 138/139)
39 Narmer's Palette
(Lange and Hirmer, *Egypt*, pl. 4)
40a Tomb of Kheruef, Royal Kiosk with Nine Bows
(Lange and Hirmer, *Egypt*, pl. 152)
40b Luxor, Colossus of Ramses II, with Nine Bows
(Capart, *Thebes*, fig. 18)
41a Achaemenid Seal
(Wiseman, *Seals*, pl. 102)
41b Dendera Zodiac
(*Studia Orientalia* 8, 1936, Taf. XXVI, 2)
42 Relief of Sennacherib, Detail of Lachish Throne (B.M. 124910-2)
(Photo by the Author, Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)
43 Broken Obelisk of Assurnasirpal
(Gadd, *Stones*, pl. 6)
44a Nimrud, SW Palace, Tiglathpileser Receiving Captives
(Barnett and Falkner, *Sculptures*, pl. LXXXV)
44b Nimrud, NW Palace, Assurnasirpal with Attendant (B.M. 124569)
(Photo by the Author, Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)
45a Nimrud, NW Palace, Drawings of Throne Room Reliefs
(Meuszyński, "The Throne-Room of Aššur-naṣir-apli II", fig. 70)
45b Nimrud, NW Palace, Assurnasirpal's Investiture
(Strommenger, *Mesopotamia*, pl. 191 top)
46a Nimrud, NW Palace, Assurnasirpal under Assur with Ring (B.M. 124549)
(Photo by the Author, Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)
46b Nimrud, NW Palace, Assurnasirpal under Assur with Bow (B.M. 124551)
(Photo by the Author, Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)
47a Naqsh-i Rustam, Investiture of Ardashir
(Hinz, *Funde und Forschungen*, Taf. 60)
47b Neo-Babylonian Seal, Worshiper before Altar
(Strommenger, *Mesopotamia*, pl. 269 bottom)
48a & b Persepolis Treasury Seal #28
(Courtesy of the Oriental Institute, The University of Chicago)
49 Sar-i Pul, Drawing of the Relief of Annubanini
(Herzfeld, *Am Tor*, Abb. 1)
50 Seti I Smiting Captives and Receiving Prisoners
(Capart, *Thebes*, fig. 27)

51a Sahure Receiving Prisoners
(Borchardt, *Sahure*, II, Bl. 5)
51b Beit el Wali, Ramses II Receiving Captives
(Ricke, et al., *Beit el Wali*, pl. 76)
52a Mentuhotep I with Prisoners
(Bissing, *Denkmäler*, pl. 33A)
52b The Broken Obelisk of Assur-bel-kala
(Strommenger, *Mesopotamia*, pl. 188)
53a The Zinzirli Stele of Esarhaddon
(Paterson, *Assyrian Sculptures*, pl. CIII)
53b Khorsabad, Drawing of Sargon with Kneeling Captive
(Botta and Flandin, *Monument*, pl. 118)
54a Nimrud, SW Palace, Tiglathpileser with Captive (B.M. 118933)
(Photo by the Author, Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)
54b Nimrud, NW Palace, Assurnasirpal Receiving Captives
(Moortgat, *Mesopotamia*, pls. 262/263)
55a Nineveh, North Palace, Assurbanipal's Triumph over Shamash-shum-ukin
(Barnett, *Assyrian Palace Reliefs in the British Museum*, pl. XIV)
55b Nineveh, North Palace, Crown Prince Slaying Lion (B.M. 124875)
(Photo by the Author, Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)
56 Tomb of Huje, Tribute Scene
(Wreszinski, *Atlas*, Taf. 158)
57a Fort Shalmaneser, Throne Dais of Shalmaneser
(Mallowan, *Nimrud*, II, figs. on 447-448; and Moortgat, *Mesopotamia*, pl. 269)
57b Deir el Bahari, Tribute Bearers from Punt
(Naville, *Deir el Bahari*, III, pl. LXXVI)
58 Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re, Tribute Scene
(Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rēʿ*, pl. XXII)
59a Nimrud, NW Palace, Tribute Scene Details
(Mallowan, *Nimrud*, I, figs. 48/49, top)
59b Nimrud, Ivory Plaque with Tribute Scene
(Mallowan, *Nimrud*, I, fig. 209)
60a Khorsabad, Drawing of Reliefs on Facade n
(Adapted from Loud, *Khorsabad*, I, figs. 35 and 45)
60b Khorsabad, Room X, Tribute Group
(Photo by the Author, Courtesy of the Louvre)
61a Khorsabad, Room X, Reconstruction of Reliefs
(Botta and Flandin, *Monument*, pl. 122)
61b Ziwiye Trough, Drawing of One Section of Design
(Porada, *Ancient Iran*, figs. 68/69)
62a Presentation Seals (Neo-Sumerian and Old Babylonian)
(Moortgat, *Mesopotamia*, pl. G 1-4)
62b Stele of Gudea
(Adapted from Moortgat, *Mesopotamia*, pls. 189/190)
63 Kudurru of Melishihu II
(Courtesy of the Louvre)

U. Hölscher
Post. Ramessid Remains
The Excavation of Medinet Habu V
OIP 66 (Chi 1954)
pl. 17A

Vol. V: Post-Ram. Remains
OIP 66
A. accompanied by Anubis & Thoth

64 Funerary Stele, First Intermediate Period
(Courtesy of the Oriental Institute, The University of Chicago)
65 Tomb Chapel of Amenirdis, Amenirdis Led by Thoth
(Hölscher, *Medinet Habu*, IV, pl. 17A)
66 Statue of Napir-Asu
(Strommenger, *Mesopotamia*, pl. 183)
67a Nineveh, North Palace, Attendants at Assurbanipal's Banquet (B.M. 124922)
(Photo by the Author, Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)
67b Nineveh, North Palace, Officers of Assurbanipal (Room F) (B.M. 124931)
(Photo by the Author, Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)
68 Nineveh, North Palace, The Fugitive Ummanigash Led Back to Madaktu (B.M. 124801-2)
(Photo by the Author, Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)
69 Nereid Monument, Tribute Frieze (B.M. 896)
(Photo by the Author, Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)
70a Medinet Habu, Temple of Ramses, South Colonnade
(The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu*, II, pl. 123A)
70b Khorsabad, Door D in Room IV
(Botta and Flandin, *Monument*, pl. 80)

71a Khorsabad, Door T in Room IV
(Botta and Flandin, *Monument*, pl. 80)
71b Khorsabad, Flanking Door K in Facade m
(Botta and Flandin, *Monument*, pl. 42)
72a Khorsabad, Winged Figure
(Strommenger, *Mesopotamia*, pl 226)
72b Khorsabad, Hero Grasping Lion
(Strommenger, *Mesopotamia*, pl. 222)

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure Page

1. Achaemenid Imperial Art: A Systemic Process of Creation 6
2. The Persians as Direct and Indirect Recipients of Immediate Cultural Influences, c. 1000-550 B.C. 35
3. Genealogy of the Achaemenid Dynasty [Adapted from Kent, *Old Persian*, 158] 36
4. Suggested Chronology for Achaemenid Monuments which bear Representations of the King and Kingship 45
5. Reliefs of Palace R [Adapted from Nylander, *Ionians*, fig. 34a, by Sally Garen] 47
6. Reliefs of Palace P [Adapted from Nylander, *Ionians*, fig. 34b, by Sally Garen] 50
7. Reliefs of the Palace of Darius [Adapted from Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, fig. 92, by Sally Garen] 78
8. Plan of the Persepolis Terrace [Adapted from Nylander, *The Deep Well*, fig. 11] 79
9. Plan of the Persepolis Terrace (Apadana, Palace of Darius and Central Building) [Adapted from Ali Sami, *Persepolis* (Shiraz: Musavi Printing Office, 1958), by Sally Garen] 80
10. Reliefs of the Apadana [Adapted from Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, fig. 30, by Sally Garen] 87
11. Apadana: Reconstruction of North Stair Facade with Original Central Panel [Adapted from Krefter, *Persepolis Rekonstruktionen*, Beil. 4, by Cynthia Susmilch] 88-89
12. Reliefs of the Central Building [Adapted from Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, fig. 52, by Sally Garen] 96
13. Reliefs of the Harem of Xerxes, Central Section [Adapted from Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, fig. 105, by Sally Garen] 102
14. Interior Reliefs of the Palace of Xerxes [Adapted from Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, fig. 97, by Sally Garen] 104
15. Reliefs of the Throne Hall [Adapted from Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, fig. 59, by Sally Garen] 106
16. Reliefs of Palace H (Xerxes-Artaxerxes): A Tentative Reconstruction [Adapted from Tilia, *Studies and Restorations*, fig. 10, by Sally Garen] 109
17. Plan of the Temple of Hibis (Persian Period) [Adapted from Winlock, *The Temple of Hibis*, I, pl. XXXII, by Sally Garen] 126
18. Paradigms of Imperial Hierarchy 132
19. The Behistun Relief: Factors Influencing its Style and its Conceptualization/Structure 223
20. Palace of Sargon, Khorsabad [Adapted from Botta and Flandin, *Monument*, pl. 6, by Sally Garen]. 258

INDEX *

Abdimelcart 203

Achaemenid art: as official imperial art 1, 20, 40-41, 118-120, 306-307; in a Near Eastern context 4, 9n. 14, 40-42, 54n. 26. *See also* Imperial programmes and role of ruler

Achaemenid coins. *See* Coinage, Achaemenid imperial

Achaemenid court robe: as an actual garment 216n. 102, 217; Assyrianizing element of, at Behistun, 215-216; Egyptian renditions of, 65, 69, 216n. 102; Greek influence on, 5, 7, 9-11, 14, 55-57, 58, 111, 113, 216n. 100; in Achaemenid art, 51, 52, 53, 57-58, 65, 69, 82, 88, 89, 98n. 198, 107, 111-112, 113, 117, 120, 121, 122, 148n. 57, 182, 185, 186, 232, 233, 234, 235, 277, 285; texts inscribed on, 51, 52, 53, 69, 83, 105, 111, 113, 285

Achaemenid king 1-311 passim; above subject peoples (*See* Hierarchical order, metaphorical expressions of, in Achaemenid art); as "a Persian man" (*See* "Persian man, a"); as ecumenical embodiment (*See* Pasargadae "Genius"); as royal hero (*See* Royal hero); as royal presence (*See* Royal presence); as victor (*See* Victory representations, Achaemenid); crowns of (*See* Crowns of royalty in Achaemenid art; Darius, crowns of; Xerxes, crown of); in chariot, 116n. 224, 120; investiture of, 173-174, 176, 180, 189, 191, 212-213, 224, 225 (*See also* Ring of power); on horseback, 129; receiving tribute (*See* Tribute presentation as representational motif); relation to Ahuramazda, 169-171, 174-176, 180-181, 188-192, 194, 211-213, 224, 225, 310; relation to crown prince (*See* Crown prince; Darius, relations with crown prince; Xerxes, appointment as crown prince); relations with Iranian nobility (*See* Darius, relations with Iranian nobility; Iranian nobility); self-portraits of in Achaemenid art, 309-311; wearing Iranian riding habit, 130, 282; worship of, 170-171. *See also* Imperial programmes and role of ruler; Religion, Achaemenid court; Royal paraphernalia in Achaemenid art; *and names of specific kings*

Achaemenid lists of peoples: dating implications of 60n. 42, 68, 75, 95; geographical ordering of, 63, 64, 70, 74n. 93, 235-236

Achaemenid religion. *See* Ahuramazda; Religion, Achaemenid court

Achaemenid sculpture: antithetical compositions in 153; apotropaic functions of, 81, 289, 307; evidence for in metal, 129; labor organization for, 13-15, 89 (*See also* Artisans); masons' marks on, 14, 94n. 156, 99-100; metal attachments on, 51, 52, 54n. 26, 93, 102, 104, 107, 285, 295n. 35; mirror images in, 48n. 6, 51, 65,

---

* The author gratefully acknowledges the invaluable assistance of Merrianne Timko in the preparation of this index.

Please note: Text references to modern authors and their published works are included in Cited Literature and are not, therefore, duplicated here.

82, 88, 101, 120, 227; paint on, 69n. 68, 93, 102, 215n. 96; protective doorjamb frames for, 295; register system in (*See* Paratactic relief structure; Register system); relation to architecture, 286-289, 296, 301; stylistic qualities and conventions of, 10-12, 52, 57, 89, 114-116, 153, 311; toothed chisel marks on, 52, 53, 75; *See also* Achaemenid court robe, Greek influence on; Greek influence on Achaemenid sculpture; Style as iconography

Achaemenid seals. *See* Seals, Achaemenid

Actuality. *See* Art and actuality

Aeschylus. *See* CITED LITERATURE: CLASSICAL SOURCES

Agrippa 19. *See also* Imperial programmes and role of ruler

Ahuramazda: identity as figure in winged disc, 169-171; mentioned in Achaemenid texts, 69, 84, 85-86, 90, 91, 112, 164, 170, 171n. 33, 176, 186-187, 213; on Behistun relief, 60, 186, 188-191, 201, 209, 210-213, 214-215, 224, 225, 302; on Persepolis reliefs, 97, 98, 107, 214-215, 285-286, 290; on seals, 120, 121, 182n. 2, 183n. 3; on tomb reliefs, 73, 163, 164, 180, 214-215; wearing horned polos, 171, 176, 186, 213, 224; wing stylization of, 214-215. *See also* Achaemenid king, relation to Ahuramazda; Assur (god); Religion, Achaemenid court; Vulture, Egyptian; Winged disc

Akbar 2, 19, 21-22. *See also* Imperial programmes and role of ruler

Akhenaten 2, 18. *See also* Imperial programmes and role of ruler

Akkadian Period artistic traditions: in sculpture in the round 133-134, 135, 137, 140, 200, 252; in seals (*See* Seals, Akkadian); in stelae, 27, 135, 198-200, 251-252; survival of, 27, 137

Alabastron. *See* Royal paraphernalia in Achaemenid art

Alcuin 20. *See also* Imperial programmes and role of ruler

Alexander mosaic 130, 281n. 151

Alexander sarcophagus 12, 280n. 149

Amasis, Apis-stele of 124

Amenhotep III, statue bases of 141n. 32

Amenmose, tomb of 141n. 32

Anahita, statue of 129

Annubanini, relief of at Sar-i Pul, 196-198, 209; relation to Akkadian-Ur III art, 198, 199-200; influence on Behistun relief, 198-202, 212, 213, 215, 225, 226

Antique and foreign models: availability of 24-26, 39, 168, 200, 218, 263-264, 283, 295, 296; conscious adaptation of, 23-24, 144, 146, 161, 166, 175, 176, 178, 180-181, 199, 215-217, 225, 270; conscious selection/rejection of, 4-5, 19, 20, 23-24, 38, 39, 58n. 38, 149, 150, 168, 199, 200, 207, 211, 215-217, 218, 263-264, 271, 302-303; gradual assimilation of, 4, 33, 148, 149, 168-169, 211, 225, 263, 283. *See also* Imperial programmes and role of ruler

Antique and foreign monuments: deliberate preservation of in antiquity, 26-27, 28

Apis bull 39, 124, 125

Apotropaic sculpture. *See* Achaemenid sculpture, apotropaic functions of; relation to architecture

Aramaic language in Achaemenid Empire 14n. 30, 23, 190

Archaisms in Achaemenid art. *See* Antique and foreign models; Imperial programmes and role of ruler; Style as iconography

Archer, royal. *See* Royal archer

Ardashir I 173

Arrian. *See* CITED LITERATURE: CLASSICAL SOURCES

Art and actuality 131-133, 154-155, 156-160, 161, 175, 178, 180-181, 288. *See also* Court protocol, in actuality and in art

Art as language 147, 160, 221n. 115, 222, 309. *See also* Egyptian hieroglyphs and related artistic conventions

Artabanus 94

Aršam 23, 72, 129, 130

Artabazanes 84, 85, 92

Artaxerxes I 74, 91, 94, 99, 108, 109; seal of (?), 122n. 245, 182; stair of, on Palace H, 227, 235n. 11, 272n. 120, 279. *See also* Texts, Achaemenid; Tombs, Achaemenid royal

Artaxerxes II 74, 86n. 126, 91, 129n. 271

Artaxerxes III: seal of (?) 122, 182, 183n. 4; stair of, on Palace of Darius, 81, 272n. 120, 279

Artaynte 93, 94

Artisans: as "creators" of Achaemenid art 4, 9, 13, 28, 272; mass transport of, 14n. 30, 23; Assyrian, 9n. 14; Babylonian, 7, 14; Egyptian, 7, 9, 13, 26, 32, 71, 272; Elamite, 32; foreign, 4, 5-15 passim, 23; from Byblos, 32; from Lydia, 32; Greek/Ionian, 5, 7-8, 9-14, 32, 56, 216n. 100; Median, 7, 9, 32; Persian, 8, 32, 56; Sardian, 7. *See also* Creation vs. execution

Artists. *See* Artisans

Artystone 129, 298

Arukku 31

Aspathines (Asbazama) 73, 74, 281-282

Assur (city) 137n. 19

Assur (god) 205, 213; in Assyrian art as representational prototype for Ahuramazda, 172-173, 174-175, 180-181, 210-211, 215, 225; relation to Assyrian king, 172n. 39, 173, 175-176, 211-212

Assur-bel-kala, Broken Obelisk of 202-204, 210-211

Assurbanipal 17, 27, 31, 137; and Cyrus I, 31; and Cyrus II, at Babylon, 38, 217; palace reliefs of, 48, 151n. 63, 165, 167n. 18, 168n. 24, 172n. 39, 208-209, 215, 216, 246-247, 262, 275, 276; sculpture style of, 215-216, 224; stelae of, 204; *See also* Texts, Assyrian

Assurnasirpal II: altar of 148n. 56; Balawat Gates of, 253; Broken Obelisk of, 253, 275; ivories of, 138n. 20, 253, 275; "minor arts" of, 167, 168, 172, 253; palace reliefs of, 151n. 62, 167, 168n. 23, 172-173, 174n. 51, 205-206, 212n. 85, 230, 252-254, 256, 275, 283, 292, 296, 302; sculptural conventions of, 167-168, 206, 292; sculpture in the round of, 137n. 19; stelae of, 292-293; White Obelisk of, 151n. 62. *See also* Texts, Assyrian

Assur-uballit 242n. 36

Assyria: and the Persians 4, 30-34; in Achaemenid lists of peoples, 63

Assyrian artistic traditions 202-204, 206, 208, 209, 211-212, 213, 226, 230, 275-276, 283-284; lost wall painting of, 168n. 23; post-612 survival of, 25, 115, 168, 263-264, 276, 283, 295, 296. *See also* Seals, Assyrian; *and entries under names of specific kings.*

Assyrian religion. *See* Religion, Assyrian

Assyrian seals. *See* Seals, Assyrian

Astral symbols 73, 177, 180

Astyages 34, 46, 115

ʻAtef crown 300, 302

Atiyaouahy 128n. 270

Atlansera, altar of 149n. 58

Atlas posture: assumed by carved throne-strut figures 150-151; cos-

mic associations of, 148, 149-150, 152-153, 155, 161, 181; in Achaemenid art, 147-153, 155, 156, 159, 161, 181; in Egyptian art, 149-150; in Elamite art, 148n. 56; in Near Eastern art, 147-148, 150
Atossa 84, 85, 298
Atum of Heliopolis: invoked on Statue of Darius 69, 72
Augustus 2, 19-20. *See also* Imperial programmes and role of ruler
Avesta 29

Ba'al 301
Baba Jan 33
Babylon 16, 37-39, 84, 85, 152, 195, 204; reliefs of Gate of Ishtar, 305. *See also* Cyrus II, in Babylon
Babylonia: and the Medes and Persians 4, 31-34, 37; in Achaemenid lists/representations of peoples, 63, 74n. 93, 142n. 36
Babylonian artistic traditions. *See* Artisans, Babylonian; Kassite artistic traditions; Neo-Babylonian artistic traditions; Old Babylonian artistic traditions
Babylonian religion. *See* Marduk, Cyrus' appeasement of; Religious syncretism
Bahria Oasis 143, 149n. 58
Bak 18
Balawat Gates. *See* Assurnasirpal II; Shalmaneser III
Baldacchino: iconographic uses of 237, 287-288; in Achaemenid art (*See* Royal paraphernalia in Achaemenid art)
Bastam 291
Bearded and beardless servants: in Achaemenid art 287, 296; in Assyrian art, 287n. 11, 292, 293
Behistun relief 12, 59-61, 168n. 25, 169, 174, 181, 182-226 passim, 308, 311; Ahuramazda on (*See* Ahuramazda, on Behistun relief); avoidance of brutality on, 193-194, 224, 225-226; copy of at Babylon, 59n. 40, 190, 213; Darius on (*See* Achaemenid king, relation to Ahuramazda; Darius I, crowns of *and* relation to Iranian nobility); dependency on inscription, 60-61, 186-192, 222; emblematic nature of (*See* Emblematic art); rebel leaders on, 60, 160n. 88, 185, 187, 191, 192, 193-194, 201, 222, 235; relations to Egyptian and Mesopotamian traditions (*See* Annubanini, relief of at Sar-i Pul; Victory representations); stylistic qualities of, 57-58, 115, 215-217, 224 (*See also* Achaemenid court robe, Assyrianizing element of at Behistun); weaponbearers on, 186, 209-210, 224
Behistun inscription 59, 181, 185, 186, 193, 224, 226, 235; order of carving, 59, 190n. 21. *See also* Behistun relief, dependency on inscription; Texts, Achaemenid, DB
Behistun Mountain 59, 190, 193n. 28; significance of, 195, 222, 224
Beruni, Al, 156, 307
Boots, Achaemenid royal. *See* Royal paraphernalia in Achaemenid art, shoes
Bow, Achaemenid. *See* Bow, symbolism of in Achaemenid Persia; Royal paraphernalia in Achaemenid art
Bow, Assyrian 165-169, 215
Bow, symbolism of: in Achaemenid Persia 117-118, 164, 165; in Egypt (*See* Nine Bows); in Elam, 165; in Assyrian art, 167
Bracketed register system. *See* Register system
Brother and Sister Stele 276-7n. 136
Brutality. *See* Behistun relief, avoidance of brutality on
Bull capitals, human-headed 112, 114n. 218
Byblos 32

Cambyses I 34
Cambyses II 22, 39, 162, 222, 297; Apis-stele of, 123, 124-125; tomb of, 162, 298
Canopy. *See* Baldacchino, symbolic value of; Royal paraphernalia in Achaemenid art
Carolingian art. *See* Imperial programmes and role of ruler
Cavetto moulding and cornice 77, 105, 110, 126, 246
Chaemet, tomb of 151n. 62
Charchemish 265
Chariot, Achaemenid royal. *See* Royal paraphernalia in Achaemenid art
Charlemagne 2, 19-20. *See also* Imperial programmes and role of ruler
"Chiliarch" 238
Coinage: Achaemenid imperial 116-118; Achaemenid satrapal, 116n. 224, 117, 130; Greek, at Persepolis, 90
Colchians 230
Column capitals, Achaemenid 112, 114n. 218, 308
Conscious selection. *See* Antique and foreign models; Imperial programmes and role of ruler
Court protocol 228, 264; as model for representations of divine hierarchy 273, 274; at Achaemenid court, 264, 266, 277, 283-284; at Assyrian court, 168, 200-201, 257, 264-267, 283; in actuality and in art 168, 200, 257, 264-267, 283-284. *See also entries under* Gestures
Creation as process 3-6, 20, 218, 222, 223, 231, 309
Creation vs, execution 3, 5, 12, 13, 15. *See also* Artisans, as "creators" of Achaemenid art
Croesus 37, 56, 57
Crown prince: in Achaemenid art 75-76, 88, 97, 98, 99, 100, 107, 112, 159, 175, 231, 233, 237, 238, 239, 240, 282 (*See also* Darius I, relations with crown prince; Xerxes, appointment as crown prince); in Assyrian art 204, 210, 216, 255, 292n. 28, 293-294; in Egyptian art, 245
Crowns of royalty in Achaemenid art: used in identification of specific kings 92-93, 99, 171; on coins, 117; on royal heroes, 304, 306-307. *See also* Darius I, crowns of; Xerxes, crown of
Ctesias. *See* CITED LITERATURE: CLASSICAL SOURCES
Cyrus I 31, 130; seal of, 27, 120, 130
Cyrus II 37, 39, 40, 46, 59n. 41, 62, 84, 92n. 147, 115, 211, 285, 295-296, 297, 298, 299, 301, 303; and Egypt, 37, 48; as "daimon" of Darius, 171; in Babylon, 37-38, 152, 217, 228, 266; monuments of (*See* Pasargadae). *See also* Darius I, relations with Cyrus; Texts, Achaemenid

Darband-i Gawr rock relief 137n. 17, 198, 200
Darius I: Apis-stele of 123, 124-125; and Egypt, 22, 39, 40, 61, 62, 66-68, 71-72, 123, 124n. 253, 128, 160, 218, 222; as "inventor" of Old Persian, 54-55, 59n. 41; canal stelae of, 61-68, 69, 70, 72, 123, 144-147, 216n. 102; crowns of, 65, 69, 92-93, 120, 121; Egyptian name-spelling of, 65-66, 67, 70, 128; Hibis Temple of, 77, 123, 125-129, 131, 140n. 28, 215n. 96; relations with crown prince, 75-76, 83-85, 91-95, 99; relations with Cyrus, 52-55, 62, 83n. 117, 85n. 121, 92n. 147, 171, 186; 297-299; relations with Iranian nobility, 75-76, 85n. 121, 92n. 147, 209, 210, 224, 281-282; seals of, 120-121. *See also* Achaemenid king; Behistun; Coinage, Achaemenid imperial; Imperial programmes and role of ruler; Persepolis; Persepolis Apadana; Seals,

Achaemenid Period; Susa; Texts, Achaemenid; Tomb of Darius
Darius III 74, 130, 281n. 151
Daskyleion 122
Dedhere-Isesi 19. *See also* Imperial programmes and role of ruler
Delphi. *See* Siphnian Treasury
Denderah zodiac 149n. 58, 153n. 65
Deir el Bahari. *See* Hatshepsut, tribute relief of at Deir el Bahari
Delos, Nike from 54n. 26
Diodorus 61n. 46
"Dramatic space" 238

Eannatum, victory stele of 195, 200
Ecbatana 32, 34, 59, 115, 185, 193, 196
Eclecticism 4, 15-16, 24, 301
Eflatun Pinar 148n. 54
Egypt 27, 67, 71, 72, 113; in Achaemenid lists/representations of peoples, 60n. 42, 182n. 2; in Achaemenid Period, 22, 23, 37, 39, 62, 123, 125, 183n. 4
Egyptian architecture, influence on Achaemenid 77, 126-127, 246
Egyptian artisans at Persepolis. *See* Artisans, Egyptian
Egyptian artistic traditions 157n. 80, 215, 218, 220, 221-222, 226, 237, 245, 271-272, 283; Proto-dynastic-Old Kingdom, 19, 139-141, 144n. 44, 198, 219, 220, 271n. 119; First Intermediate Period-Middle Kingdom, 19, 141n. 32, 149n. 58, 219-220, 221; New Kingdom, 18, 26, 140n. 28, 141-143, 144n. 44, 145n. 47, 146n. 52, 151n. 62, 155-156, 215n. 96, 219, 220, 240-245, 249; Late Period (Third Intermediate Period-Dynasty 26), 26, 27, 69, 124, 126-128, 140n. 28, 143, 145n. 47, 146, 149n. 58, 156, 219n. 107, 245, 246, 249, 271n. 119; Late Period (Dynasty 27), 63-65, 69-70, 113, 123, 124, 126-128, 131, 140n. 28, 144-147, 215n. 96, 246; Late Period (Ptolemaic), 14, 143-144, 145, 149nn. 58-59; conscious archaisms in, 24, 26, 143, 245n. 49; continuity of, 39, 124, 140n. 28, 144. *See also* Nine Bows; Presentation scenes, Egyptian; Subject peoples in Egyptian art; Texts, pre-Achaemenid Egyptian; Tribute presentation as representational motif; Victory representations, Egyptian
Egyptian graffiti at Wadi Hammamat 65, 66, 128
Egyptian granite 61, 68, 71
Egyptian hieroglyphs and related artistic conventions 64, 69, 70, 139n. 24, 139n. 25, 142, 143n. 38, 145, 146, 149, 188n. 16, 221, 243
Einhard 20. *See also* Imperial programmes and role of ruler
Elam: and pre-Empire Persians 4, 33, 34, 137, 158, 165, 195-196, 222; in Achaemenid Empire, 22; in Achaemenid lists of peoples, 64, 74n. 93
Elamite artistic traditions, 166n. 17; in moulded brick relief, 274; in rock relief, 154n. 68, 157-158, 195-196, 222, 246, 254n. 71, 274; in sculpture in the round, 129, 273-274; in seals (*See* Seals, Elamite); in statue base reliefs, 137, 195; perpetuated in Achaemenid art 34, 120, 129, 158, 222
Elamite language in Achaemenid bureaucracy 34, 120, 158n. 84. *See also* Texts, Achaemenid
Elamite royal coiffure 48, 300
Elamite royal robe 48, 300, 302
Elephantine 190
Ellipi 33
Elmalı, Karaburun II tomb painting 276n. 136
Emblematic art 167-168, 187-188, 190, 191, 193, 200n. 51, 202, 203-204, 207, 208, 218, 220, 249, 255, 260, 286, 291, 292, 296. *See also* Narrative art

Encomium. *See* Tribute presentation as representational motif
Ephesus: column drum reliefs from 56-57, 58; rosettes from, 49
Esarhaddon 27, 203; Twin Stelae of, 202-204. *See also* Texts, Assyrian
Esther. *See* CITED LITERATURE: OLD TESTAMENT SOURCES
Ethiopia, in Achaemenid texts 7

Fars 196, 246, 298
Fire altar. *See* Royal paraphernalia in Achaemenid art, altar
First Bowman. *See* Bow, symbolism of in Achaemenid Persia
Flower, held by king and Ahuramazda. *See* Royal paraphernalia in Achaemenid art, lotus blossom
Flywhisk. *See* Royal paraphernalia in Achaemenid art
Foreigners. *See* Subject peoples
"Fravashi" 169, 170, 171n. 33. *See also* Ahuramazda

Gaius Maecenas 19. *See also* Imperial programmes and role of ruler
Gatehouse, metaphors implicit in 95-97
Gaumata 59, 60, 74, 76n. 98, 92n. 147, 185, 186-187, 194, 216n. 101, 224, 281, 282
Gestures of courtly attention/respectful repose: in Achaemenid art 101, 233, 234, 240, 272; in art of Gudea, 272-273; in Assyrian art, 275-276; in Elamite art, 273-274
Gestures of courtly intimacy in Achaemenid art 89, 234, 240, 276-277
Gestures of diplomacy 264, 265-266. *See also* Gestures of submission/supplication
Gestures of greeting/blessing: in Achaemenid art 48, 120, 174, 175, 176, 233, 270; in Assyrian art, 174, 175, 176, 202
Gestures of piety: in Akkadian-neo-Sumerian art 133, 135, 272-273, 275n. 130; in Elamite art, 253-4n. 71
Gestures of praise: in Achaemenid art 62, 70, 145 (*See also* Atlas posture); in Egyptian art, 62, 70, 145, 149 (*See also* Egyptian hieroglyphs and related artistic conventions); in Mesopotamian art (*See* Atlas posture)
Gestures of prayer: in Achaemenid art 174-175, 188n. 16; in Akkadian-neo-Sumerian art (*See* Gestures of piety); in Assyrian art, 174-175, 253n. 71, 274; in Egyptian art, 188n. 16
Gestures of presentation: in Achaemenid art 267, 269-272, 284; in Akkadian-neo-Sumerian art, 267-268, 269-270; in Assyrian art, 253, 255, 259, 268-269; in Egyptian art, 271-272, 284; in Kassite art, 268
Gestures of respect in Achaemenid art 179, 233, 238
Gestures of submission/supplication: in Assyrian art 253, 259, 260-261, 262, 264-266, 284; in Egyptian art, 145n. 46, 241, 243, 244, 248; substitution of hand-holding for in Achaemenid art, 248, 284
Gestures of supremacy: in Achaemenid art 199, 207; in Akkadian-Ur III tradition, 199-201, 207; in Assyrian art, 200-201, 206, 207; in Egyptian art, 194, 219-221
Gestures of symbolic support: in Achaemenid and Mesopotamian art (*See* Atlas posture); in Egyptian art 146, 149 (*See also* Gestures of praise)
Glyptic art. *See* Seals
Gobryas 73, 74n. 94, 76n. 98, 84, 85n. 121, 92n. 147, 186n. 11
Godin Tepe 31n. 90
Greece and the Achaemenid Empire 41-42
Greek graffiti: in Persepolis quarry 10; on shoe relief from Palace of Darius, Persepolis, 10, 80

Greek influence on Achaemenid sculpture 4, 5, 9-11, 49, 54, 246n. 51, 276n. 136. *See also* Achaemenid court robe, Greek influence on; Artisans, Greek/Ionian

Greeks in Achaemenid art 182n. 2

Greek sculpture chronology 9-10, 56-58

Guardian colossi, Achaemenid 14, 47, 302

Guards/archers on Achaemenid reliefs: as historical personages 76n. 98, 85n. 123; as metaphorical supporters, 131, 154

Gudea Period-neo-Sumerian artistic traditions: in relief 268, 273n. 122, 274; in sculpture in the round, 133n. 1, 135-137, 252, 272-273, 274; in seals, 267-268, 273n. 112; in wall painting, 251n. 60. *See also* Texts, Gudea Period

Gur-i Dokhtar (Buzpar tomb) 162

Hamadan 32, 59, 114, 115, 184. *See also* Ecbatana

Hamadan Head 114-116

Hammamat, Wadi. *See* Egyptian graffiti

Hammurabi 27, 195

Hand-holding. *See* Gestures of presentation

Hand-over-wrist gesture. *See* Gestures of courtly attention

Hanni 274

Hasanlu Bowl 166n. 17

Hatshepsut, tribute relief of at Deir el Bahari 240-241, 244

Heb Sed ritual 157n. 80

Hekhemet crown 302

Herodotus. *See* CITED LITERATURE: CLASSICAL SOURCES

Hierakonpolis, macehead from 139

Hierarchical order, metaphorical expressions of: in Achaemenid art 131-133, 144, 146, 153, 154, 156, 160-161, 210, 224-225, 247, 263, 279, 282, 284, 289-290, 299, 307-308, 310-311; in Akkadian art, 133-135; in ancient Near Eastern art, 131-133; in Assyrian art, 138, 210, 263; in Egyptian art, 140-144, 160, 247, 290; in Elamite art, 137; in neo-Sumerian art, 133, 135-137

Hieroglyphs. *See* Egyptian hieroglyphs and related artistic conventions

Ḥinzanî 23

Historical art. *See* Imperial art as a subjective historical source

Horemheb 142n. 34, 143, 244

Horse and rider in Achaemenid art 120, 129-130

Horus, on Narmer's Palette 139, 198

Huje, tomb of 244

Hystaspes 83, 129

Ilushuilia, seal of 198n. 45

Imperial art as a subjective historical source 1-2, 8, 15, 42, 131-133, 184, 270, 309

Imperial domain, concept of universality of 8, 142, 192, 218, 221-222, 224, 225, 247, 283

Imperial order/imperial cosmos. *See* Hierarchical order, metaphorical expressions of

Imperial programmes and role of ruler 2, 16-17, 23, 39; Achaemenid, 1-5 passim, 11, 13, 15-16, 22, 23, 123, 217, 222, 226, 303, 309; Assyrian, 17-18; Augustan, 2, 19-20; Carolingian, 2, 19-20; Egyptian, 2, 18-19; Mughal, 2, 19, 21-22

Incense burner. *See* Royal paraphernalia in Achaemenid art

India 29, 40, 60

Intaphernes 186n. 11

Indo-Iranian: cultural heritage 5, 7, 30, 91n. 144, 189-190, 224, 226, 305, 310; language group, 29; society, 29, 30

Ionia 9, 11, 32. *See also* Artisans, Greek /Ionian; *and entries under* Greece/Greek

Iran 4, 7, 11, 31

Iranian: titulary 22; traditions, indigenous, 7, 54n. 26, 166, 168-169, 178-179, 280, 289. *See also* Medes, in pre-Achaemenid Period; Persians of pre-Empire Period

Iranian nobility 74, 90n. 136, 112-113, 130, 180, 183, 193, 209-210, 239, 263; as the king's weaponbearers, 39, 75-76, 186, 209-210, 224-225, 233, 281-282; in military vs. courtly aspect, 277, 279-282. *See also* Darius I, relations with Iranian nobility

Iranian riding costume: in Achaemenid art 12, 82, 88, 98n. 169, 107, 120, 130, 182n. 2, 233, 234, 235, 277; significance of as a gift, 279-282. *See also* Iranian nobility, in military vs. courtly aspect

Ishtar 173, 197, 199n. 48, 201, 212, 213

Jahwe 160

Karmir-Blur 291

Karnak 143, 244

Kassite artistic traditions: in reliefs, 268; in seals, 28, 268

Khaemibre 128

el Khargeh Oasis. *See* Darius I, Hibis Temple of

Khasakhem, statues of 140

Kheruef, tomb of 141n. 32

Khopesh-sword 219, 221

Khorsabad 115, 138, 150n. 60, 152n. 64, 172n. 39, 207, 208, 257-262, 263, 275n. 131, 284, 293-296, 302, 304

Khuzistan 195n. 32, 196, 246, 274

King, Achaemenid. *See* Achaemenid king

King, carrying of. *See* Transport of king/divine images

Kingship. *See* Achaemenid king

Kizkapan, rock-cut tomb 175n. 52

Kul-i Farah rock reliefs 154n. 68, 157-158, 246, 253-4n. 71

Kurangun rock reliefs 246

Kush, in Achaemenid lists of peoples 60

Labor organization for Achaemenid sculpture. *See* Achaemenid sculpture: labor organization for, masons' marks on, toothed chisel marks on; Artisans

Lie Followers/The Lie 129, 183n. 3, 186, 189, 191, 192, 194, 218, 222, 224, 310, 311

Lion and bull groups 81, 82, 88, 98, 110, 232, 236

Lotus blossom. *See* Royal paraphernalia in Achaemenid art

Luristan situla reliefs 166n. 17

Lycian art. *See* Elmalı; Nereid Monument

Lydia 32, 37, 49

Maka, in Achaemenid lists of peoples 63

Malamir rock reliefs 195n. 32

Maltai rock reliefs 150n. 60, 213n. 90

Mandane 34

Manishtusu: inscription of 251; obelisk of, 27; statues of, 133-134, 135, 137, 140, 200

Manna/Manneans 30n. 88, 33

Marathon, Battle of 83, 85n. 122

Mardonius 73

Marduk: Cyrus' appeasement of 37, 152, 217; throne and symbols of, 152, 177

Marduk-zakir-shumi 138n. 20, 265

Mari 173, 194-195, 251n. 60

Masons' marks. *See* Achaemenid sculpture, masons' marks on

Master of beasts. *See* Royal hero

Masudi, Al 25

Medes: in Achaemenid art (*See* Iranian riding costume; Iranian nobility in military vs. courtly aspect); in Achaemenid lists of peoples, 64, 74n. 93; in pre-Achaemenid Period, 30-34, 264; position of in Achaemenid Period, 36-37, 281

Media 185, 200, 224

"Median" art 32-33, 115-116, 167-168, 211, 283, 295
Median costume. *See* Iranian riding costume
"Median" rock-cut tombs 175n. 52, 179
Megiddo ivories 148n. 54
Melishihu II, kudurru of 268
Menkheperr Seneb, tomb of 244
Mentuhotep I, victory relief of 219-220
Mesopotamian art. *See* Akkadian; Assyrian; Kassite; Gudea Period-neo-Sumerian; Neo-Babylonian; Old Babylonian; Ur III; *and names of specific rulers*
Metaphor vs. actuality. *See* Art and actuality; Hierarchical order, metaphorical expressions of
Miletus, rosettes from 49
Models. *See* Antique and foreign models
Mughal art. *See* Imperial programmes and role of ruler
Mut 127
Mythical creatures in Near Eastern art 147-148, 152n. 64, 167, 174n. 51, 181, 295, 301-302, 304, 306. *See also* Pasargadae "Genius"; Royal hero

Nabonidus 34, 152, 177n. 59, 228n. 6
Nabopolassar, foundation deposit of 28, 268
Nabu 177
Nabuapaladdina, archaizing tablet of 28, 268
Napir-Asu, sculptural representations of 129, 273-274
Naqsh-i Rustam: Achaemenid tombs (*See* Tomb of Darius; Tombs, Achaemenid royal); Elamite rock relief 274; Sasanian rock relief, 173, 274
Naramsin 196n. 37; inscribed statue of, 135; stele of, 27, 135, 137n. 17, 198, 199-200; 251n. 59
Narmer's Palette 139, 141, 144n. 44, 198, 219
Narrative art 138, 193, 204-206, 241, 243-245, 248. *See also* Emblematic art
Nasiriyya, stele from 251
Nebuchadnezzar 32, 38
Neccho II, Suez Canal of 61n. 46
Neferhotep I 19. *See also* Antique and foreign models, conscious selection/rejection of; Imperial programmes and role of ruler
Nefru, tomb of 149n. 58
Neo-Assyrian artistic traditions. *See* Assyrian artistic traditions
Neo-Babylonian artistic traditions: in moulded brick 305; in seals (*See* Seals, neo-Babylonian)
Neo-Sumerian artistic traditions. *See* Gudea Period-neo-Sumerian artistic traditions
Nereid Monument 12, 280-281
New Year. *See* No Ruz
Nile River 61n. 46, 70n. 73, 125, 139
Nile gods on Achaemenid Period monuments 64, 65, 69, 70
Nimrud 137n. 19, 138n. 20, 148n. 56, 151n. 63, 158n. 82, 172-174, 205-206, 207, 252-254, 255, 257
Nine, symbolism of 139n. 25, 201n. 55
Nine Bows 138-147, 160, 165n. 13, 201n. 55, 242n. 37
Nineveh 17, 25, 27, 31, 150n. 60, 151n. 63, 207, 291
Ningirsu 72n. 82, 136, 273
Nobles. *See* Iranian nobility
Nomadism of pre-Empire Persians 28, 29, 30-31, 51n. 14
Nomes, personifications of in Darius' Temple of Hibis 127, 131
No Ruz 95n. 163, 156, 157n. 79, 228, 236n. 14, 239n. 28, 278-279, 280, 307
Nush-i Jan 31n. 90, 32, 178
Nut 146, 149n. 58

Oebares 129

Old Babylonian artistic traditions: in seals 268, 270; relation to wall paintings at Mari, 173, 194-195

Old Persian language 54, 59n. 41, 154. *See also* Texts, Achaemenid

Omega fold. *See* Achaemenid court robe, Greek influence on

Otanes 76n. 98, 298

Oxus treasure: gold repoussé 148n. 56; "triumph seal", 183n. 3

Parasol in Achaemenid art. *See* Royal paraphernalia in Achaemenid art

Parasol, symbolic values of 287-288, 291

Paratactic relief structure 240, 246, 247, 269, 283. *See also* Register system

Parmys 298

Parsa/Parsua 30n. 88, 33, 62

Parsees 169, 170

Pasargadae 9, 10, 11, 13, 46, 53, 57, 62; Palace P, 10, 48n. 11, 49-58, 83n. 117, 215, 216n. 99, 285, 291, 294, 295-298; Palace R, 46-49, 295, 300; Palace S, 48, 295, 302; rosettes, 49; Takht, 297-298; Tomb of Cyrus II, 162, 297

Pasargadae "Genius" 48-49, 300-303; Assyrian parallels for, 301-302. *See also* Achaemenid sculpture, relation to architecture

Pausanias 25n. 64

Penelope, statue of 42

Pepy I, prisoner statues of 140-141

Persepolis 9-14, 25, 46, 52, 53, 90; Achaemenid sculpture in the round from, 130; Apadana (*See* Persepolis Apadana); Central Building, 91n. 145, 92, 93n. 151, 95-100, 107, 114n. 218, 131, 142n. 36, 147, 155, 157, 159, 235, 272n. 120, 285, 290; Gate of All Lands, 87, 89-90n. 135, 97n. 163; Harem of Xerxes, 92, 101-103, 107, 285n. 5, 286, 303; Palace G, 108; Palace H, 108-110, 227, 272n. 120, 279; Palace of Darius, 10, 52n. 20, 58n. 39, 76-86, 95-96n. 163, 100, 101, 103, 104, 107, 113, 126, 227, 272n. 120, 279, 285, 287n. 11, 289, 303; Palace of Xerxes, 92, 93n. 151, 103-105, 286, 287; platform/terrace, 77, 86, 87, 89n. 135, 95, 98-99, 100, 101, 103, 108; Throne Hall, 12, 91, 93n. 151, 99, 105-108, 131, 142n. 36, 147, 153n. 65, 154, 155, 157, 159, 179, 215n. 96, 303; Treasury, 27, 41, 42, 94, 105, 113n. 214, 130, 270. *See also* Tombs, Achaemenid royal

Persepolis Apadana 12, 43, 77, 86-95, 98, 99, 100, 110, 112n. 210, 165n. 14, 166n. 15, 175, 192, 193, 221, 226, 227-284 passim; differences between north and east facades, 88-90, 227, 279; removal of original central stair panels, 88, 94; "Treasury reliefs", 88, 91, 92-93, 94, 107, 159, 166n. 15, 175, 179, 231, 232-233, 236-237, 239, 240, 272, 276; Wing A (nobles), 88-89, 232, 233-234, 239, 240, 272, 276-277; Wing B (tribute groups), 88, 110, 165n. 14, 227, 232, 234-236, 238, 240, 271, 279, 284. *See also* Tribute presentation as a representational motif

Persia 66, 72, 74n. 93; in Achaemenid lists/representations of peoples, 63, 64, 230; status of in Achaemenid Empire, 230

Persian archers. *See* Guards/archers on Achaemenid reliefs

"Persian man, a" 71, 183, 310

Persian robe. *See* Achaemenid court robe

Persians of Achaemenid Period 37; in Achaemenid art (*See* Iranian nobility)

Persians of pre-Empire Period 1, 28, 29, 30-34. *See also* Nomadism

Petosiris Tomb 14

Phaedyme 298
Phoenicia 39
Phoenician art 301
Phraortes 193
Phrygians 260
Piankhy, victory relief of 245
"Pictorial actuality" 237
Pliny. *See* CITED LITERATURE: CLASSICAL SOURCES
Plutarch. *See* CITED LITERATURE: CLASSICAL SOURCES
Politics and religion 39, 123, 133-134, 136, 170-171, 175-176, 178, 181, 189, 217, 302
Polyaenus 171
Presentation scenes. *See* Gestures of presentation
Programmes, imperial. *See* Imperial programmes and role of ruler
Process of creation. *See* Creation as process
"Proskynesis" 238
Protocol. *See* Court protocol
Psalm 22. *See* CITED LITERATURE: OLD TESTAMENT SOURCES
Psammetichos I 146
Pytharchos 10

Ramose, tomb of 141n. 32
Ramses II 140n. 28, 146n. 52, 219n. 107, 220, 244-245
Ramses III 155n. 73, 219n. 107, 290
"Real space": occupied by art, 289; represented in art, 237, 239
Rekh-mi-Re, tomb of 242-243, 247
Rekhyt-birds 139
Register system: in Achaemenid art 88, 107, 147, 154n. 68, 179n. 64, 233, 234, 237, 239, 245, 246, 247, 249, 283; in Assyrian art, 205, 208, 246-247; in Egyptian art, 241, 242, 244-245, 246-247, 249, 283; in Elamite art, 154n. 68, 246. *See also* Paratactic relief structure
Religion, Achaemenid court 163, 169, 170-171, 175-176, 177, 180-181, 301; mortars and pestles in, 163n. 6. *See also* Achaemenid king, relation to Ahuramazda; Ahuramazda; Politics and religion; Religious syncretism
Religion, Assyrian 39, 155, 164, 172n. 39, 175. *See also* Assur
Religion, Babylonian. *See* Marduk, Cyrus' appeasement of; Religious syncretism
Religious syncretism 39, 128, 177, 213, 301, 303
Rig Veda 29
Rimush, statue inscription of 134-135
Ring of power 60, 97, 107, 170, 173-174, 177, 180, 186, 187, 188, 196-197, 199n. 48, 201, 202, 212, 221
Royal archer 117-118, 165. *See also* Bow, symbolism of in Achaemenid Persia
Royal attendants in Achaemenid art. *See* Bearded and beardless servants; Royal paraphernalia in Achaemenid art *for objects carried by attendant types*
Royal hero 10, 81, 82, 102-103, 107-108, 113, 119n. 232, 288, 289n. 16, 300, 303-308; as "a Persian man", 305-307; Assyrian parallels for, 304-305; with bull, 81, 108, 303; with griffin monster, 107, 303; with man-bull, 121, 122; with winged bull, 121; with lion, 81, 82, 103, 108, 113n. 214, 121, 122, 303; with lion monster, 81, 102-103, 107, 121, 303. *See also* Achaemenid sculpture, apotropaic functions of
Royal paraphernalia in Achaemenid art 44, 158-159, 166, 290; alabastron, 82; altar, 73, 120, 159, 163, 174, 175n. 52, 176-177, 178-179; baldacchino, 98, 107, 231, 233, 237, 238, 239, 240, 245-246, 283 (*See also* Baldacchino, iconographic uses of); bow, 117, 164, 165-

166, 168-169, 215 (*See also* Bow, symbolism of in Achaemenid Persia; Royal archer); ceremonial weapons (*See* Iranian nobility as the king's weaponbearers); chariot, 120, 234, 239, 240; covered bowl, 285, 287; crowns (*See* Crowns of royalty in Achaemenid art; Darius I, crowns of; Xerxes, crown of); flywhisk, 77, 79, 91, 97, 99, 101, 104, 107, 285, 287; footstool, 110, 233, 234; Incense burner, 82, 159, 166n. 15, 233; jewelry, 69, 104, 107 (*See also* Achaemenid sculpture, metal attachments on, *and* paint on); lotus blossom/flower, 69, 77, 97, 101, 107, 233, 285; pail, 82, 233; parasol, 51, 77, 97, 101, 104, 285, 287-288, 296; scarf/towel, 77, 79, 82, 97, 101, 104, 107, 233, 285, 287; shoes, 69, 112-113, 185, 186, 304; staff/scepter, 51, 77, 83n. 117, 97, 101-102, 120, 122, 233, 270, 285; standard, 233, 239-240; throne, 97, 98, 99, 107, 110, 231, 233, 270; throne platform/dais, 73, 95-96n. 163, 98, 107, 147, 150-159 passim, 163, 178-179, 180 (*See also* Throne platforms as metaphorical symbols)

Royal presence: in Achaemenid art 285-291, 294-297, 299; in Assyrian art, 291, 292-297; in Egyptian art, 290-291; in Urartian art, 291-292

Royal shoes. *See* Royal hero; Royal paraphernalia in Achaemenid art

Rusa, seal of 291

Sahure, funerary temple of 198, 220

Samos, rosettes from 49

Sangara 265, 266

Sardis 37, 239n. 28

Sargon II: glazed brick relief of 294-295; glazed tiles of, 172n. 39; palace paintings of, 152n. 64; palace reliefs of, 115, 138n. 20, 150n. 60, 152n. 64, 165n. 14, 172n. 39, 192n. 25, 195, 207-208, 215, 230, 254, 257-262, 264n. 99, 275, 284, 293-294, 295-296, 302, 304; throne platform of, 138n. 20, 195. *See also* Texts, Assyrian

Sargon of Akkad 134-135

Sar-i Pul. *See* Annubanini, relief of

Sasanian: altar form 178n. 61; crowns, 93; exposure to Achaemenid monuments, 25, 90n. 136; No Ruz, 278; royal investiture motif, 173-174; throne carrying ritual, 156

Sculptors. *See* Artisans

Sculptors' models at Persepolis 14-15, 23n. 56. *See also* Achaemenid sculpture, labor organization for

Scythians/Scyths 32, 60, 75, 185, 192

Seals: as models for monumental art 177, 182-184, 198n. 45, 269; availability as antique models, 27, 28, 177, 270

Seals, Achaemenid Period 118-122, 148n. 57, 163n. 6, 166n. 17, 176, 182-184, 303, 304, 306-307; inscribed with royal name, 120-122, 182-183, 303; on Persepolis Fortification tablets, 76n. 98, 93n. 150, 119, 120, 163n. 6, 167n. 17, 182n. 2, 183, 270, 303; on Persepolis Treasury tablets, 119, 163n. 6, 166n. 17, 168n. 25, 178, 182n. 2, 270, 303

Seals: Akkadian 267; Assyrian, 148n. 54, 148nn. 56-57; 167, 168, 172, 173, 213, 291, 304; Early Dynastic, 28, 267; Elamite, 148n. 56, 166n. 17; Gudea Period-neo-Sumerian, 267-268, 273n. 122; Kassite, 28, 268; neo-Babylonian, 148n. 54, 177, 178n. 60, 180, 304; Old Babylonian, 268, 270; Ur III, 198n. 45; Urartian, 291

Sekyndianos/Sogdianos 74

Sennacherib: bullae of 291; palace reliefs of, 150, 151n. 63, 172n. 39, 208-209, 246-247, 262, 275; rock reliefs of, 150n. 60, 204, 213n. 90. *See also* Texts, Assyrian

Serapeum stelae 64, 65, 123, 124-125

Sesostris I, stele of 141n. 32, 221

Seti I, 146n. 52

Shâh Suwâr rock relief 195n. 32

Shalmaneser III: Balawat Gates of 151n. 63, 206, 254, 256, 265, 266; Black Obelisk of, 167n. 18, 202n. 58, 254, 255, 256, 266; sculpture in the round of, 137n. 19; throne dais of, 138nn. 20-21, 202n. 58, 237n. 17, 254, 255, 265, 275n. 131. *See also* Texts, Assyrian

Shamash-shum-ukim 31

Shebitka, ivories of 143

Sheshonq I 143n. 37, 219n. 107

Shikaft-i Salman rock relief 253-4n. 71, 274

Shoes, Achaemenid royal. *See* Royal paraphernalia in Achaemenid art

Shu 146, 149n. 58

Shulgi 137n. 17

Shutruk-Nahhunte II 274

Sind, in Achaemenid texts 7, 63

Siphnian Treasury at Delphi 9n. 14, 10, 11n. 17, 57, 58

Sippar 28

Skunkha 60, 185, 201

Smerdis 186, 298

Snefru 219n. 107

Solomon, throne platform of 159

Staff, Achaemenid royal. *See* Royal paraphernalia in Achaemenid art

Standard, Achaemenid royal. *See* Royal paraphernalia in Achaemenid art

Standard of Mari 198

Standard of Ur 198, 200, 250

Style as iconography 57, 213-218, 224, 311

Subject peoples (conquered peoples): in Achaemenid art 9n. 14, 62 63, 69, 73, 81, 88, 98, 107, 110, 131, 135, 141n. 33, 142, 145, 147, 150-151, 153-155, 160, 161, 182, 192, 222, 232, 235-236, 247, 270, 279, 283, 311 (*See also* Achaemenid lists of peoples; Behistun relief, rebel leaders on); in Akkadian-Ur III traditions, 133-135, 196-200; in Assyrian art, 202-203, 204-209, 253, 255, 256, 257, 259-262; in neo-Sumerian art, 135-137; in Egyptian art, 138-145, 160, 218-222, 240-245, 247-249, 283

Subjective history. *See* Imperial art as a subjective historical source

Suez Canal: of Darius 61, 66, 67; of Neccho II, 61. *See also* Darius I, canal stelae of

Susa: 7, 11, 16, 23, 27, 67, 71, 72, 133, 137, 166n. 17, 274; Palace of Artaxerxes II, 86n. 126; Palace of Darius, 7-8, 68, 76n. 98, 85n. 123, 214; statue fragments of Darius, 110-114, 303; Statue of Darius, 26, 63, 64, 68-72, 89, 113, 123, 131, 143n. 38, 144-147, 150, 160, 216n. 102, 246n. 51, 305

Susa foundation charter in historical context 7-9, 10, 11

"Susian guards" 85n. 123, 233-234, 239, 240

Syncretism. *See* Religious syncretism

Syria 148n. 54, 198

Taharqa 27, 143, 146, 203

Takht-i Rustam 162, 298

Tax payment. *See* Tribute presentation as representational motif

Tchoga Zanbil 166n. 17

Teispes 120

Telephanes of Phocea 11-12

Telloh 136, 268, 273

Teumman 48

Texts, Achaemenid: Cyrus Cylinder Edict 37n. 107, 38-39, 217, 228n. 6, 266; CMa, 48; Cmb, 52-53, 54-55, 298; CMc, 51, 53, 55, 298; DB, 54n. 27, 59, 64, 73-74, 186, 226, 297; DB captions, 186, 192;

DBI, 60, 201n. 55; DBI-II, 187, 190, 191; DBIV, 74n. 89, 186-187, 188, 190, 191, 192, 211, 213; DBV, 60, 190; DB Aramaic version, 190; DNa, 64, 73, 75n. 95, 154, 161, 163, 181, 305-306; DNb, 73, 74-75n. 94, 129-130, 153, 154, 164, 181; DNa-b, 64, 73, 74n. 93, 163; DNc-DNd, 73n. 88, 281; DPa, 83; DPb, 83; DPe, 64, 83; DPh, 90; DSe, 64; DSf, 7-9, 10, 11, 71n. 81; DSm, 64; DSn, 111-112, 113; Apis-stelae of Cambyses and Darius, 124-125; canal stelae of Darius, 62, 63-65, 66, 67; Serapeum stelae of Darius, 65-66; Statue of Darius, 63, 64, 69, 70-72, 305; Fortification tablets, 13, 22, 23, 27, 67, 76n. 98, 130, 163n. 6, 169n. 29, 282, 307n. 25; Treasury tablets, 22, 95n. 161, 163n. 6, 166n. 17, 169n. 29; XPa, 89-90n. 135; XPb, 91, 94; XPc, 83; XPca, 83; XPcb, 83, 85; XPd, 91n. 142; XPda-b, 105; XPe, 105; XPf, 84, 85, 103; XPg, 90n. 140; XPk, 83; A^{1}Pa, 108, 109; A^{3}Pa, 81; Aramaic letter of Aršam, 23, 72, 129, 130. *See also* Seals, Achaemenid Period, inscribed with royal name; *and Figure 4*

Texts, Akkadian 251; annotated Babylonian copies of, 134, 252

Texts, Assyrian 17, 31, 33, 134, 155, 191n. 22, 193, 200, 203n. 62; of Assurbanipal, 17, 27, 34, 165n. 12, 204, 217; of Assur-bel-kala, 202n. 56; of Assurnasirpal, 200n. 50; of Assur-uballit, 242n. 36; of Esarhaddon, 17, 203n. 59; of Sargon, 17-18, 191n. 22, 192n. 25, 200n. 50, 259-260, 261, 266; of Sennacherib, 204; of Shalmaneser III, 30; of Tiglathpileser III, 257

Texts, Gudea Period 8n. 9, 72n. 82, 136

Texts, pre-Achaemenid Egyptian 18, 19, 22, 140, 241, 244

Texts, Urartian 33

Theban tombs. See Egyptian artistic traditions; *and names of specific tomb owners*

Thebes 241n. 33, 246

Theodorus of Samos 12

Throne carriers. *See* Atlas posture; Throne platforms as metaphorical symbols; Thrones; Transport of king/divine images

Thrones: as metaphorical symbols 152n. 64; Assyrian, 150-152, 158n. 83; Babylonian, 150-152; Egyptian, 151n. 62; Urartian, 150. *See also* Atlas posture; Throne platforms as metaphorical symbols

Throne platforms as metaphorical symbols: in Achaemenid art 95-97n. 163, 156, 160-161, 180-181, 221; in Assyria, 138, 150-152, 153, 158n. 83; in Egypt, 141

Tiglathpileser III, palace reliefs of 151n. 63, 155, 158, 167n. 18, 172n. 39, 206, 255-257. *See also* Texts, Assyrian

Til Barsib: stele of Esarhaddon 202, 203; wall paintings, 152n. 64

Timelessness in Achaemenid sculpture 11, 12, 57, 191, 192, 193, 286, 310

Tishpak, seal of 199n. 48

Tissaphernes 117

Tomb of Darius I 53n. 25, 73-76, 98, 131, 142n. 36, 147, 157, 162-181 passim; Ahuramazda on, 73, 163, 169-176, 214 (*See also* Ahuramazda); astral symbols on, 73, 177, 180; cruciform facade of, 73, 162, 179; Darius on, 178, 180-181 (*See also* Achaemenid king, relation to Ahuramazda; Darius I, crowns of); rock-cut form of, 73, 162, 179; unarmed "mourners" on, 178-179; weaponbearers on, 73-74, 75, 281-282. *See also* Texts, Achaemenid (DN)

Tombs, Achaemenid royal 131; of Xerxes, 74, 93, 154n. 67; Unfinished Tomb (Persepolis), 74;

Tomb V (South Tomb, Persepolis), 74, 81n. 105; Tomb VI (Persepolis), 74, 153n. 65. *See also* Cambyses, tomb of; Pasargadae, tomb of Cyrus; Tomb of Darius I

Toothed chisel on Achaemenid monuments. *See* Achaemenid sculpture, toothed chisel marks on

Toprak Kale: Rusa seal from 291, 292; throne, 150n. 60

Transport of king/divine images: in Achaemenid art 153-155; in Achaemenid ritual, 156-160; in Assyrian art, 155; in Assyrian texts, 155; in Egyptian art, 155-156; in Elamite art, 157-158; in Sasanian No Ruz rite, 156. *See also* Art and actuality; throne platforms as metaphorical symbols

"Treasury reliefs". *See* Persepolis Apadana

Tribute presentation as representational motif 229-230; in Achaemenid art, 192, 221, 230, 231-240, 246-250, 262-264, 266-267, 269-272, 275-284; in Akkadian-neo-Sumerian art, 251-252; in Assyrian art, 138nn. 20-21, 230, 250, 252-267, 283-284; in Egyptian art, 230, 240-250, 283; in Sumerian art, 250; in Urartian art, 263-264; portrayed as encomium payment, 227-229, 230-231, 262, 277-278, 284; portrayed as tax payment, 227-229, 230

Tribute presentation in actuality 227-229; in Achaemenid Empire, 230-231, 249, 277; in Assyrian Empire, 229n. 7; in Egyptian Empire, 241-242, 247, 248-249; in Sasanian Period, 278. *See also* Court protocol

Tukulti-Ninurta I, altar of 177n. 56

Tutanchamon 244

Tutmosis III 143n. 42, 219, 220, 240, 242n. 36, 243n. 39

Udjahorresne 22. *See also* Imperial programmes and role of ruler

Universality. *See* Imperial domain, concept of universality of

Untash-^{d}Gal 273, 274n. 125

Urartian artistic traditions 4, 33-34, 162n. 4, 263-264, 292

Urartu/Urartians 4, 30n. 88, 33, 34

Ur III artistic traditions: in relief 137n. 17, 198-200; in sculpture in the round, 137n. 17; in seals, 198n. 45

Ur-Ningirsu, statue of 135-137, 252

Ushanahuru 203

Victory representations: Achaemenid 182-194, 221, 222-226, 247; in Akkadian-Ur III tradition, 196, 199-200 (*See also* Annubanini, relief of at Sar-i Pul); Assyrian, 138n. 20, 195, 196, 200-201, 202, 209, 224, 225-226; Egyptian, 196, 198, 218-222, 225, 247; Elamite, 194, 195-196; neo-Sumerian, 133, 135-137; Old Babylonian, 194-195

Vulture, Egyptian 215, 290

Weaponbearers in Achaemenid art. *See* Iranian nobility, as the king's weaponbearers

Winged disc: in Achaemenid art 64-65, 122, 148n. 57, 166n. 17, 182n. 2, 214-215, 246; in Assyrian art, 148; in Egyptian art, 64-65, 126, 214-215, 246; in Near Eastern art, 148. *See also* Ahuramazda; Assur

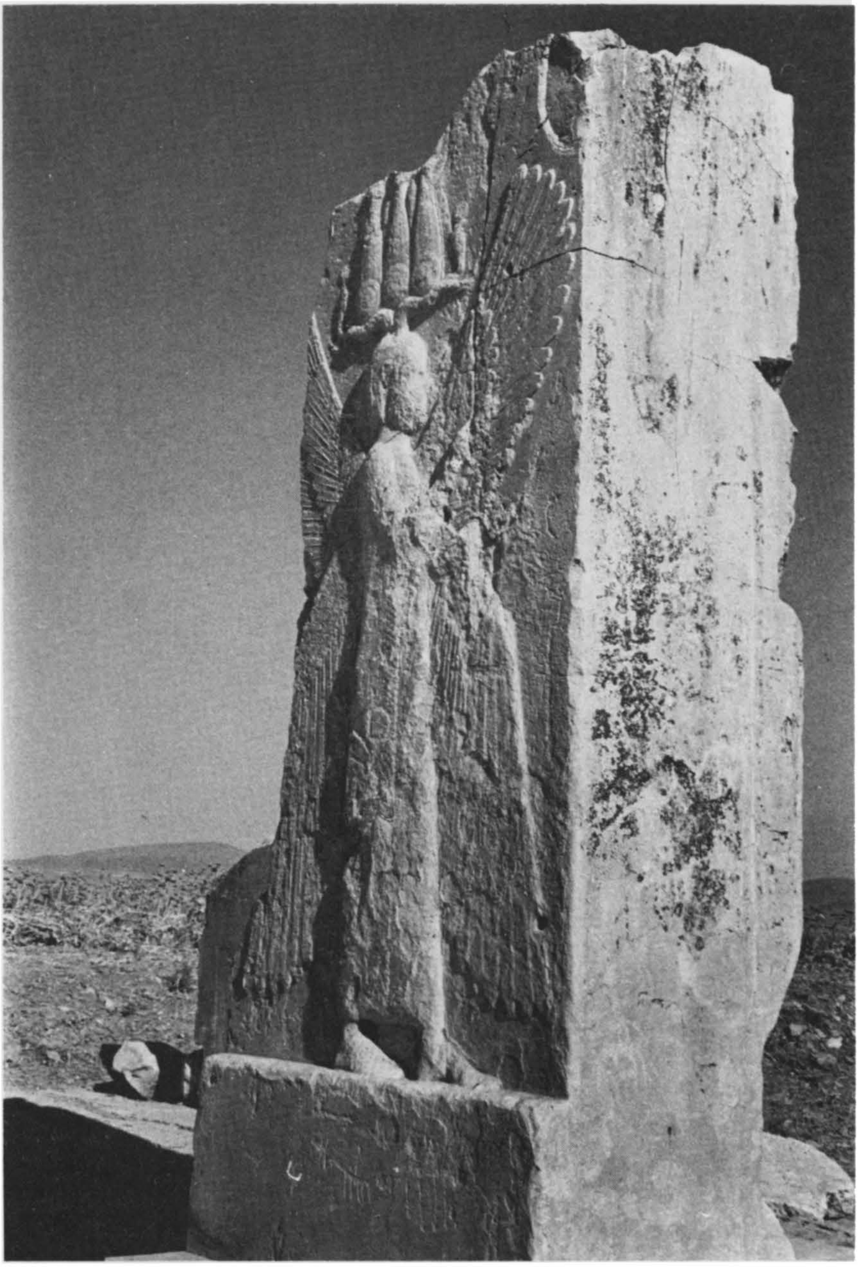
Workmen. *See* Artisans

Xenophon. *See* CITED LITERATURE: CLASSICAL SOURCES

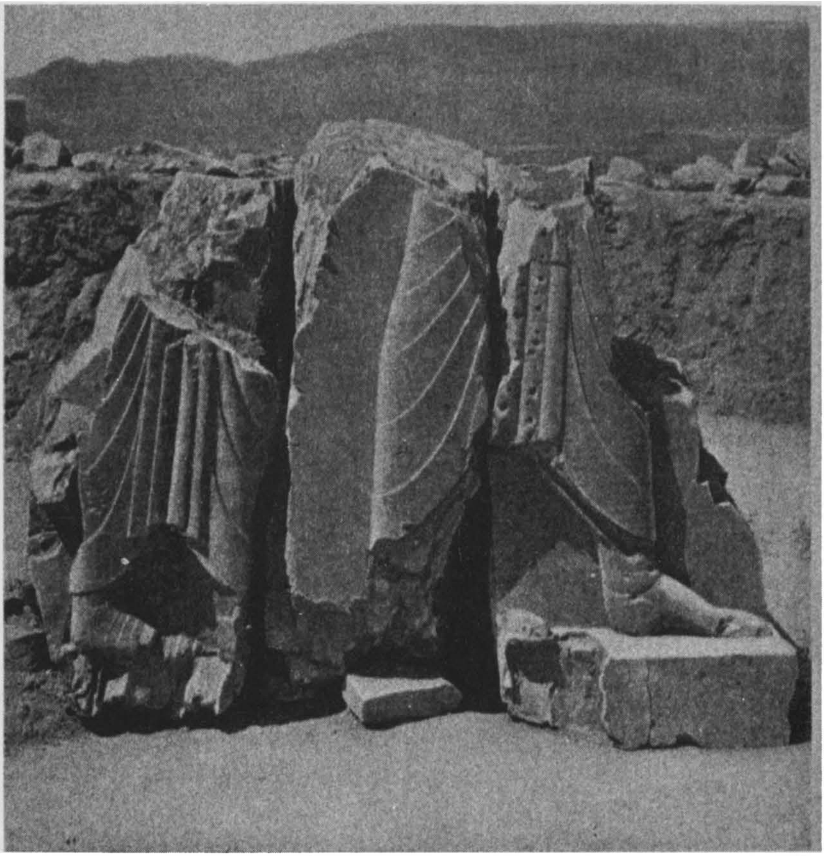
Xerxes: and statue of Darius 72n. 83; appointment as crown prince, 83-85, 92; baldacchino of, at Salamis, 237n. 18; completion of works of Darius, 40, 55n. 29, 74nn. 93-94, 83n. 117, 85, 89-90n. 135, 90-91; crown of, 92-93, 104, 121-122; monuments of (*See* Persepolis: Gate of All Lands, Harem of Xerxes, Palace of Xerxes; Tombs, Achaemenid royal); parade retinue of, 239n. 28; relations with son Darius, 93-94; seals of, 121-122; statue of, 129. *See also* Darius I, relations with crown prince; Texts, Achaemenid

Zagros Mountains 29, 30, 33, 34n. 100
Zimrilim: investiture of 173; victory scene of, 194-195
Zinzirli, stele of Esarhaddon 202-203, 204
Ziwiye treasure: gold pectoral 148n. 56; ivory plaque, 275n. 133, 276; trough with engraved tribute scene, 263, 264n. 99
Zoroastrianism 169
Zoser, statue base of 140n. 28

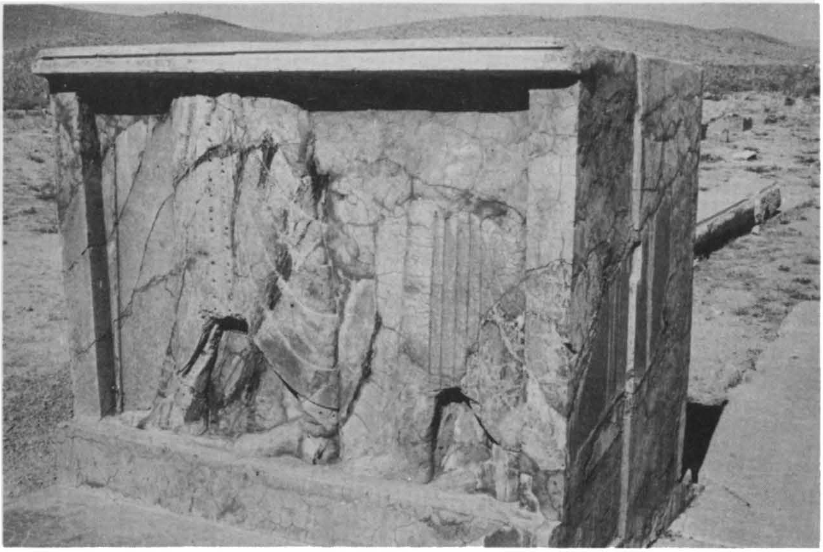
ILLUSTRATIONS



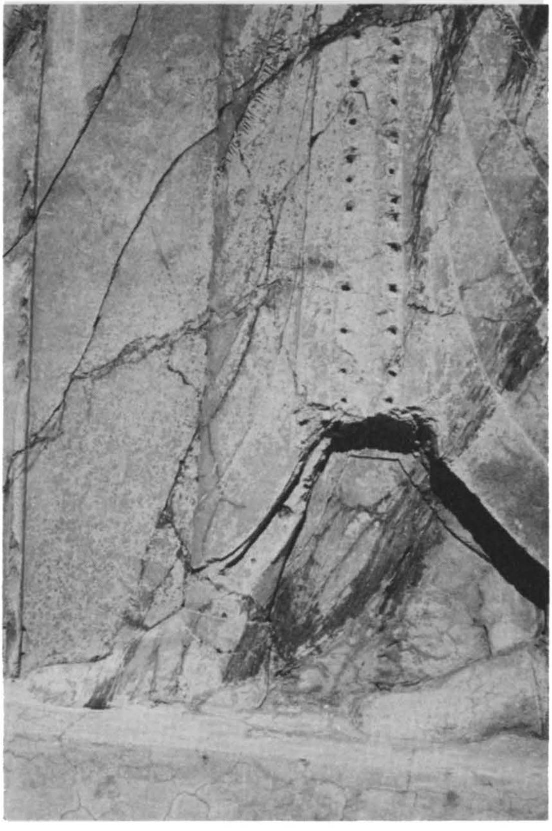
1. Pasargadae, Palace R. Relief.



2. Pasargadae, Palace P. Relief.

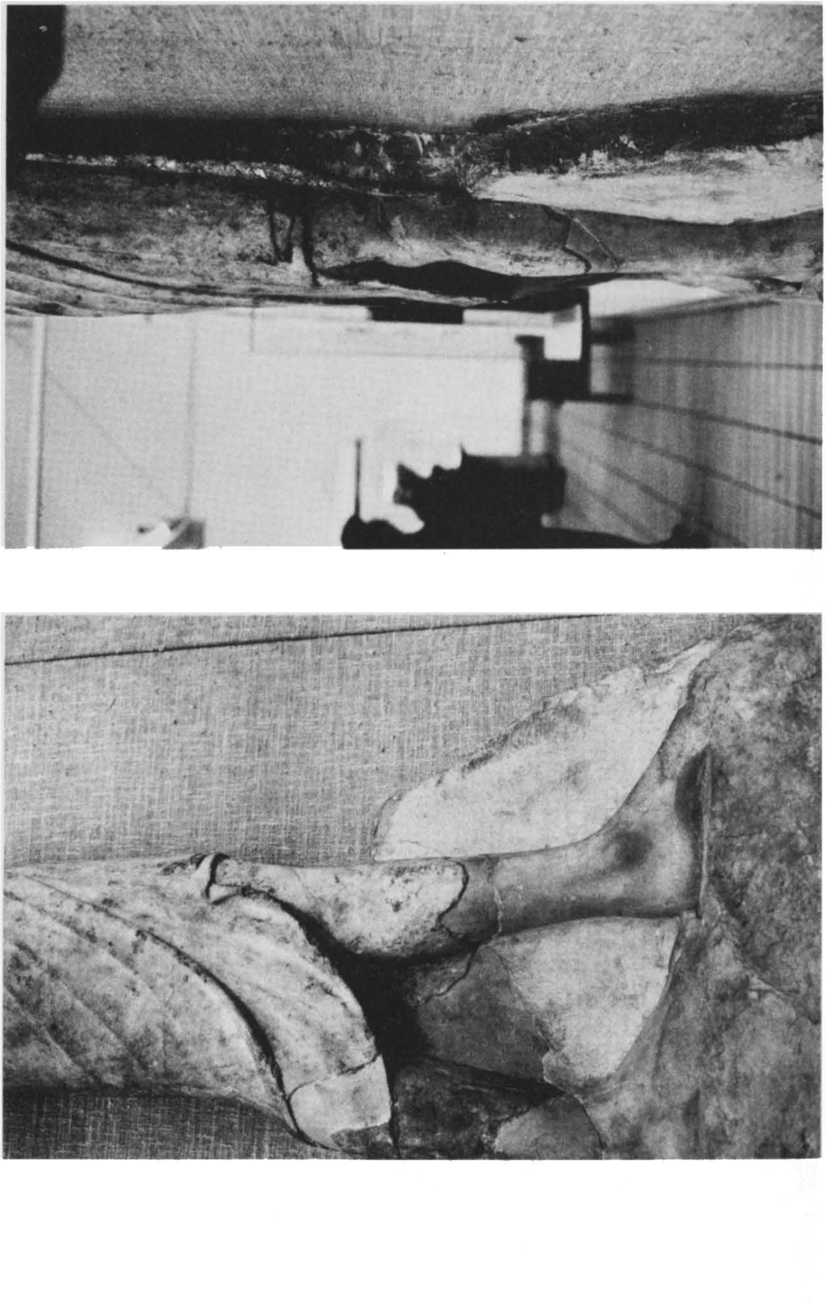


a.



b.

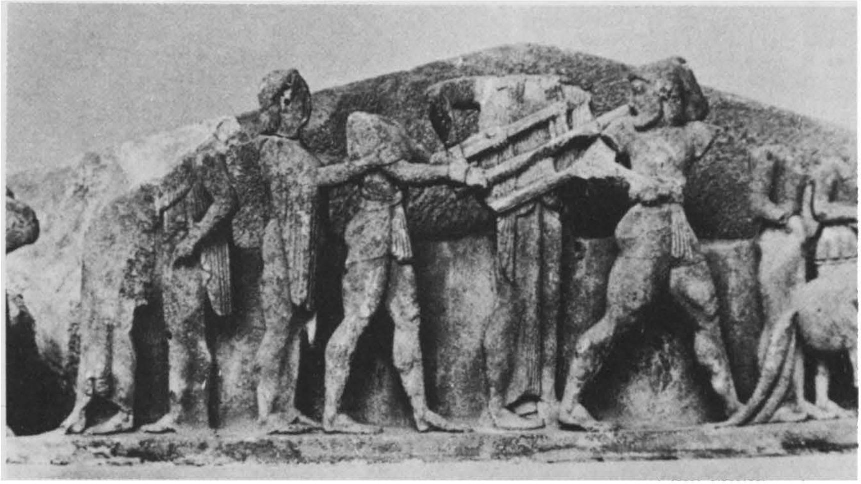
3. Pasargadae,
Palace P.
Reliefs.



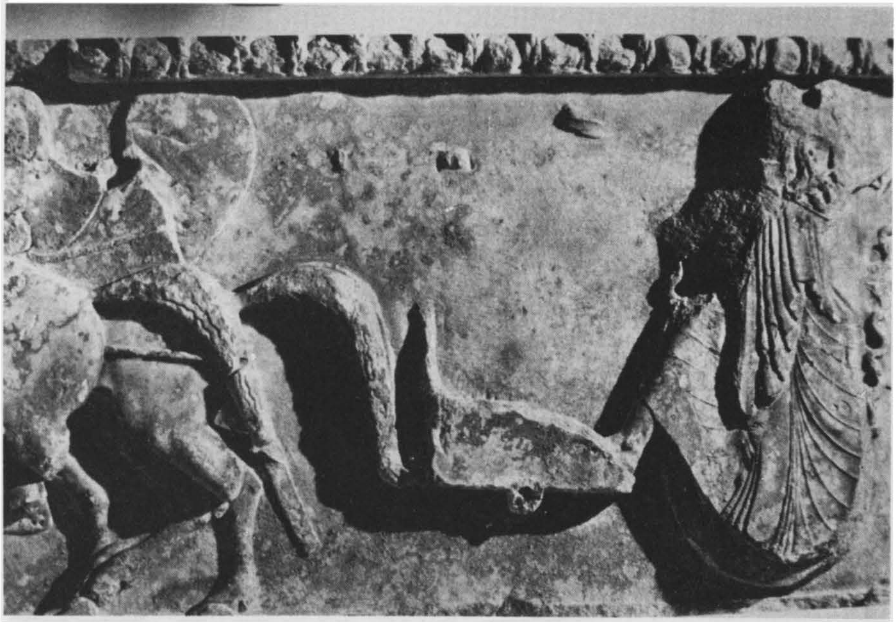
b.

a.

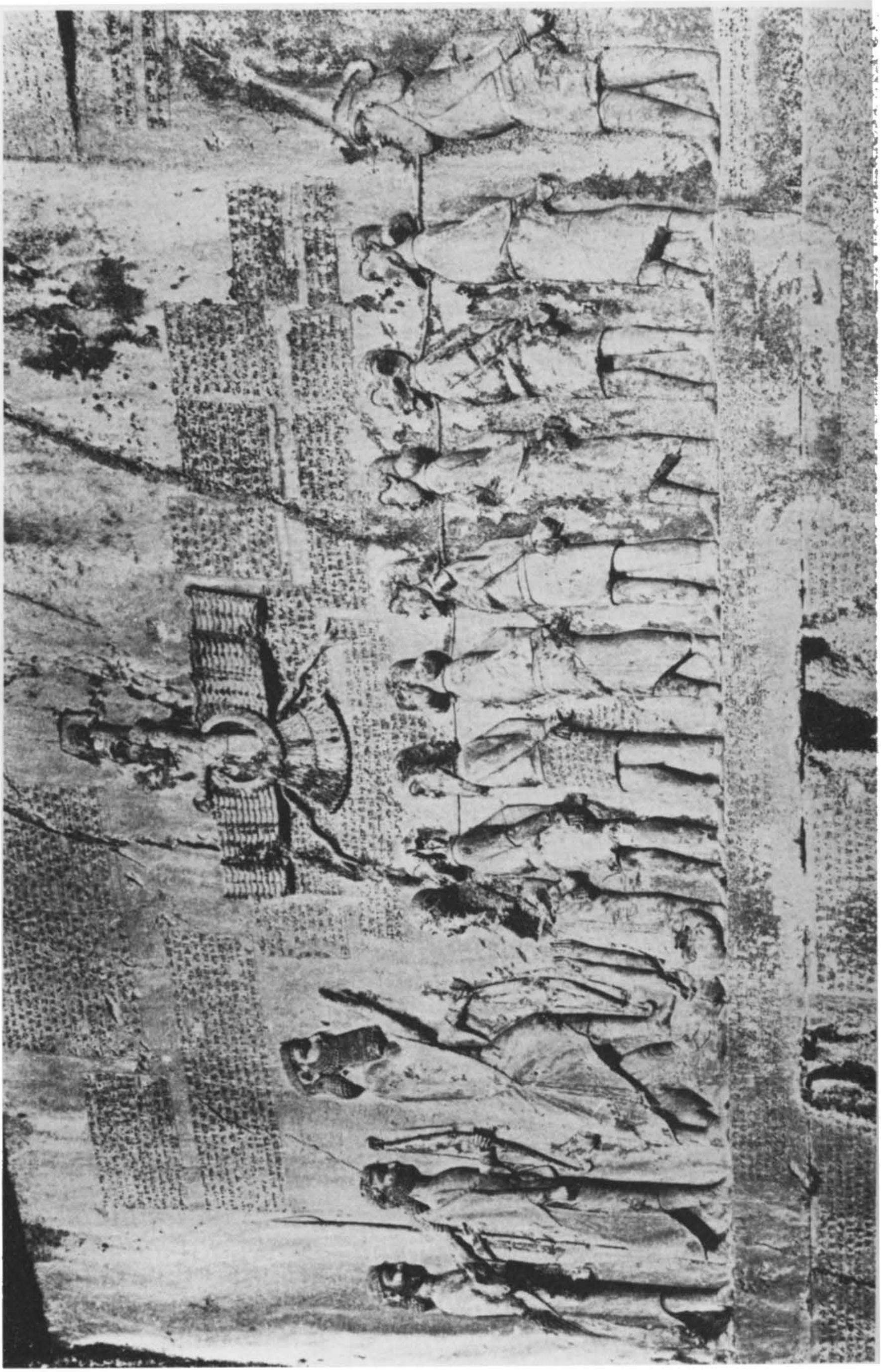
4. Ephesus Column Drum. Relief (B.M. 121).



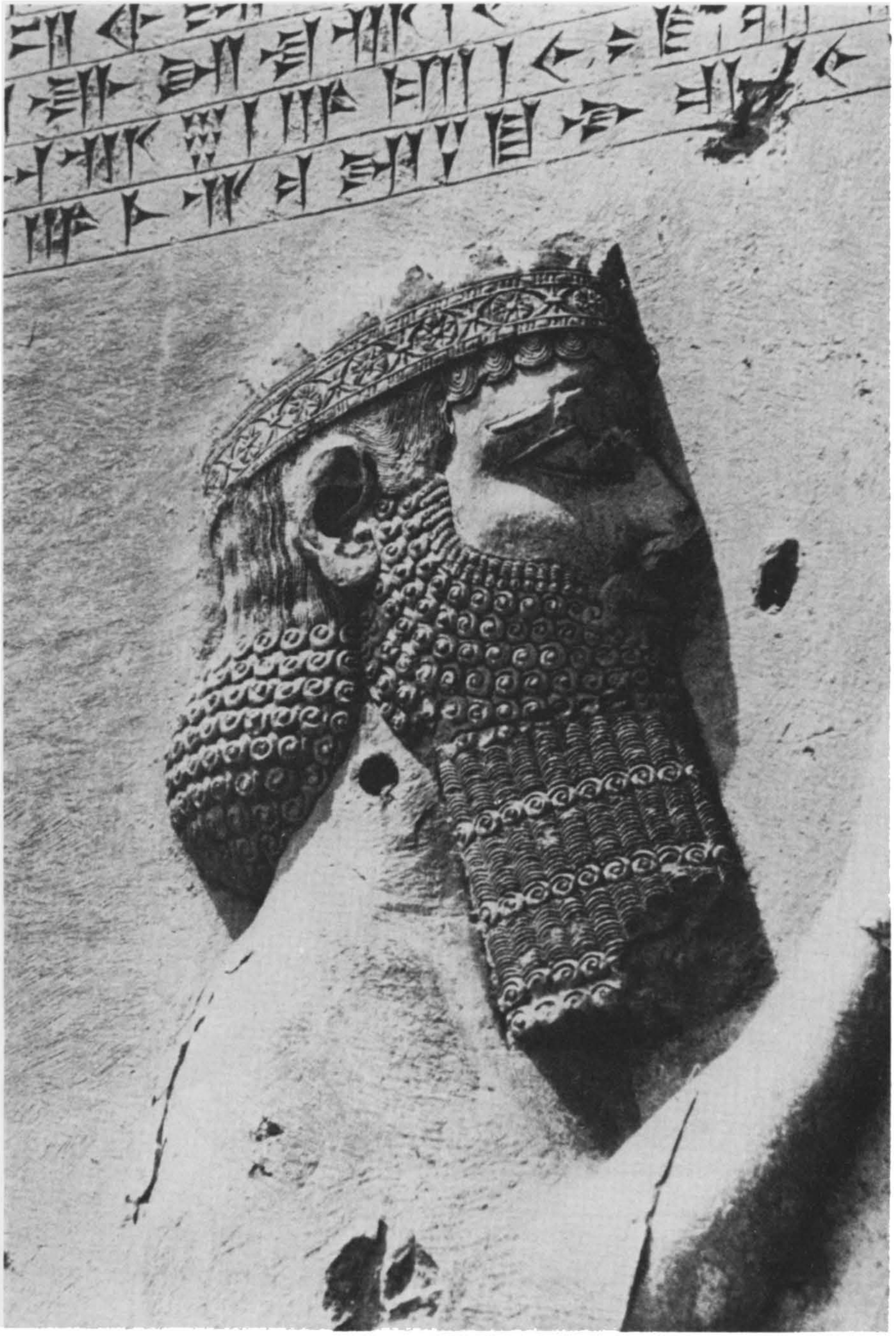
5a. Siphnian Treasury Pediment.



5b. Siphnian Treasury, West Frieze (Athena Figure).

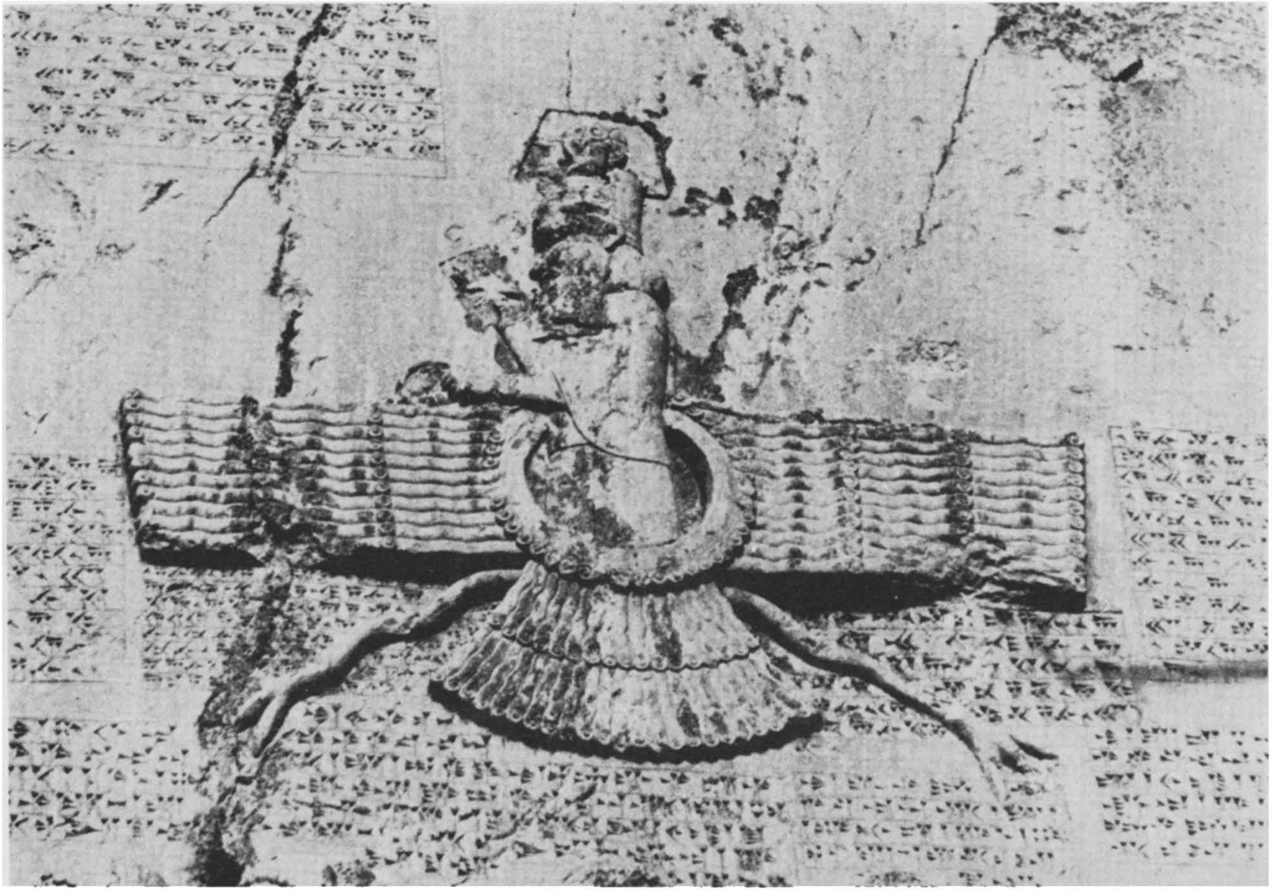


6. Behistun Relief, Full View.



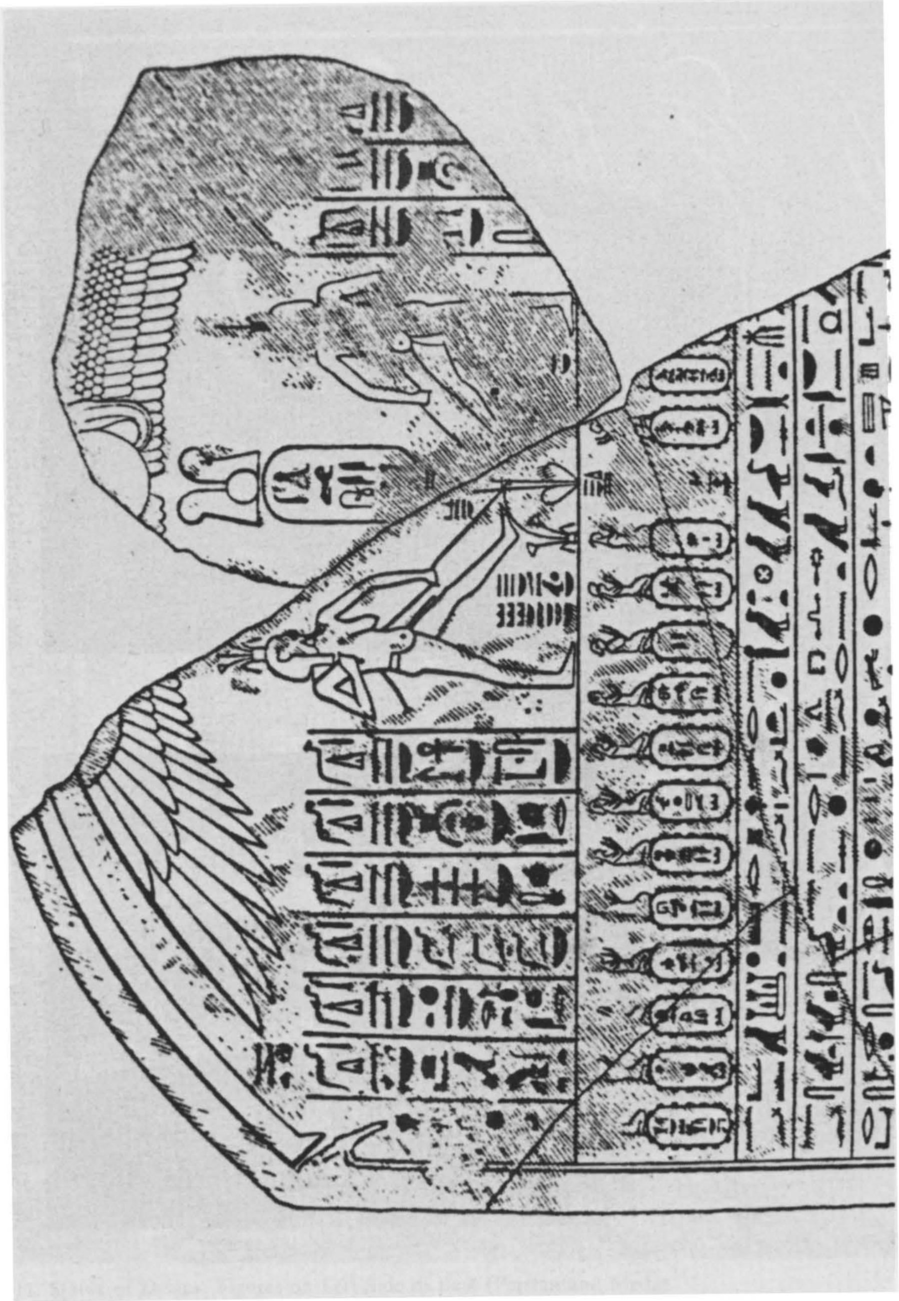
7. Behistun Relief, Head of Darius.

PLATE VIII



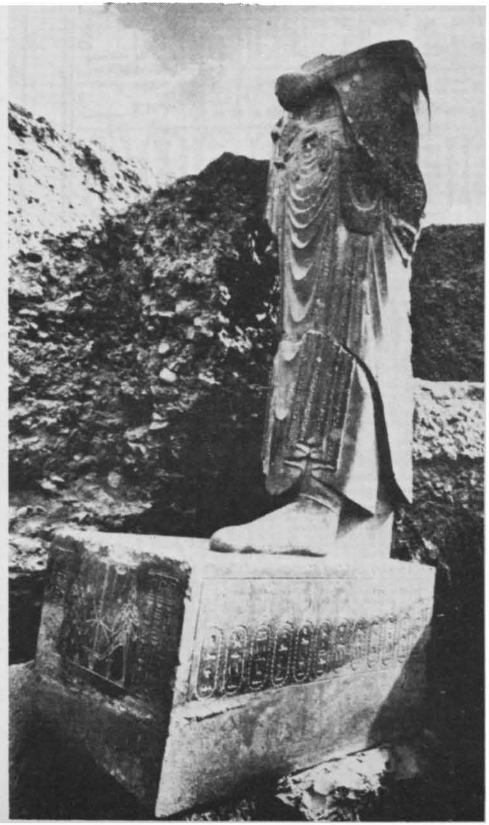
8. Behistun Relief, Ahuramazda.

PLATE IX

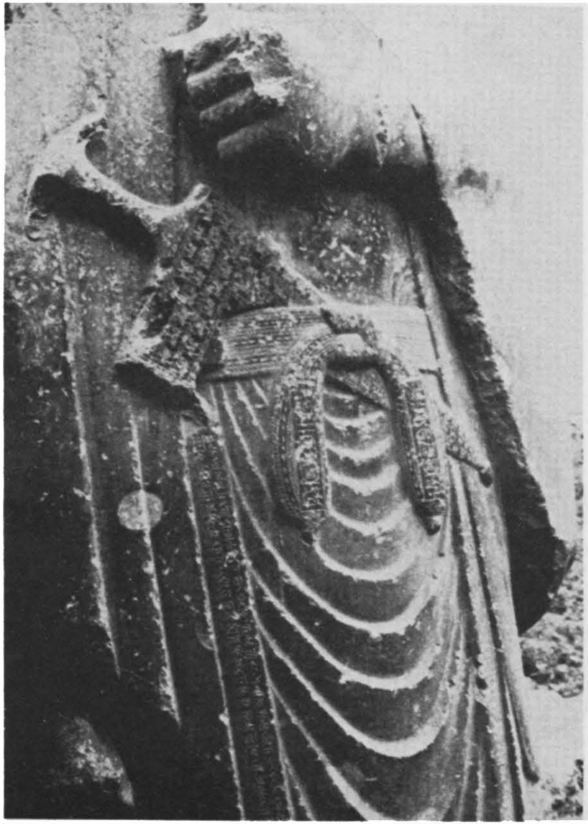


9. Maskhoutah Canal Stele, Obverse Top.

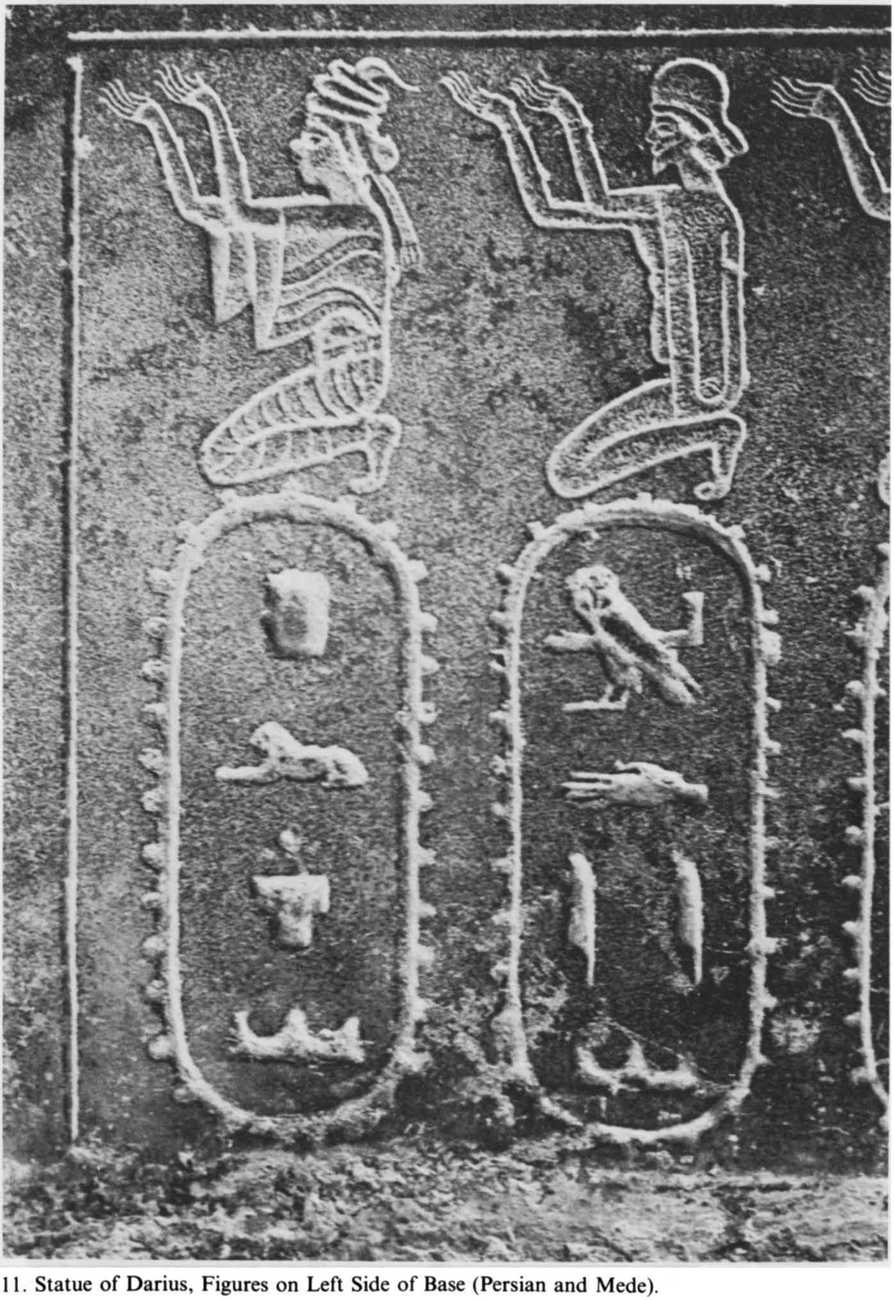
PLATE X



10a. Statue of Darius, Full View.

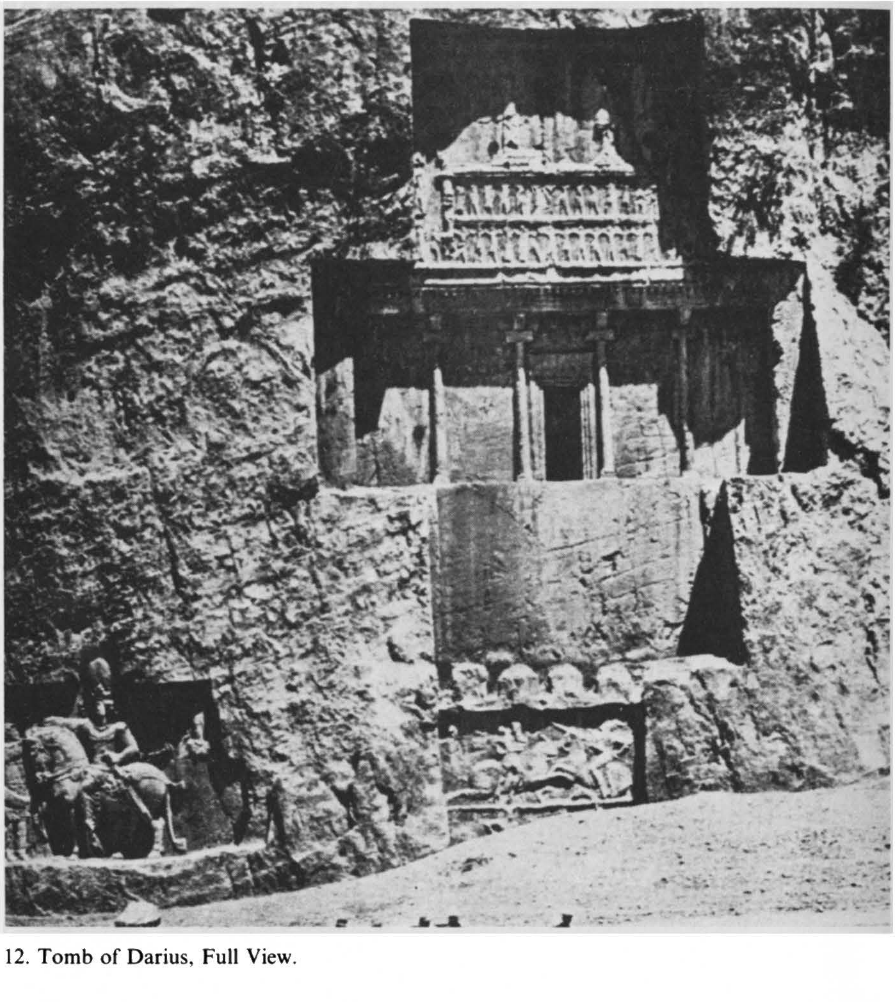


10b. Statue of Darius, Detail of Drapery.

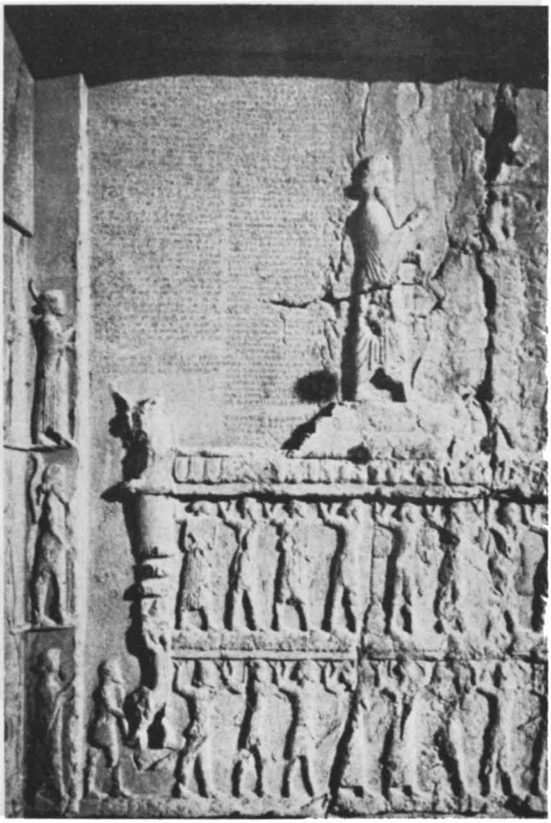


11. Statue of Darius, Figures on Left Side of Base (Persian and Mede).

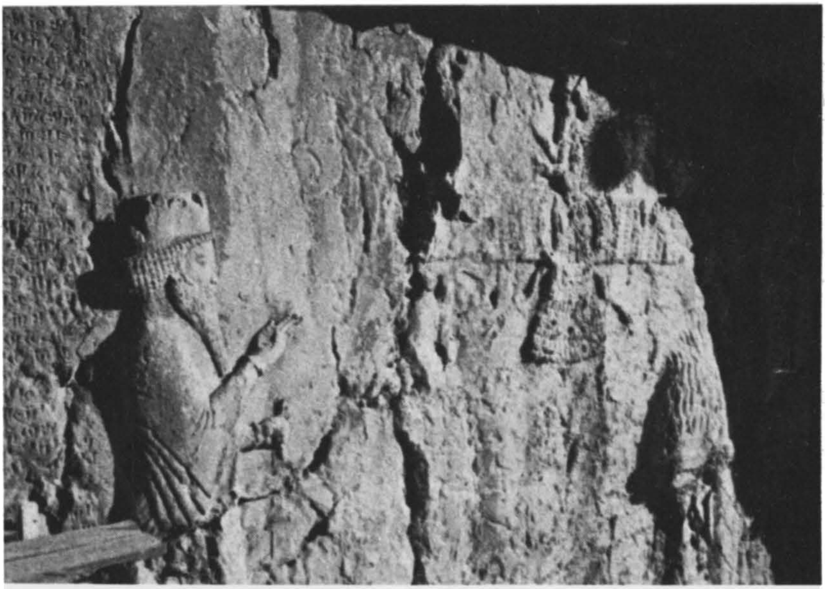
PLATE XII



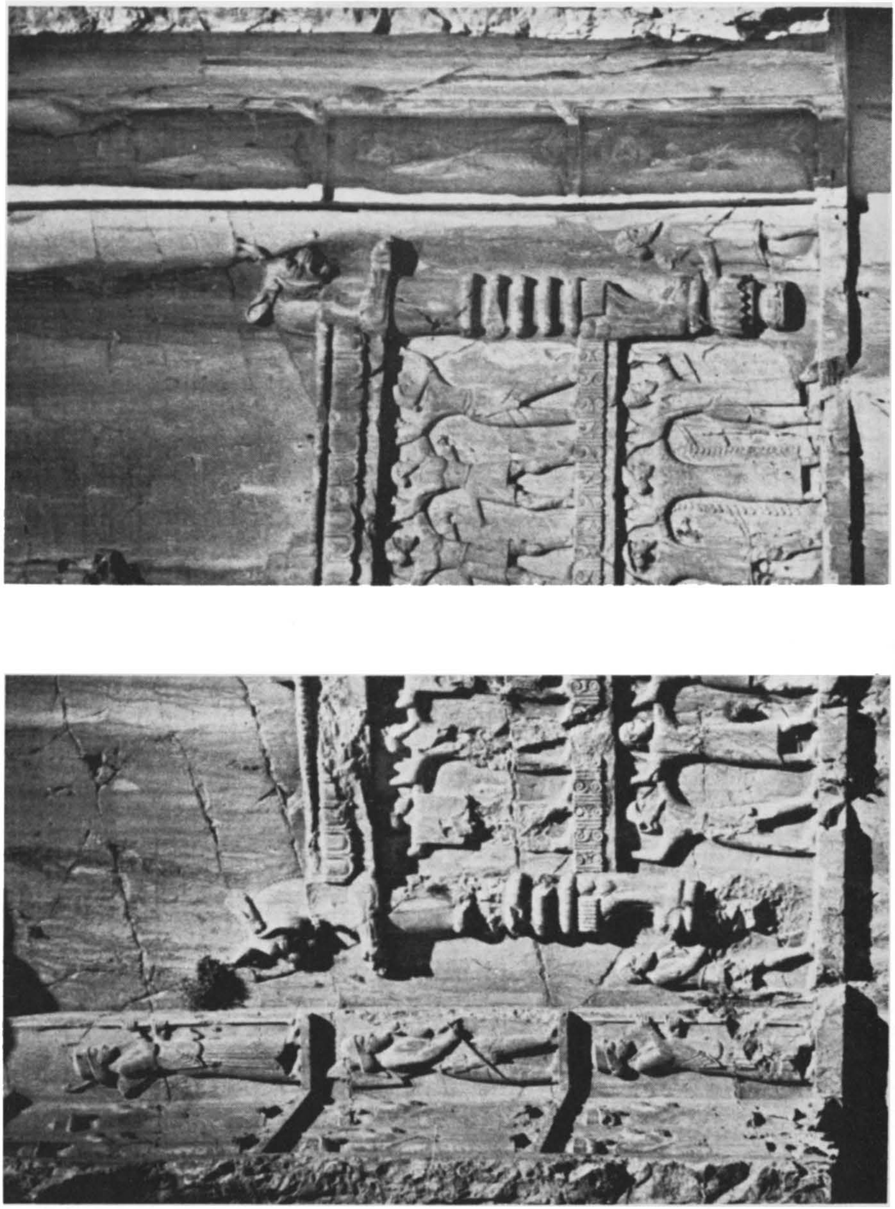
12. Tomb of Darius, Full View.



13a. Tomb of Darius, Detail.

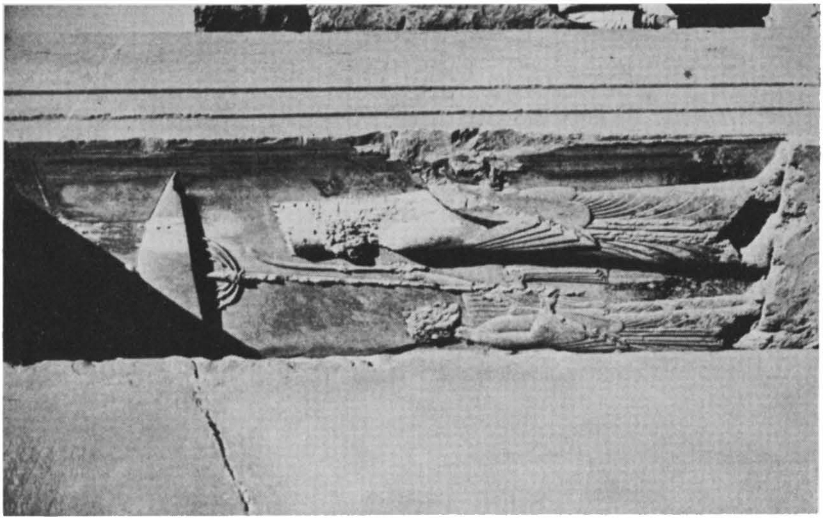


13b. Tomb of Darius, Detail.

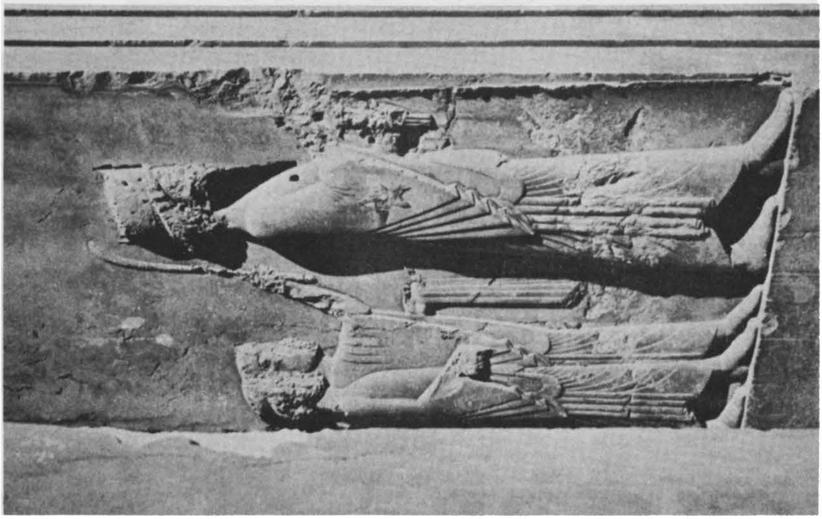


14. Tomb of Xerxes, Details.

PLATE XV

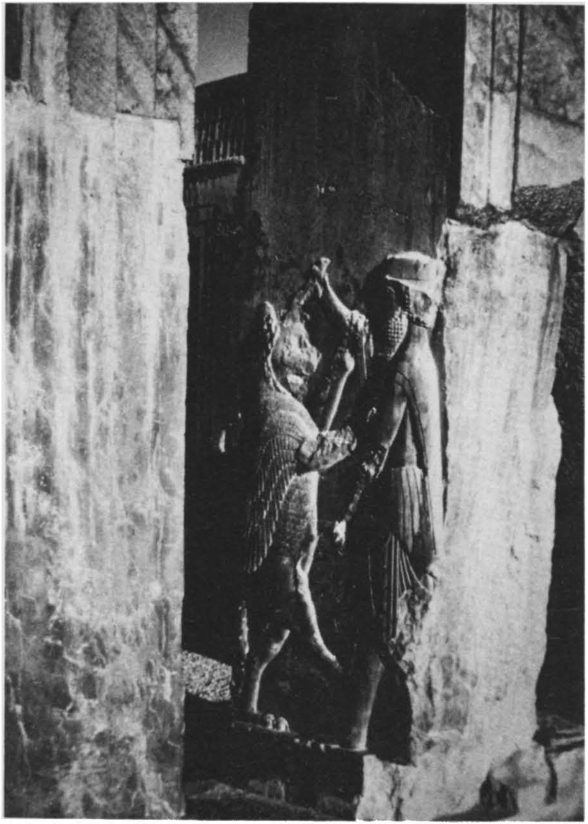


15a. Palace of Darius, South Door.

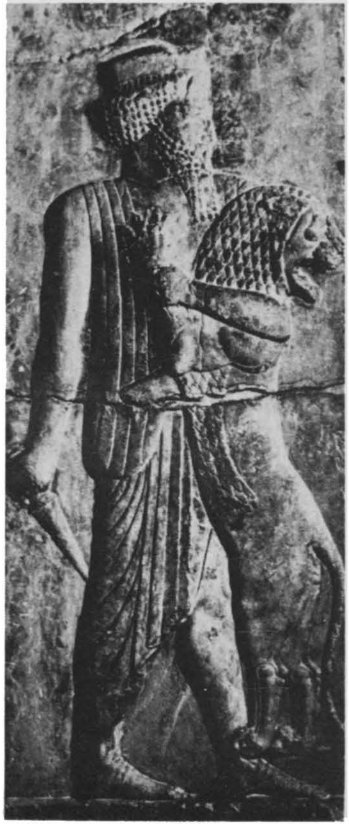


15b. Palace of Darius, North Door.

PLATE XVI

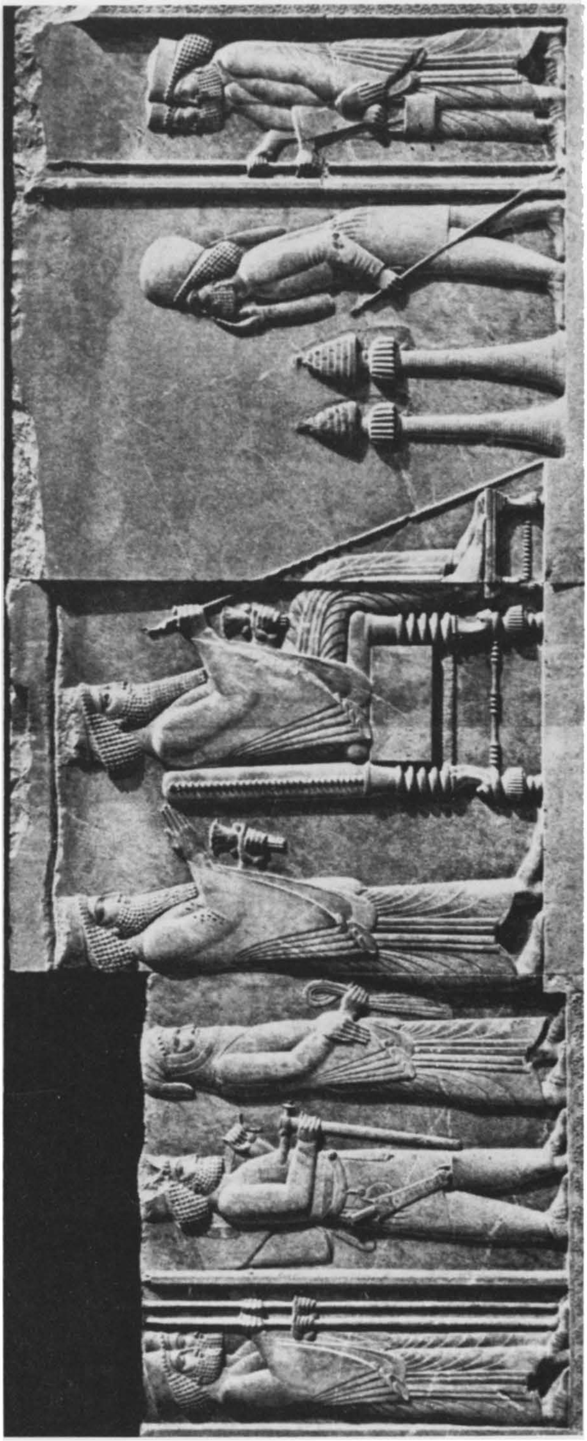


16a. Palace of Darius, West Door.

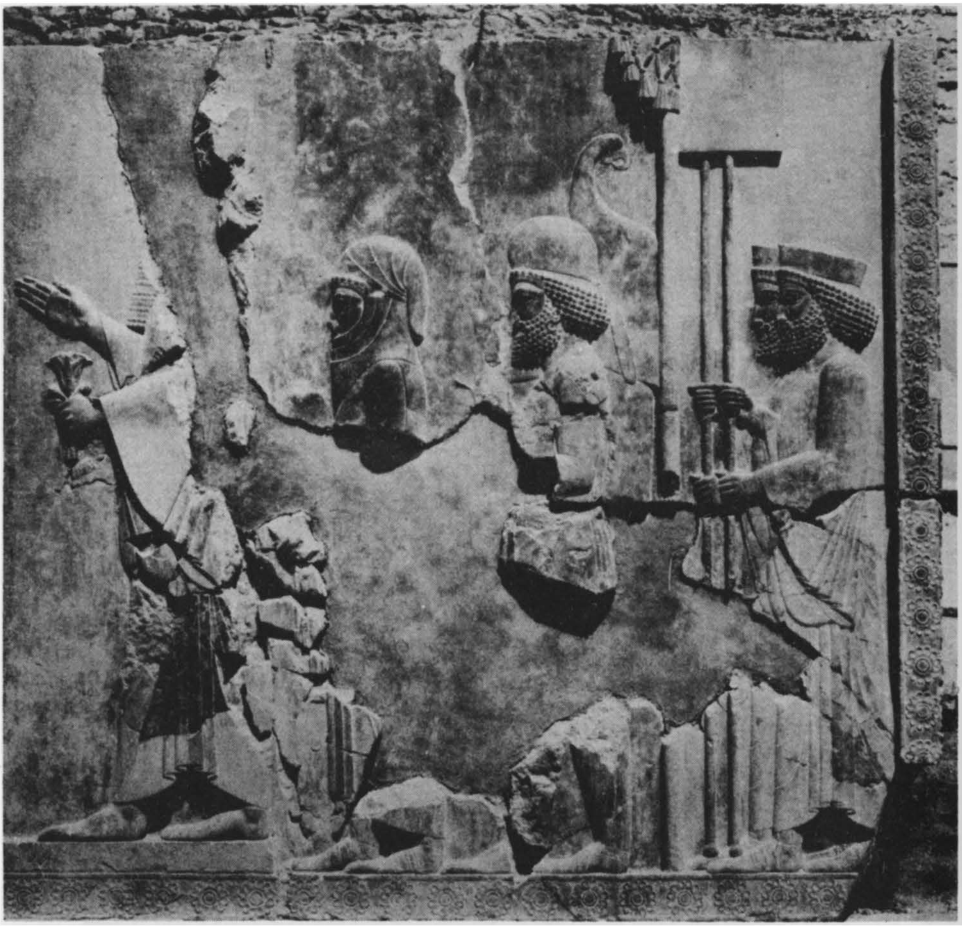


16b. Palace of Darius, Door in Room 5.

PLATE XVII

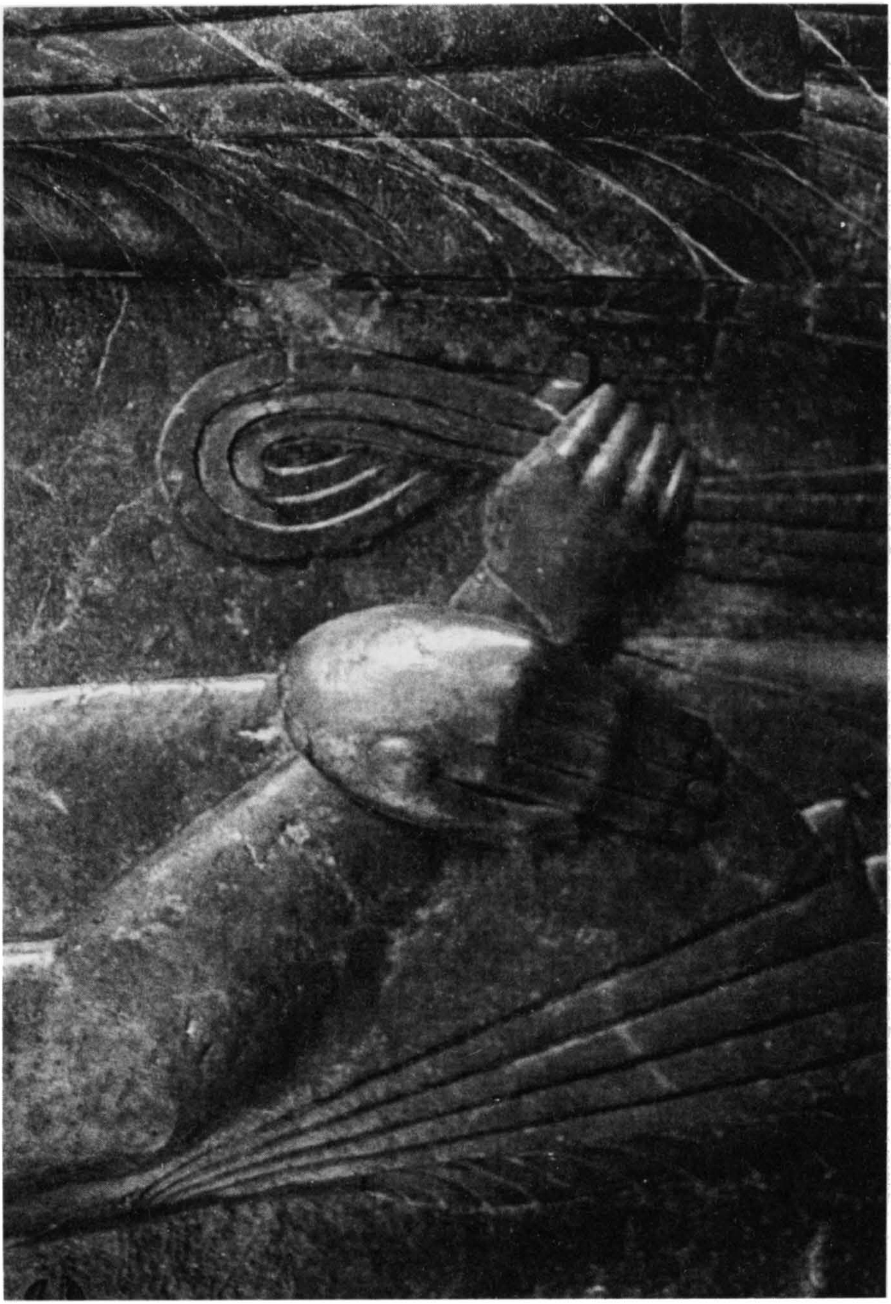


17. Apadana, North Stair, Original Central Panel.

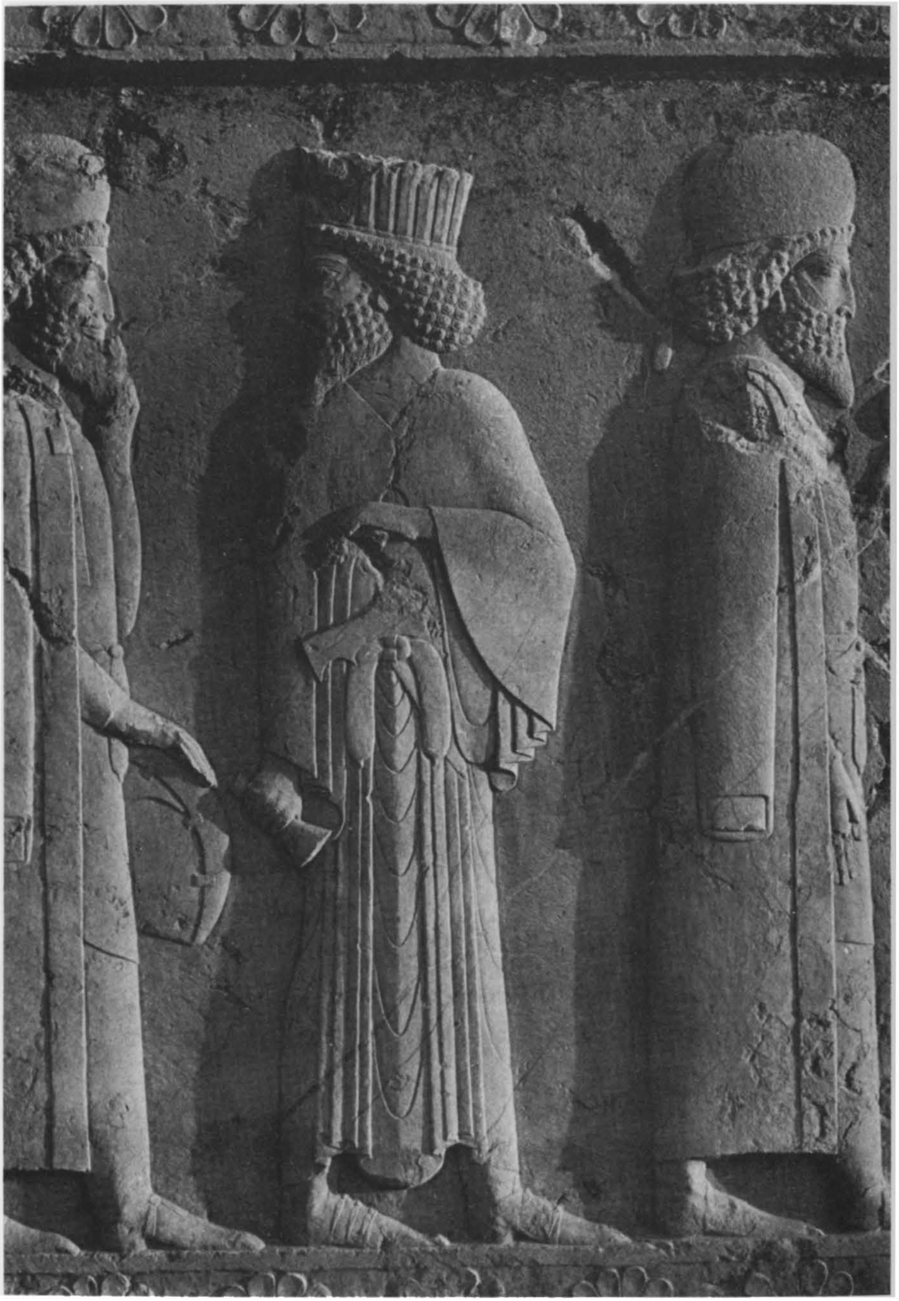


18. Apadana, East Stair, Original Central Panel Detail.

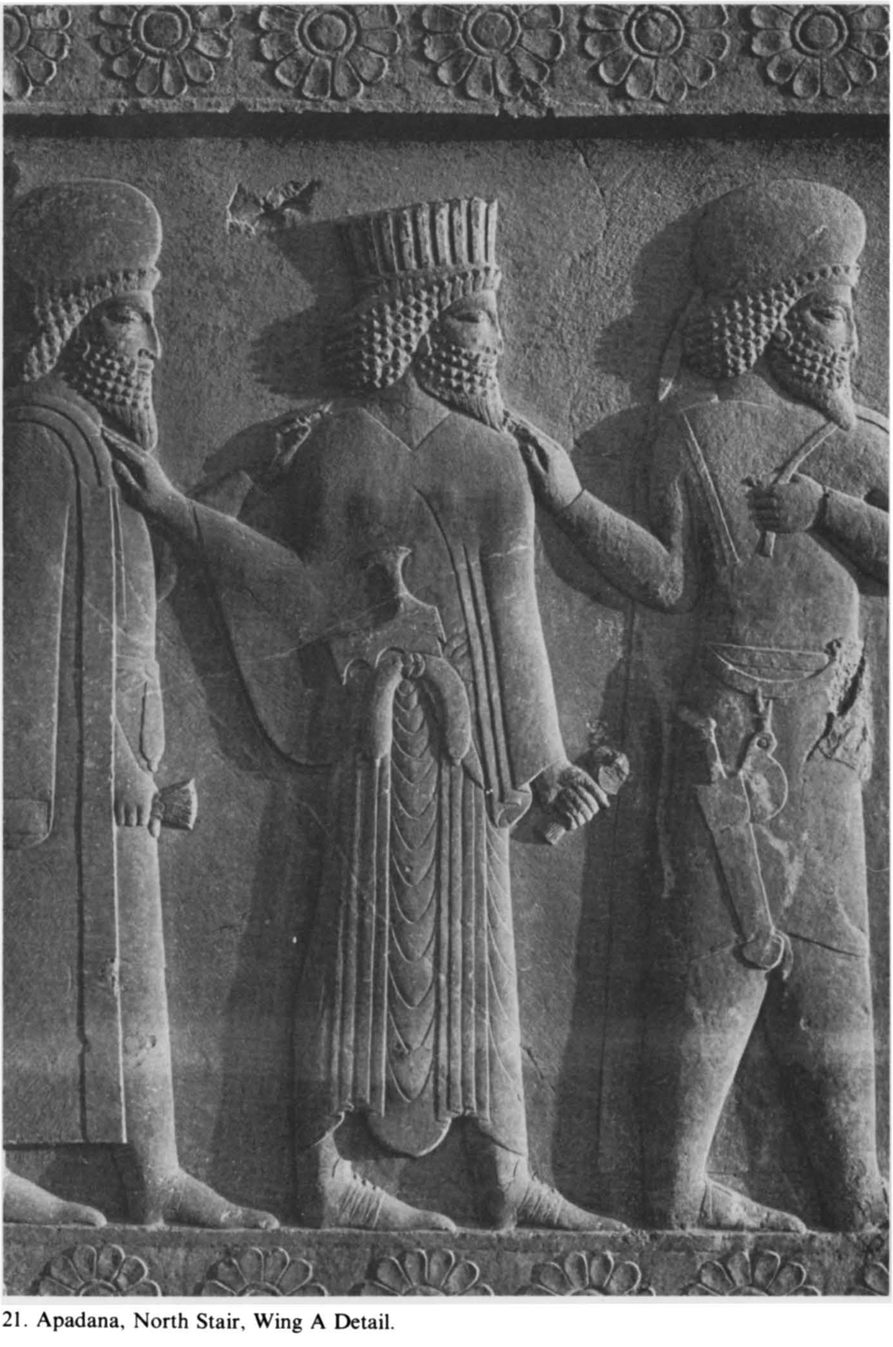
PLATE XIX



19. Apadana, North Stair, Original Central Panel Detail.

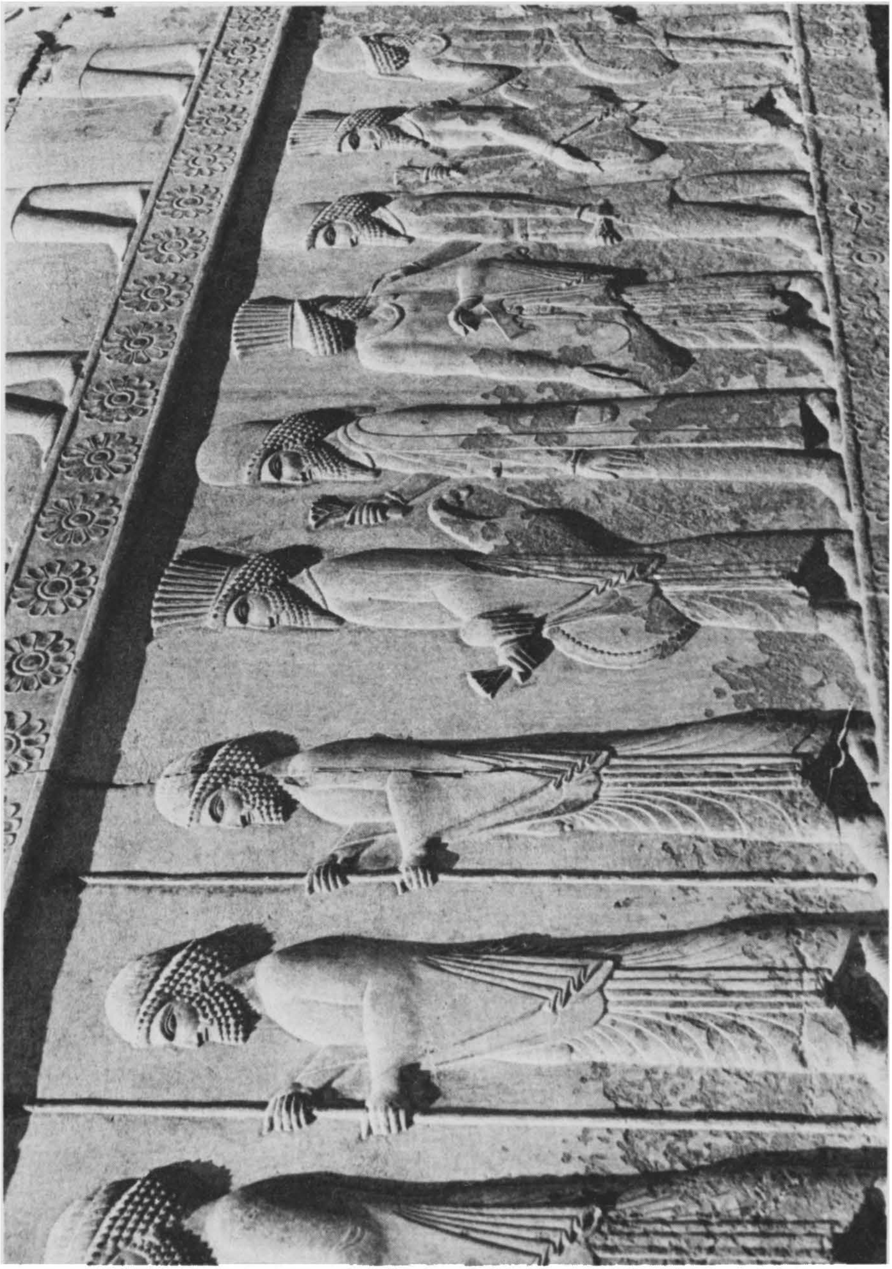


20. Apadana, North Stair, Wing A Detail.

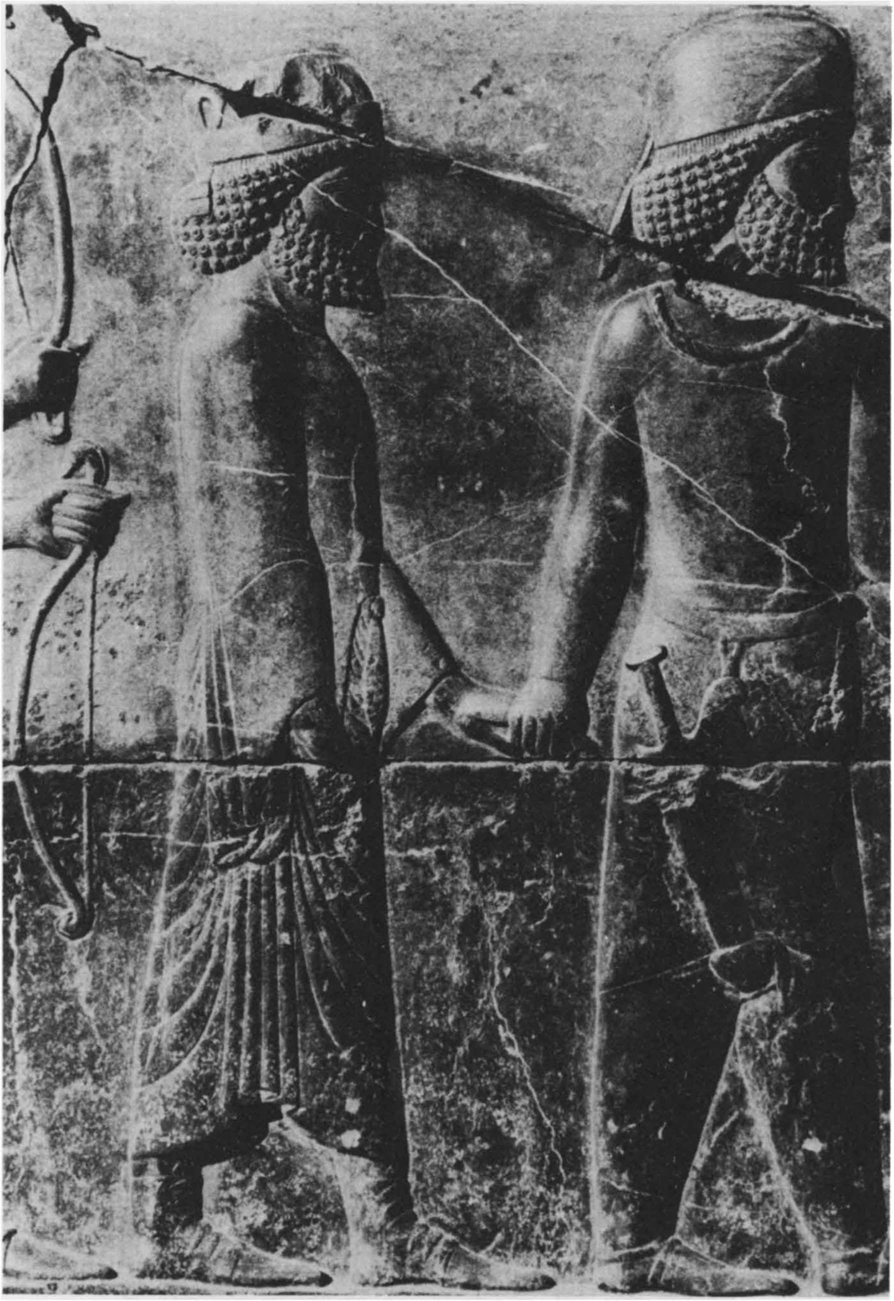


21. Apadana, North Stair, Wing A Detail.

PLATE XXII

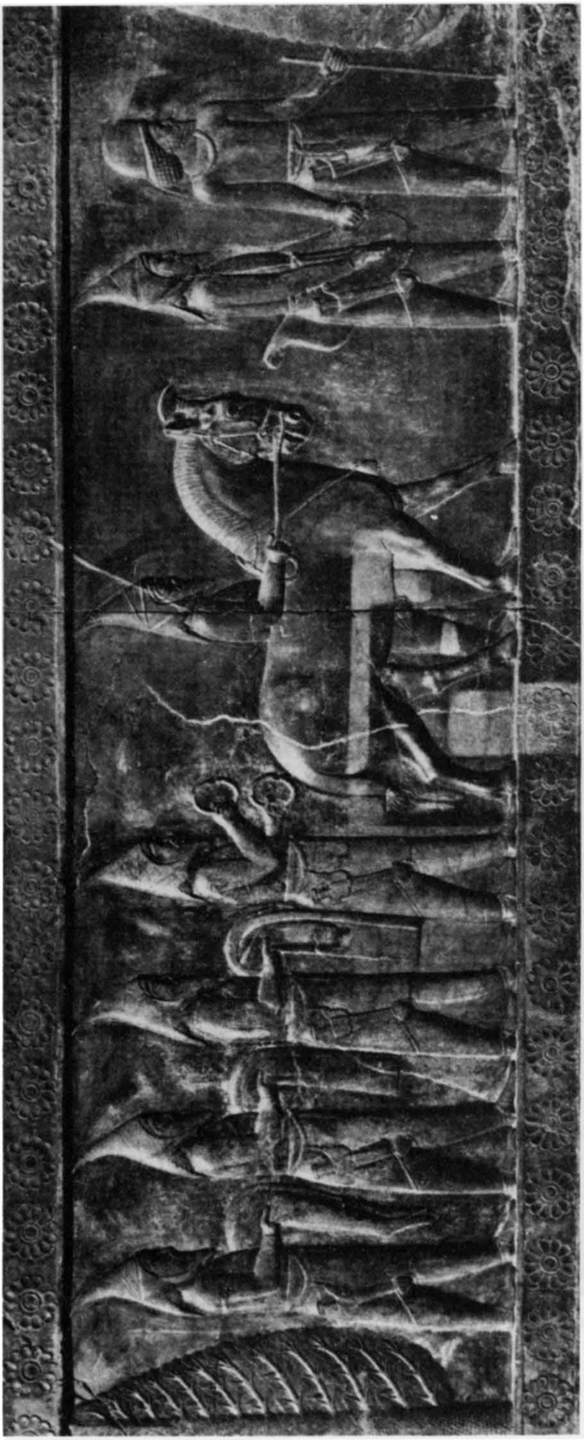


22. Apadana, East Stair, Wing A Detail.

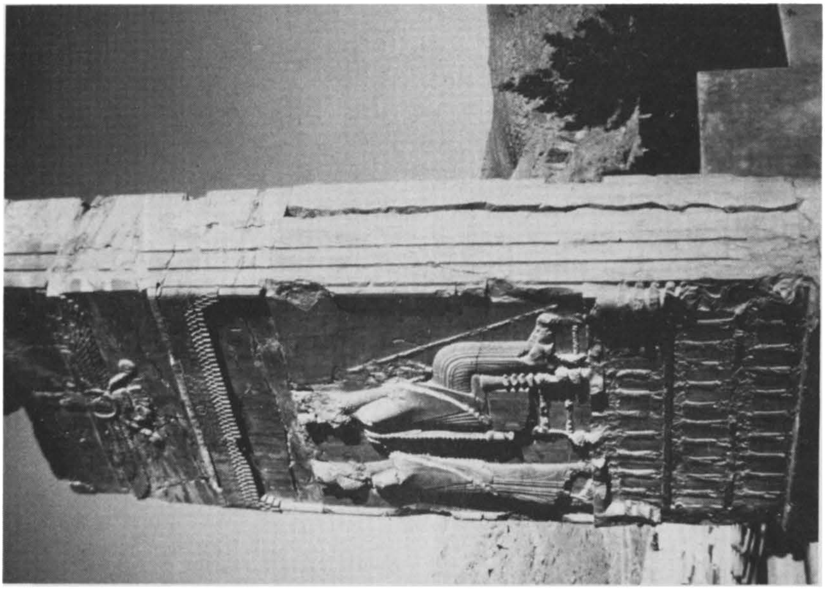


23. Apadana, East Stair, Wing B Detail.

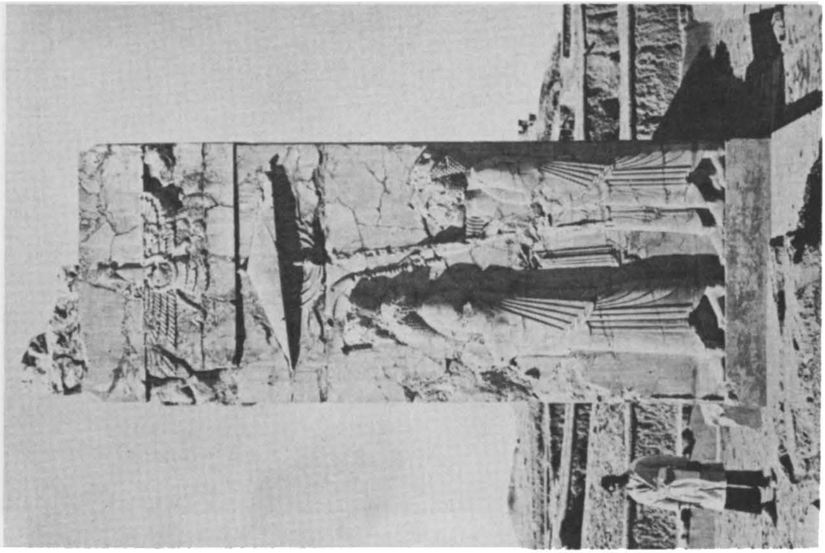
PLATE XXIV



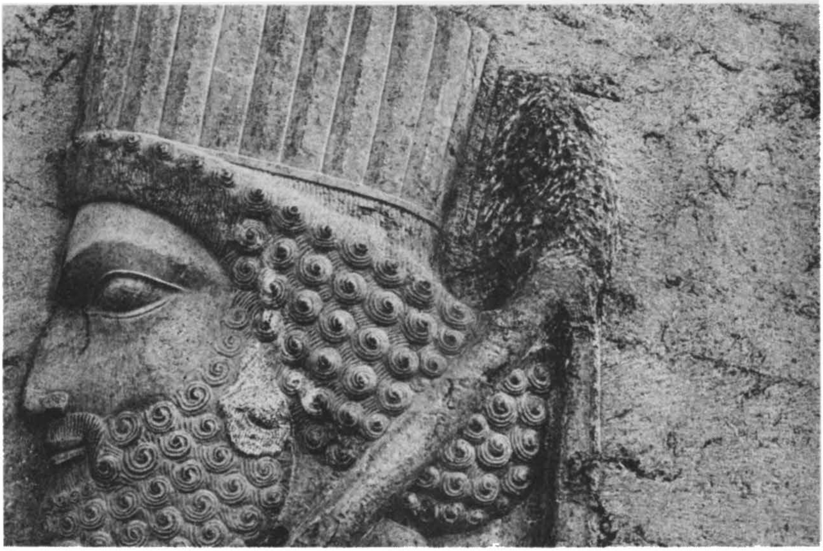
24. Apadana, East Stair, Wing B Detail.



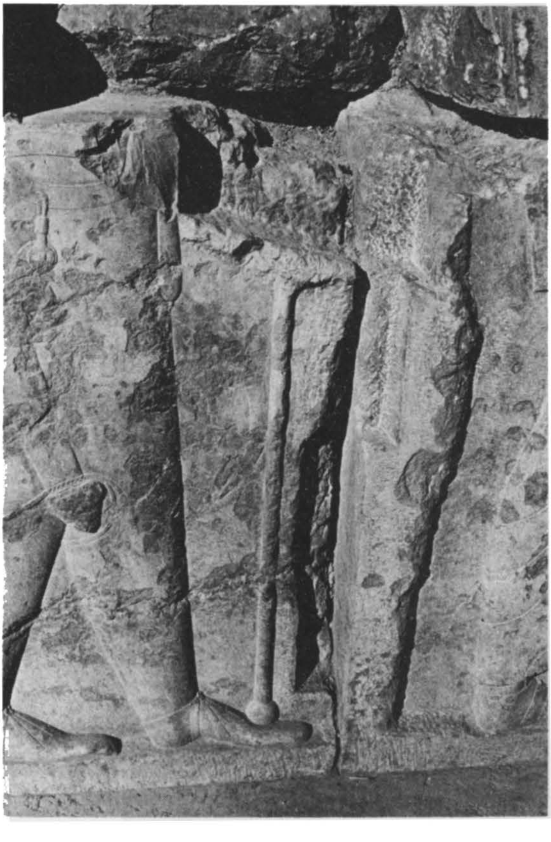
25a. Central Building, East Door.



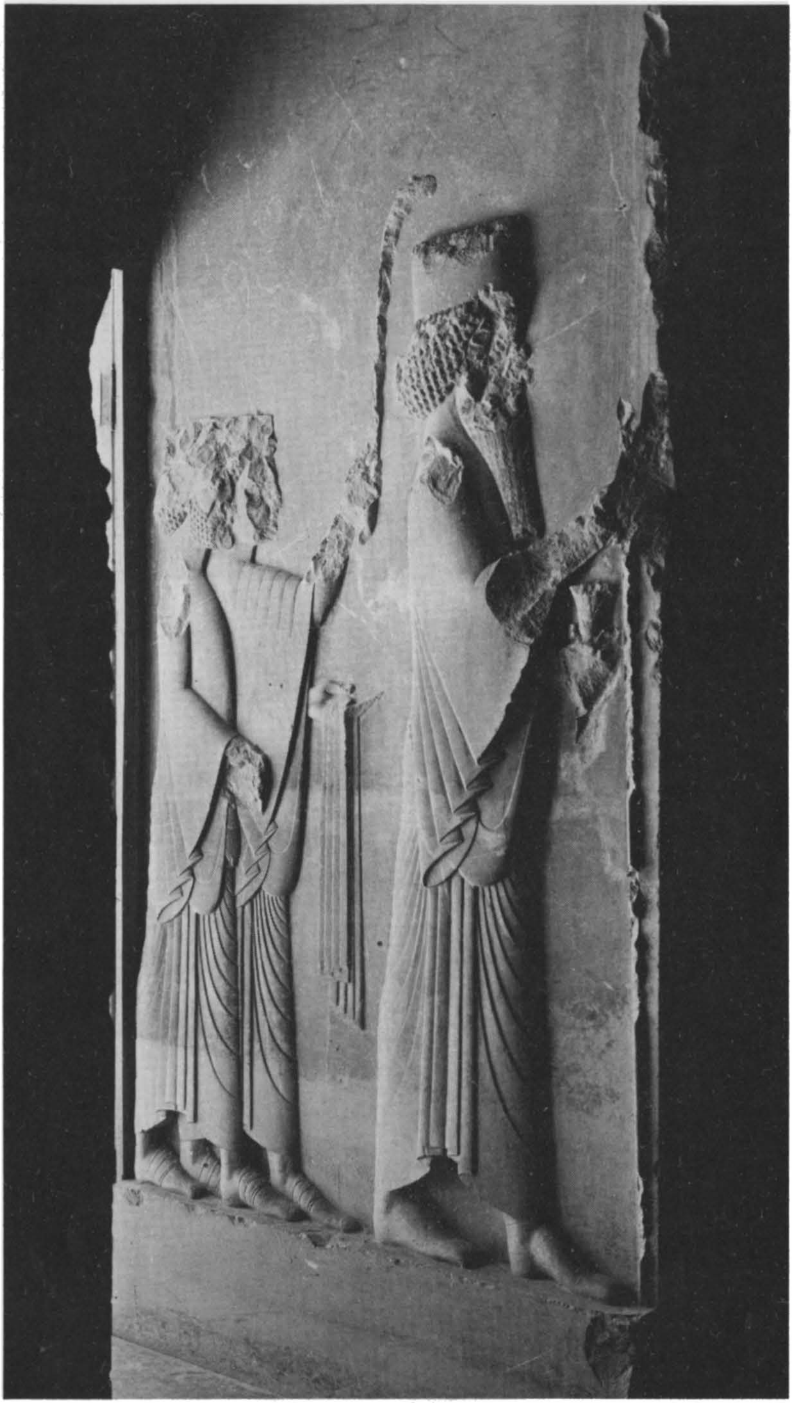
25b. Central Building, South Door.



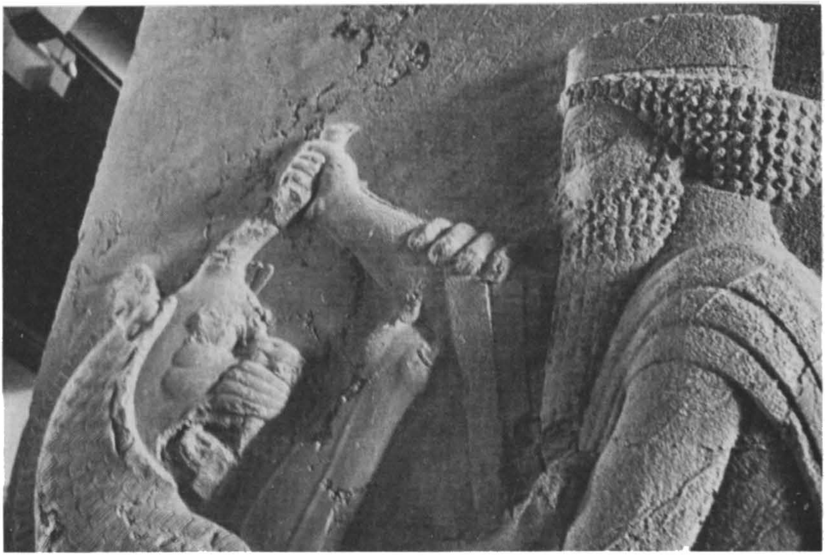
26a. Central Building, North Stair Detail.



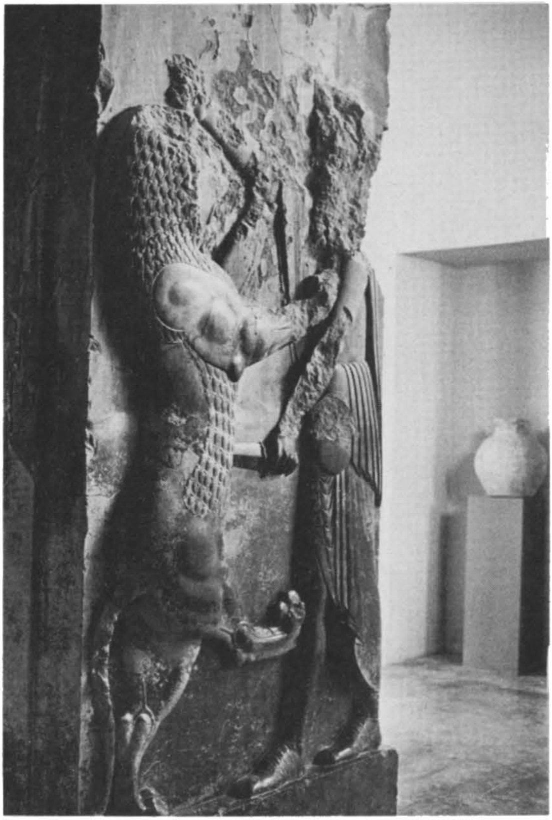
26b. Central Building,
North Stair,
Detail of
Pieced Stonework.



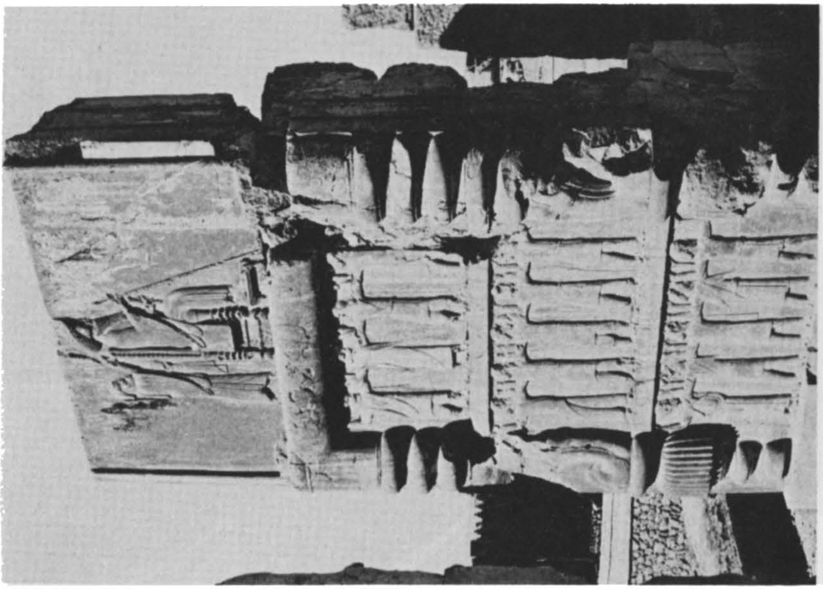
27. The «Harem», South Door.



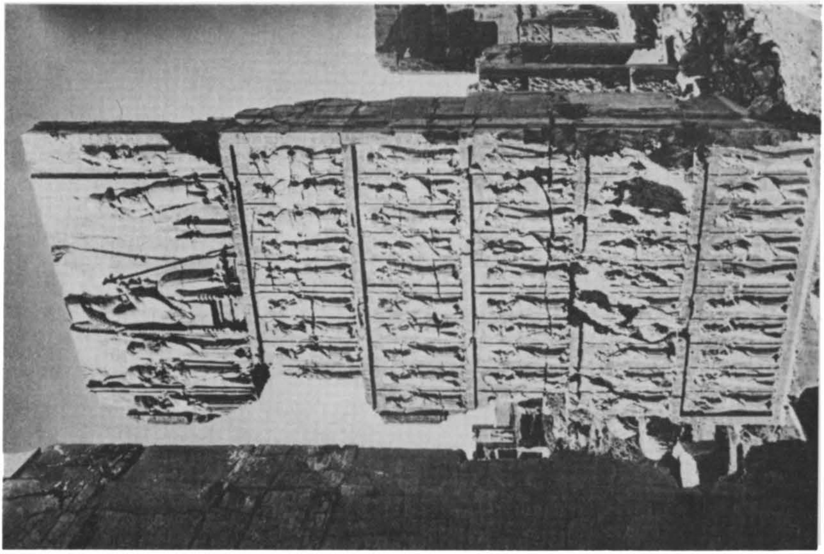
28a. The «Harem», East Door.



28b. The «Harem», West Door.

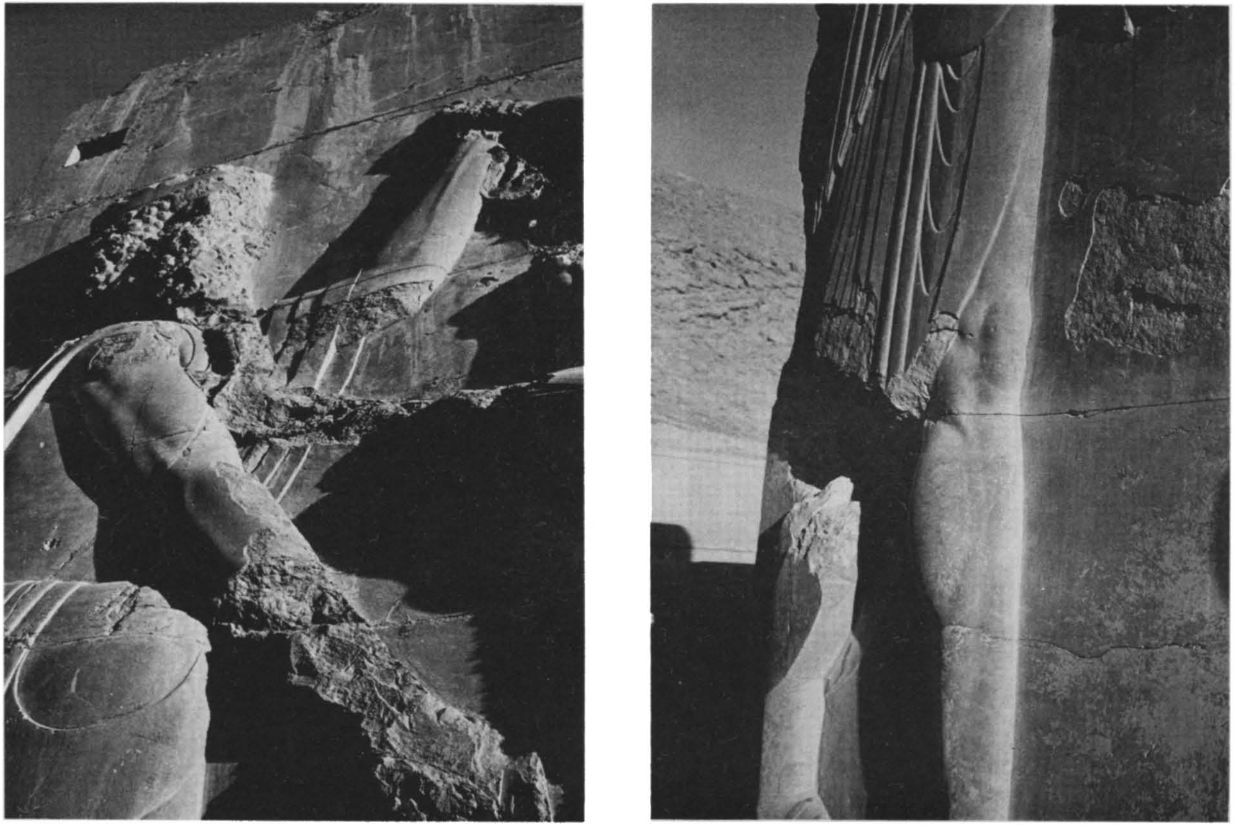


29a. The Throne Hall, South Door.



29b. The Throne Hall, North Door.

PLATE XXX

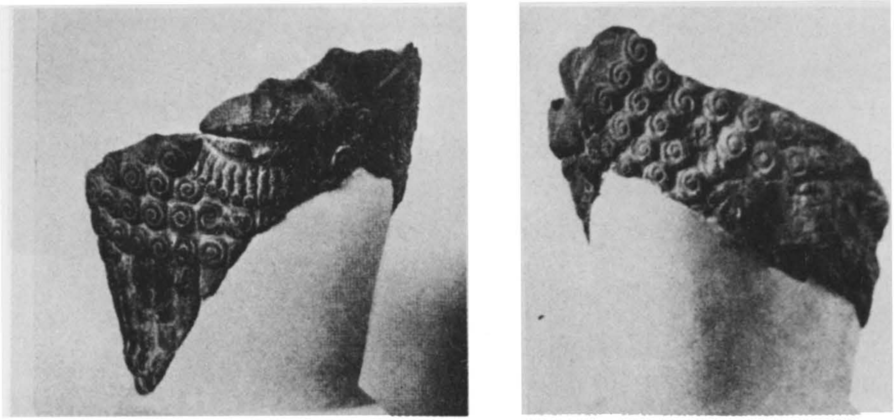


a.

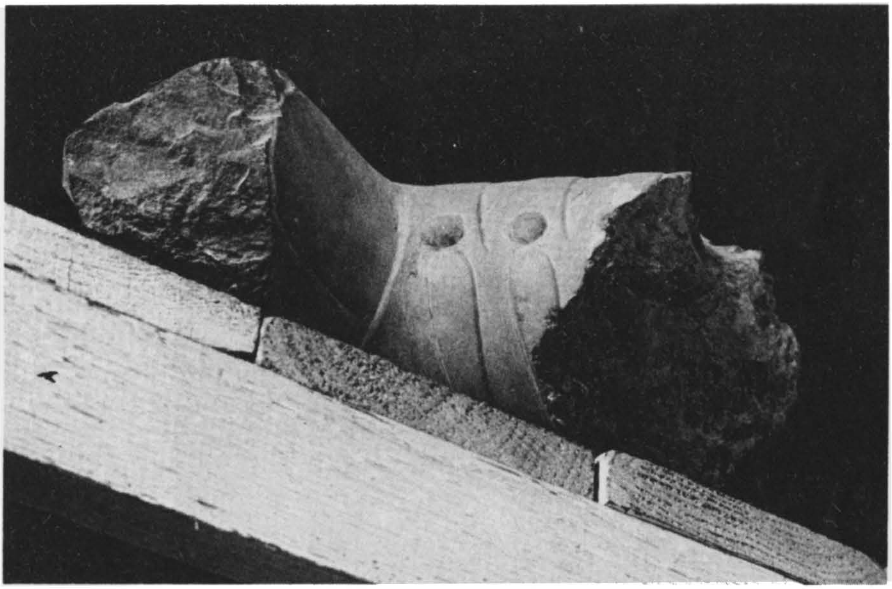
b.

30. The Throne Hall, South Door in East Wall.

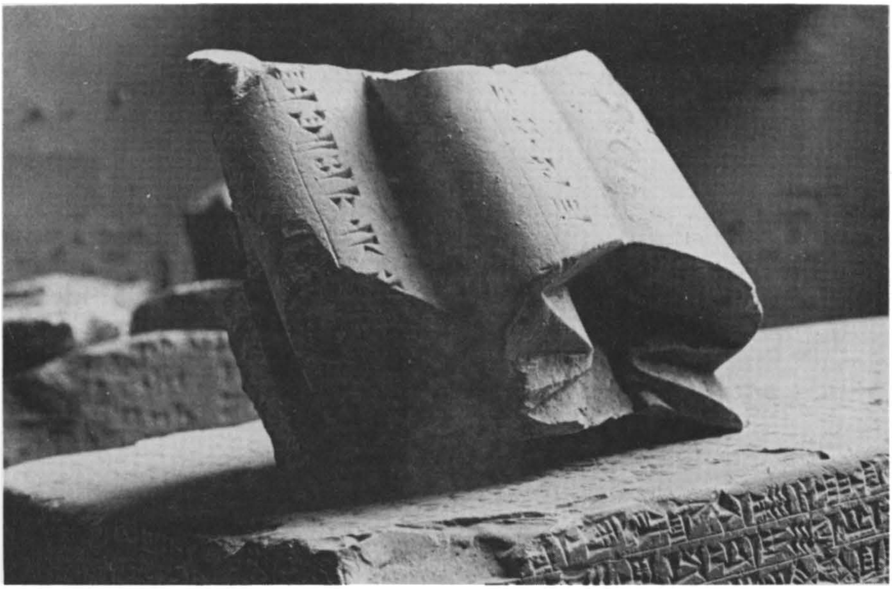
PLATE XXXI



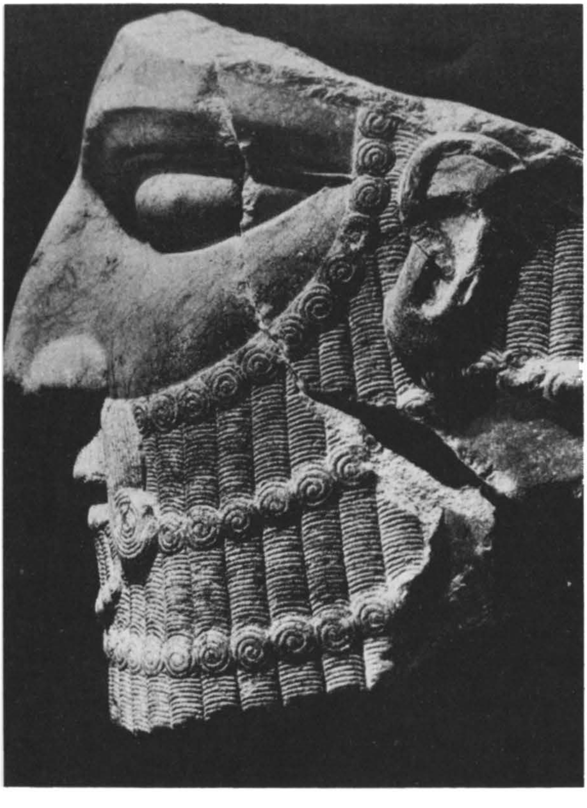
31a. Susa Head.



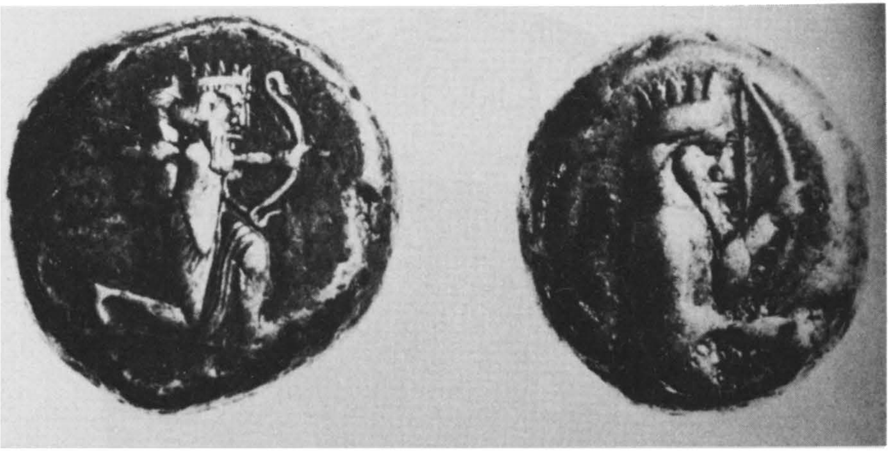
31b. Susa Foot.



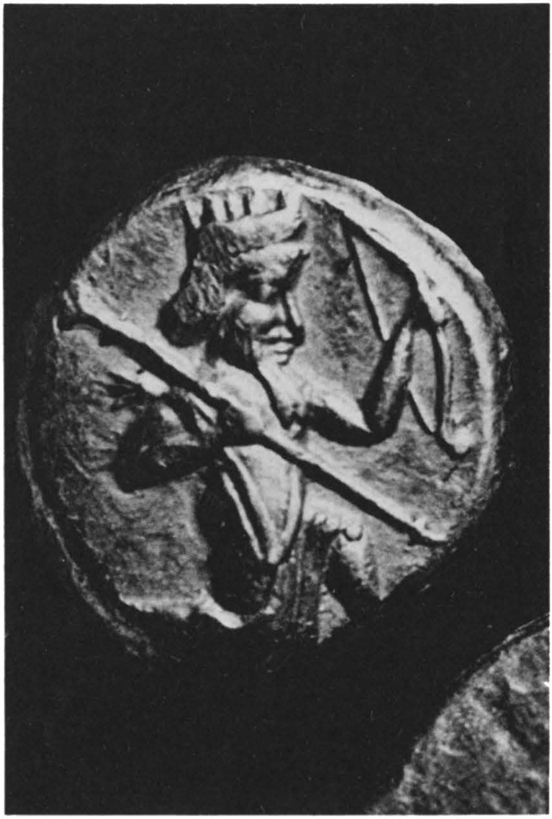
32a. Susa Drapery Fragment Sb 10060.



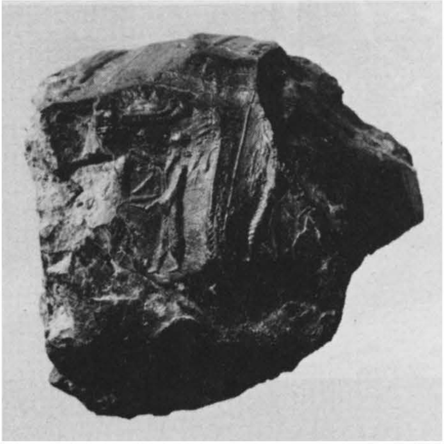
32b. Hamadan Head.



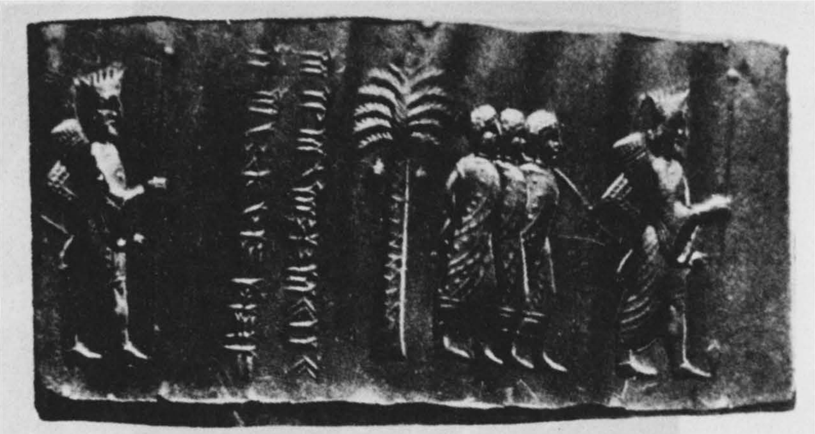
33a. Achaemenid Coins.



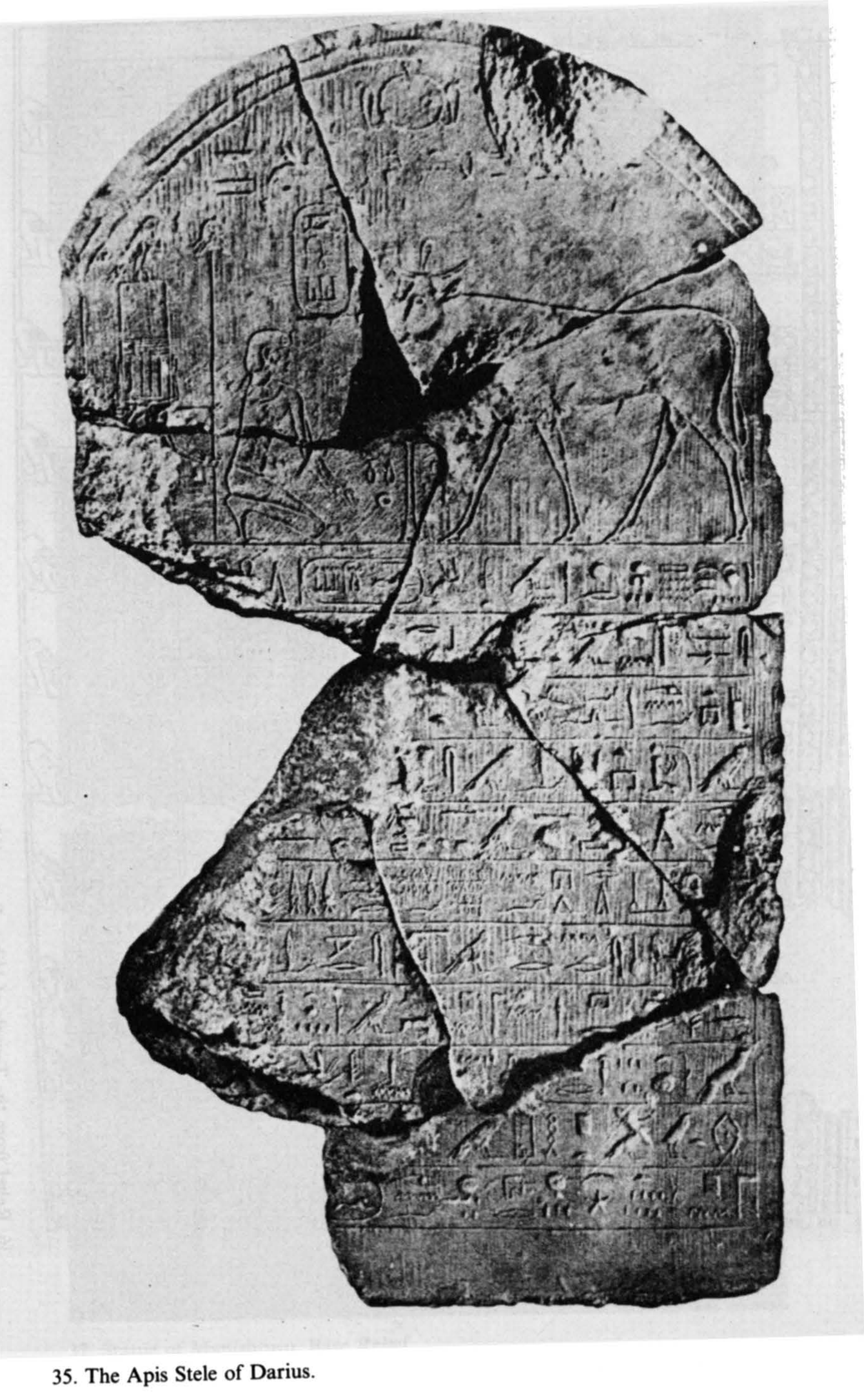
33b. Achaemenid Coins.



34a. Persepolis Treasury Seal # 8.

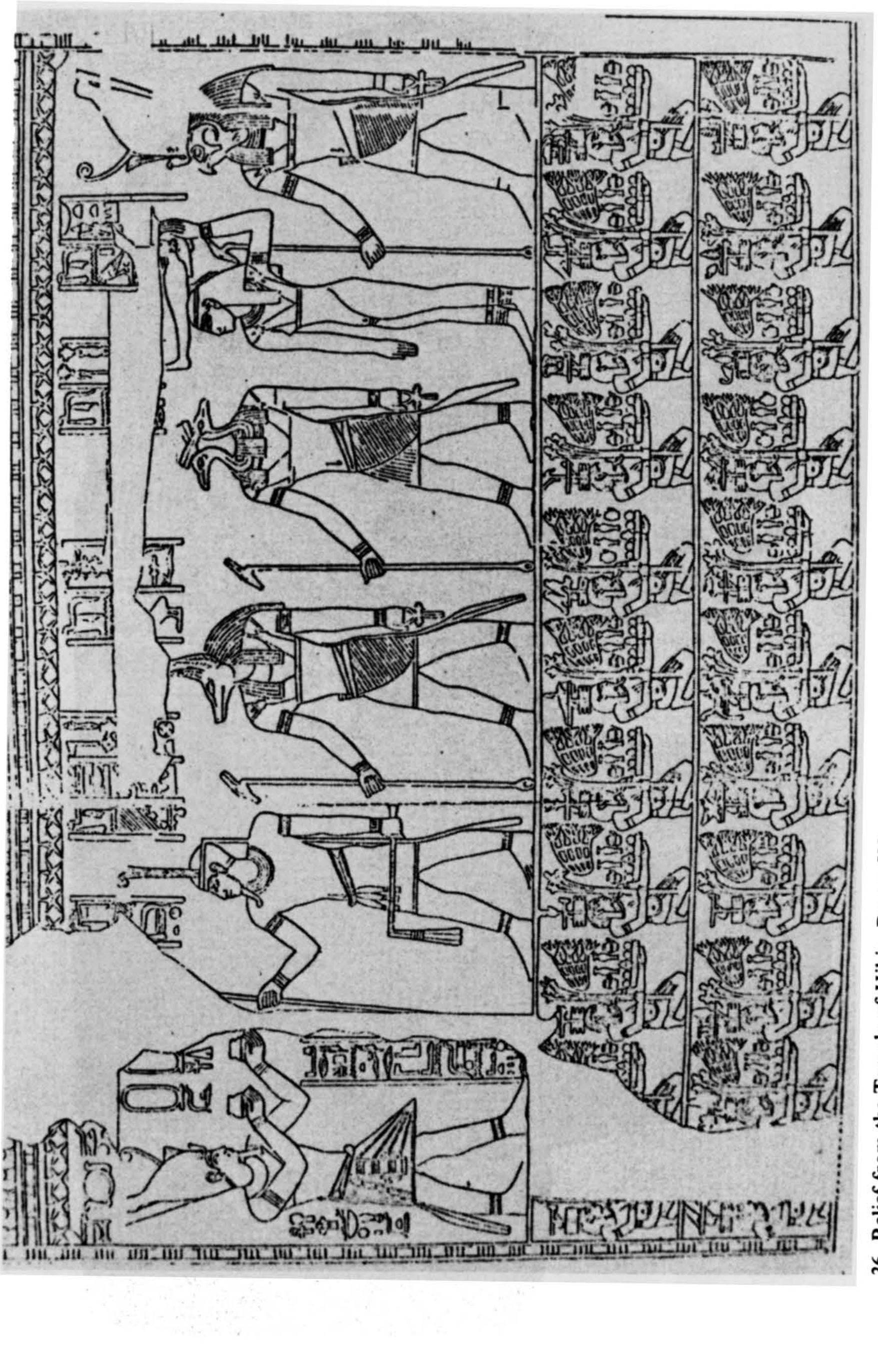


34b. The Moscow Artaxerxes Cylinder Seal.



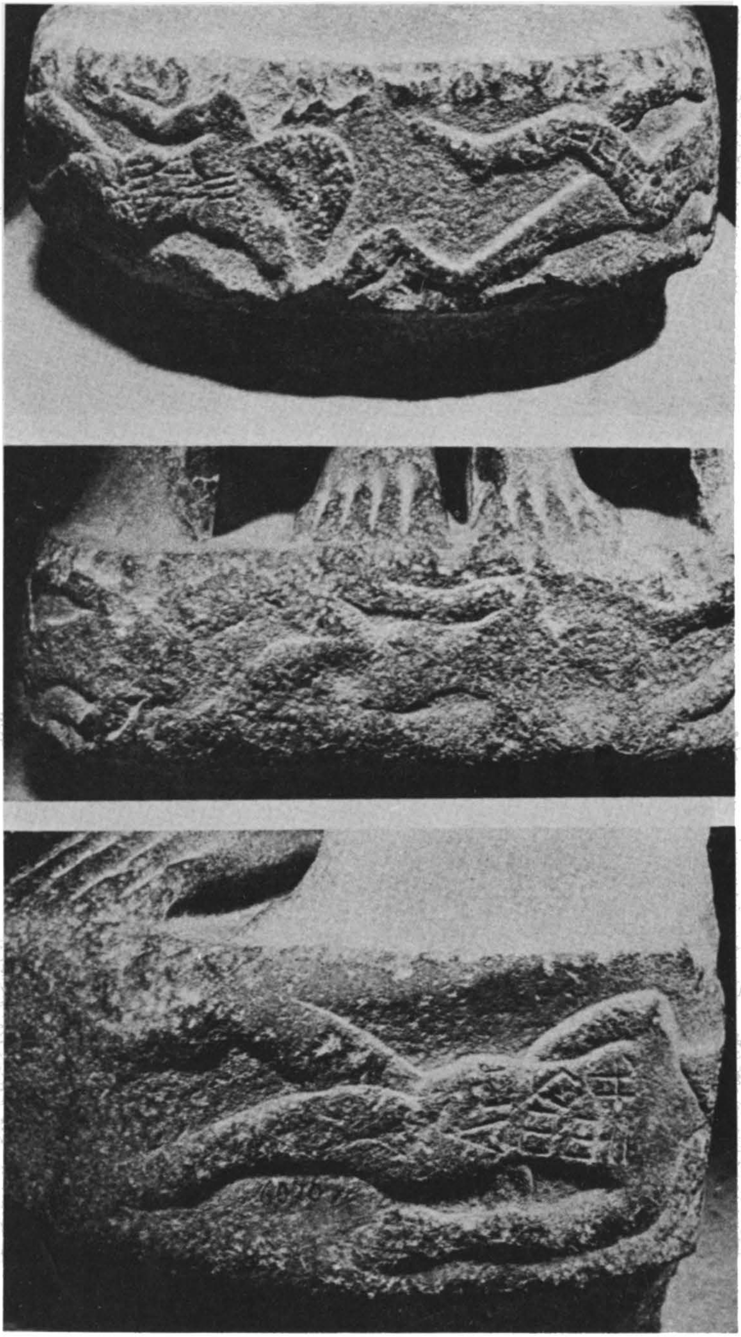
35. The Apis Stele of Darius.

PLATE XXXVI

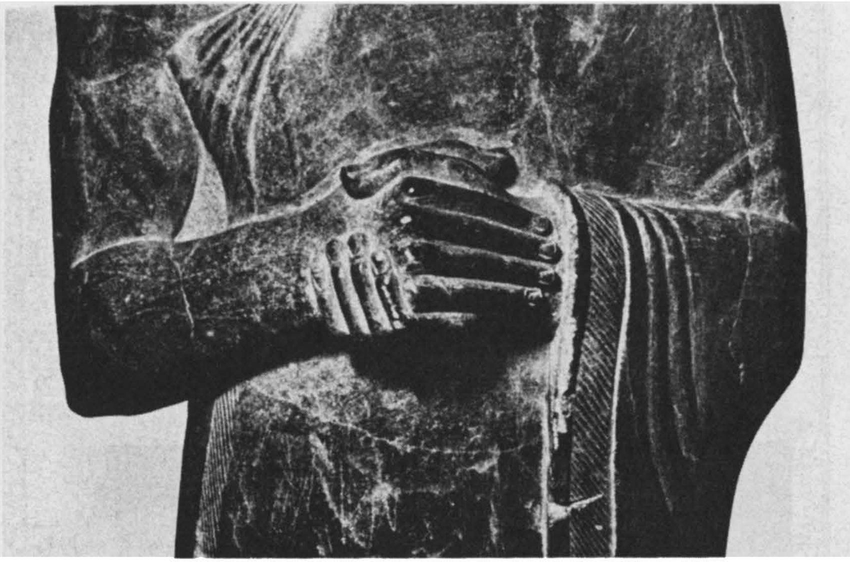


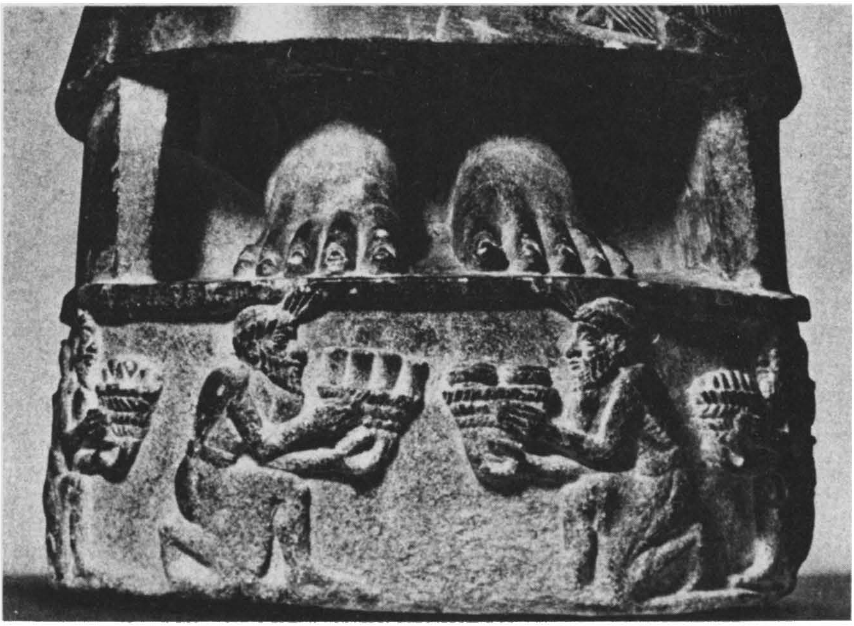
36. Relief from the Temple of Hibis, Room K2.

PLATE XXXVII



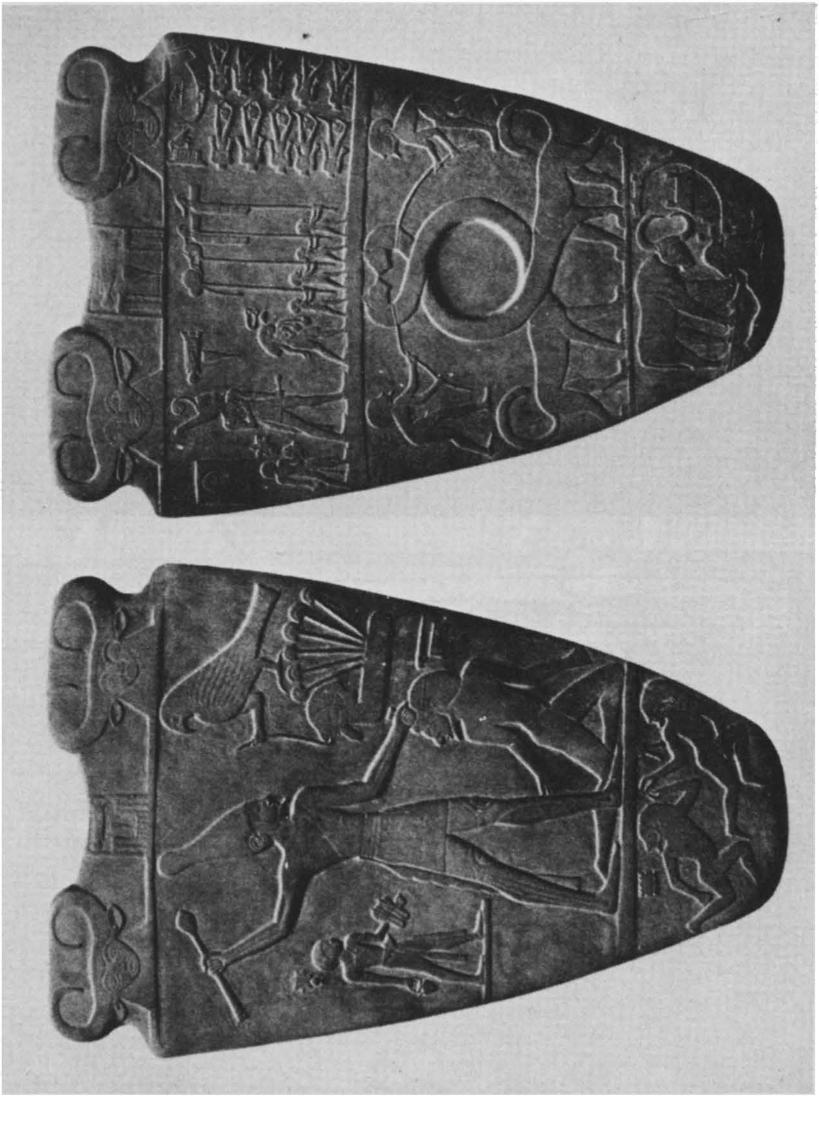
37. Statue of Manishtusu, Base Relief.





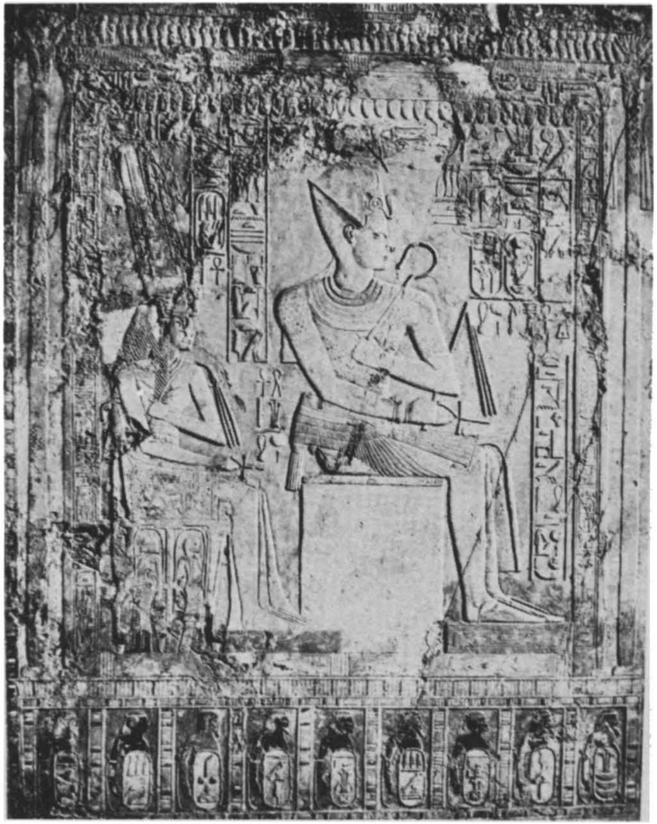
38. Statue of Ur-Ningirsu.

PLATE XXXIX

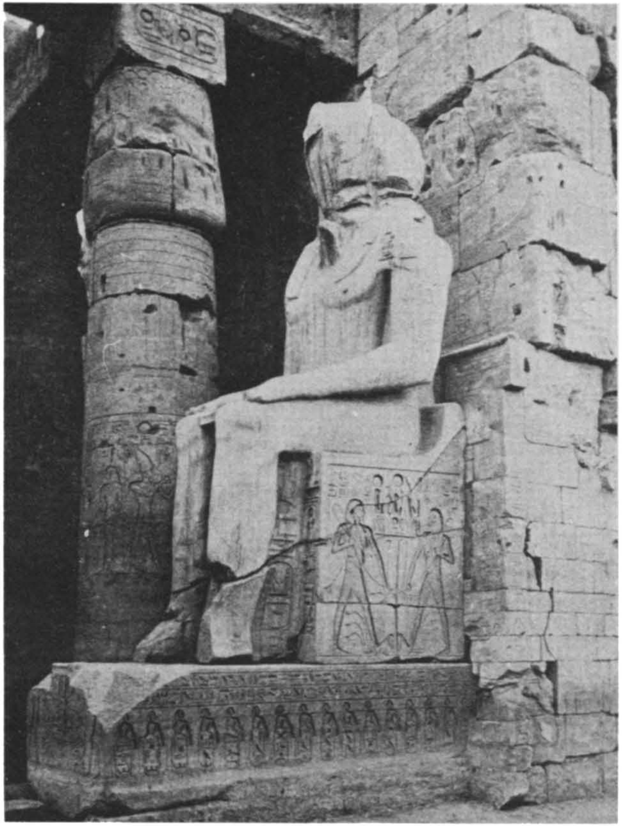


39. Narmer's Palette.

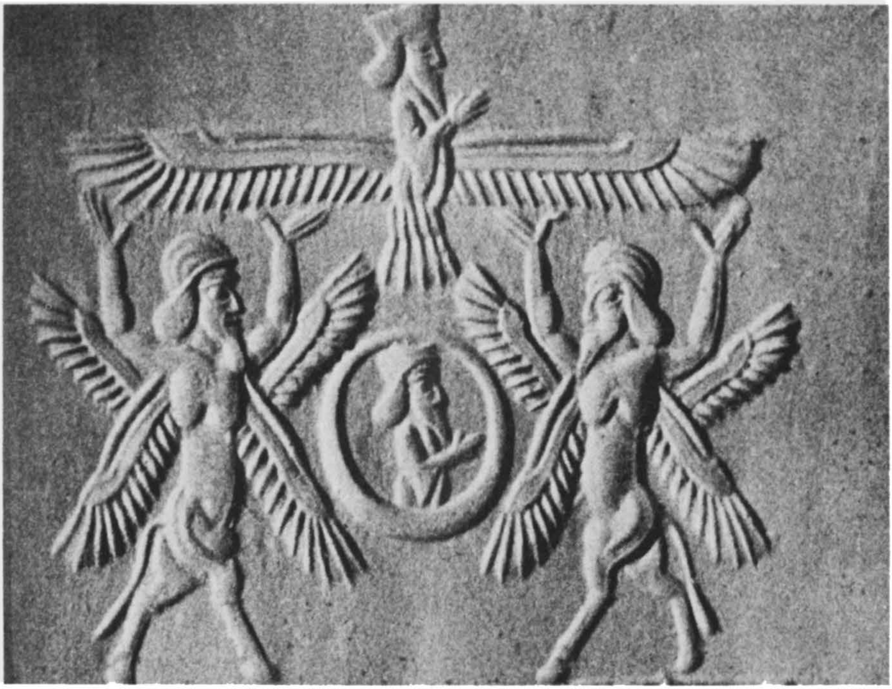
PLATE XL



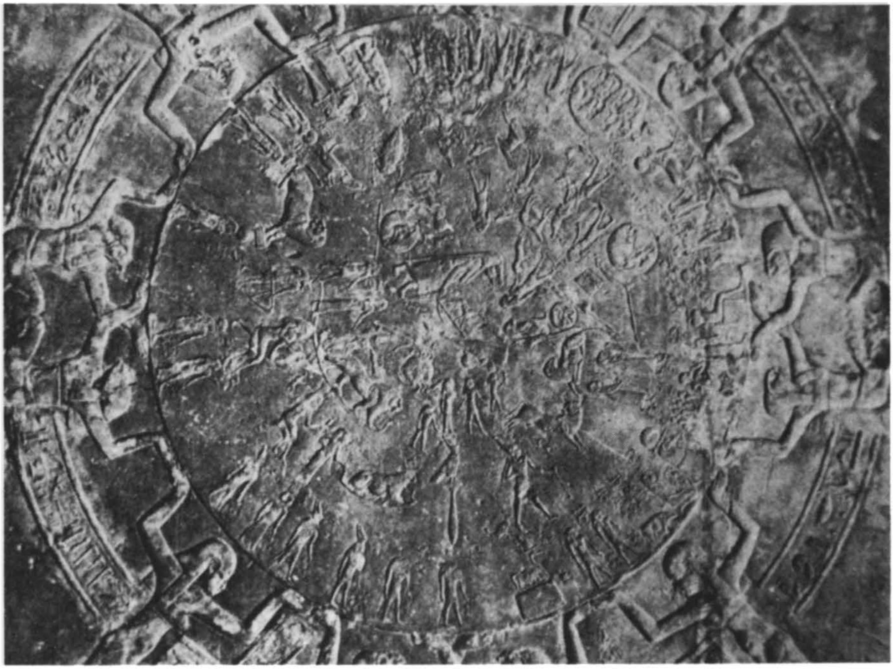
40a. Tomb of Kheruef, Royal Kiosk with Nine Bows.



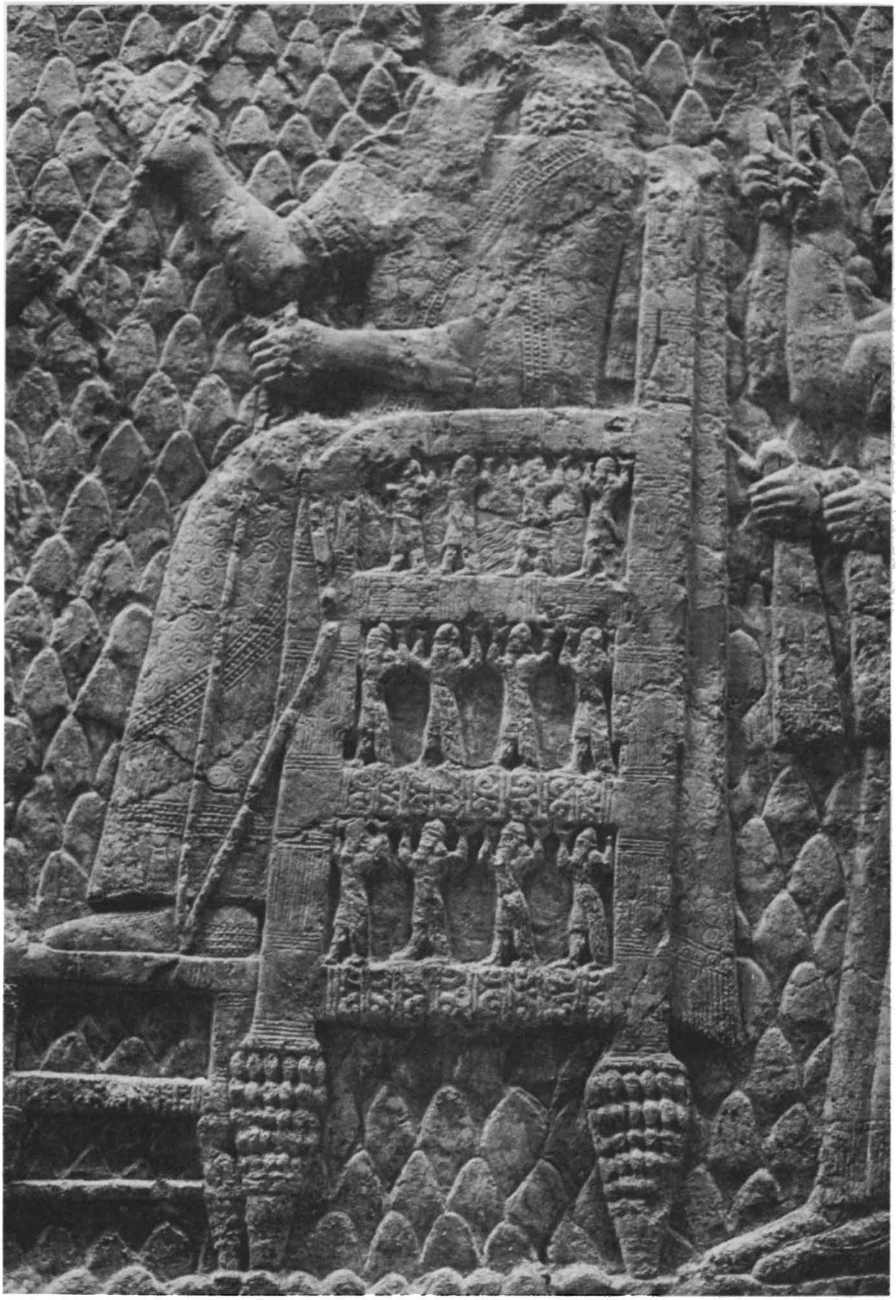
40b. Luxor, Colossus of Ramses II, with Nine Bows.



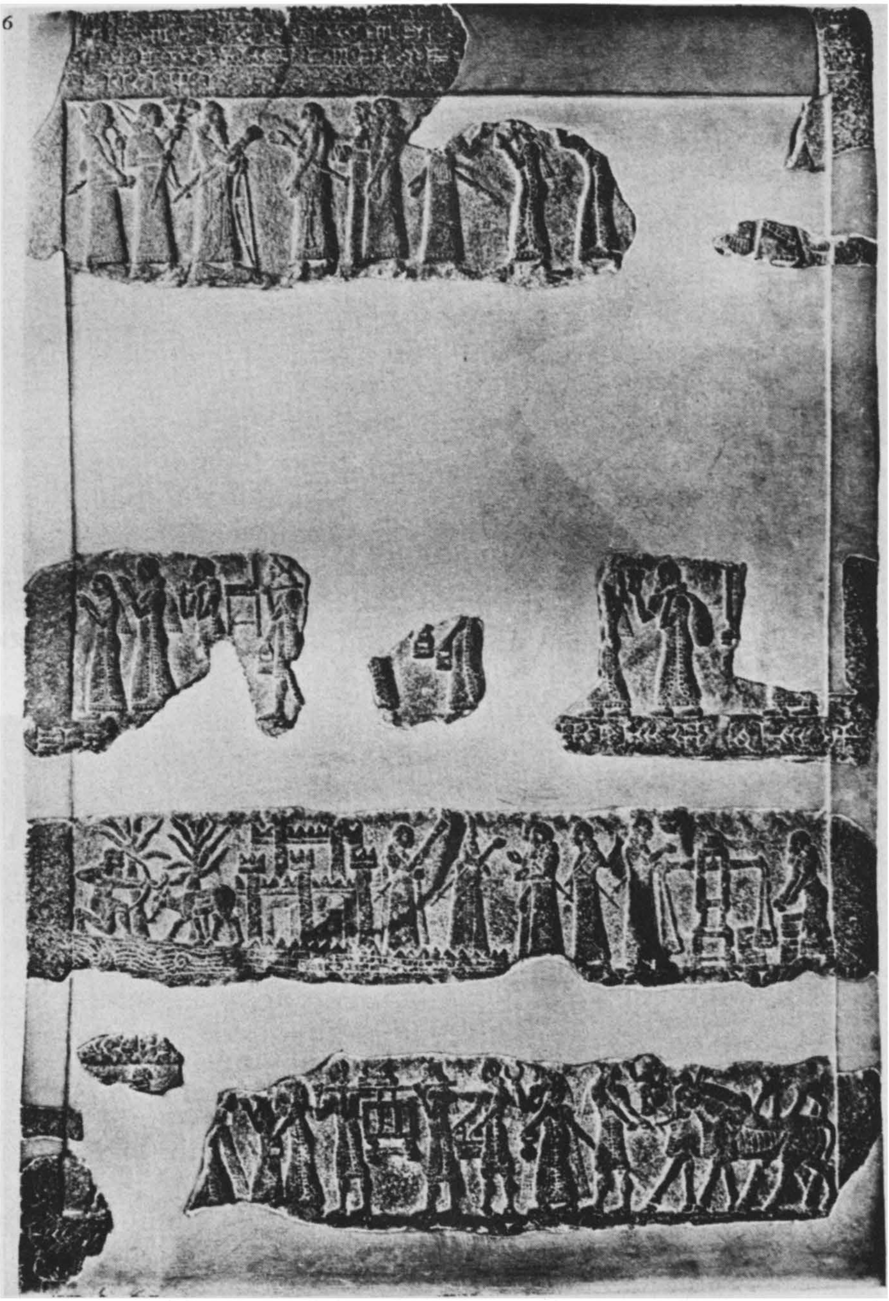
41a. Achaemenid Seal.



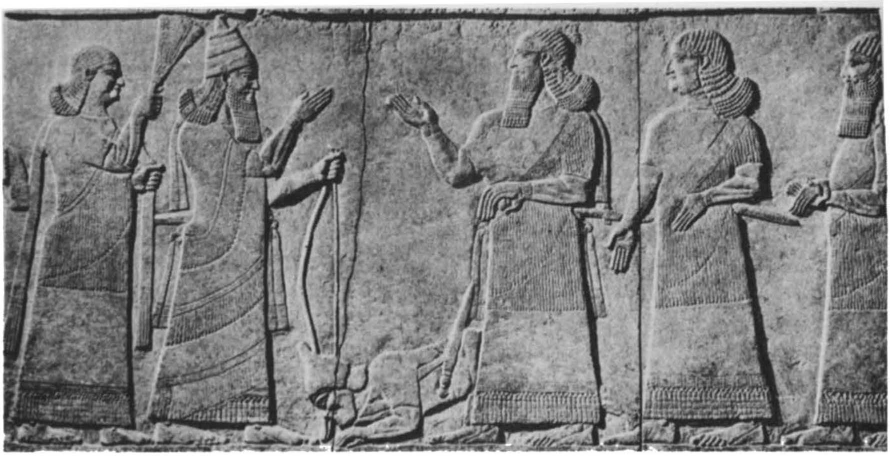
41b. Dendera Zodiac.



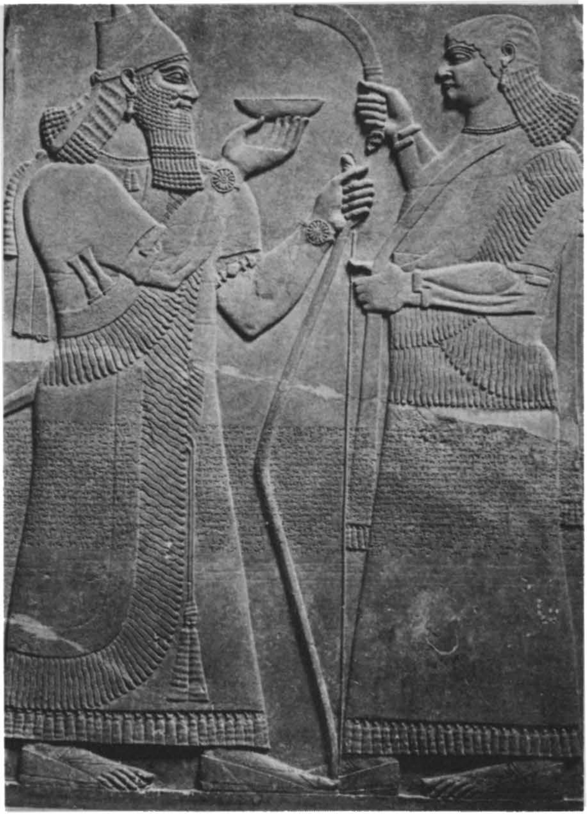
42. Relief of Sennacherib, Detail of Lachish Throne (B.M. 124910-2).



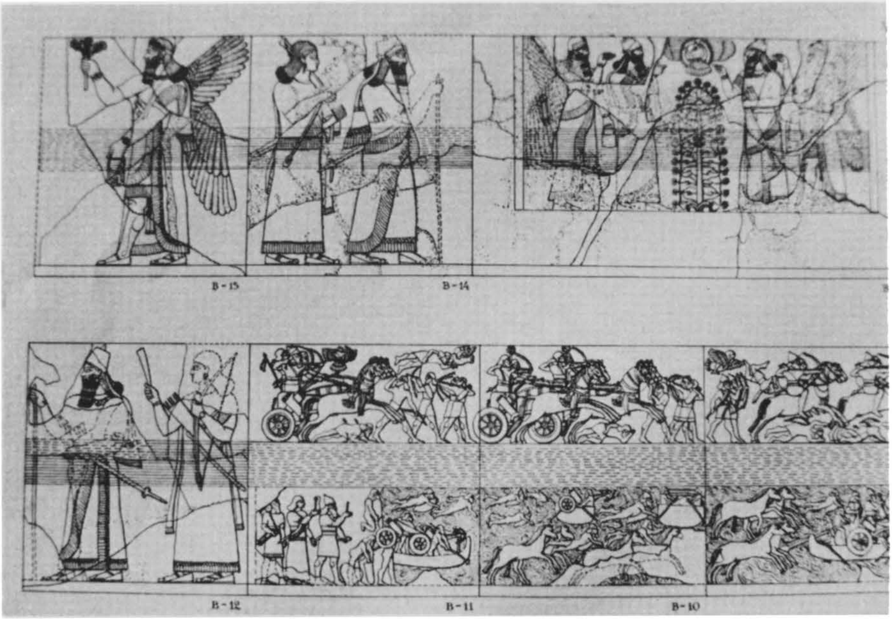
43. Broken Obelisk of Assurnasirpal.



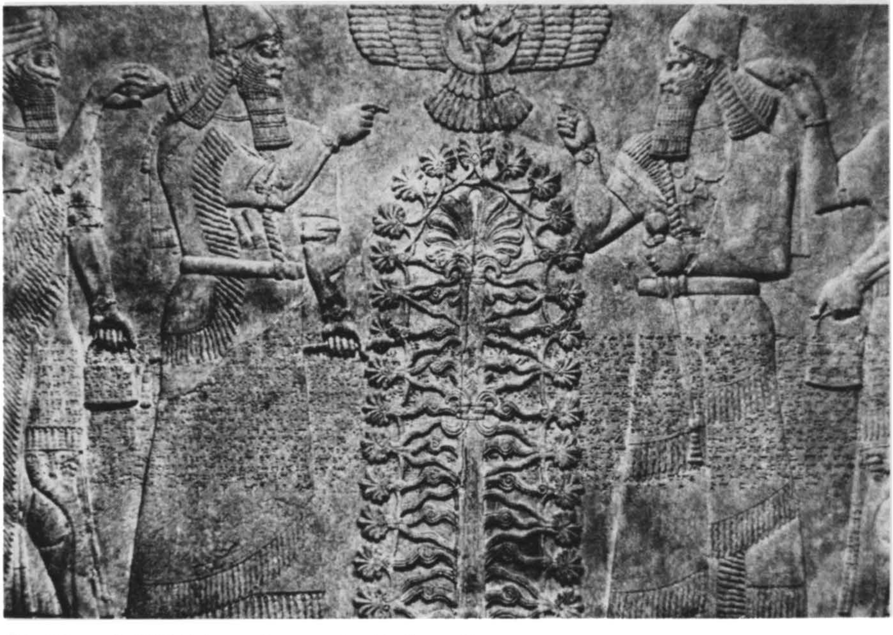
44a. Nimrud, SW Palace, Tiglathpileser Receiving Captives.



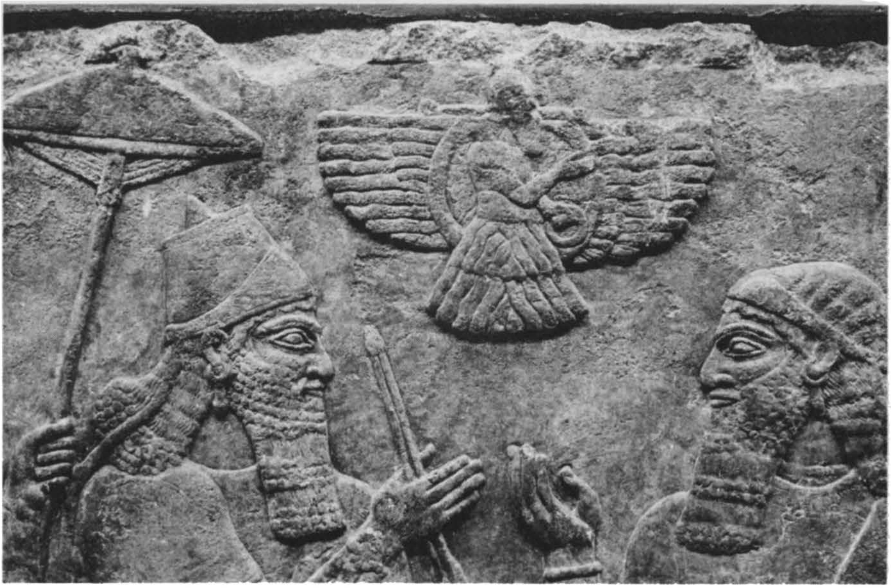
44b. Nimrud, NW Palace, Assurnasirpal with Attendant (B.M. 124569).


B-13
B-14
B-12
B-11
B-10

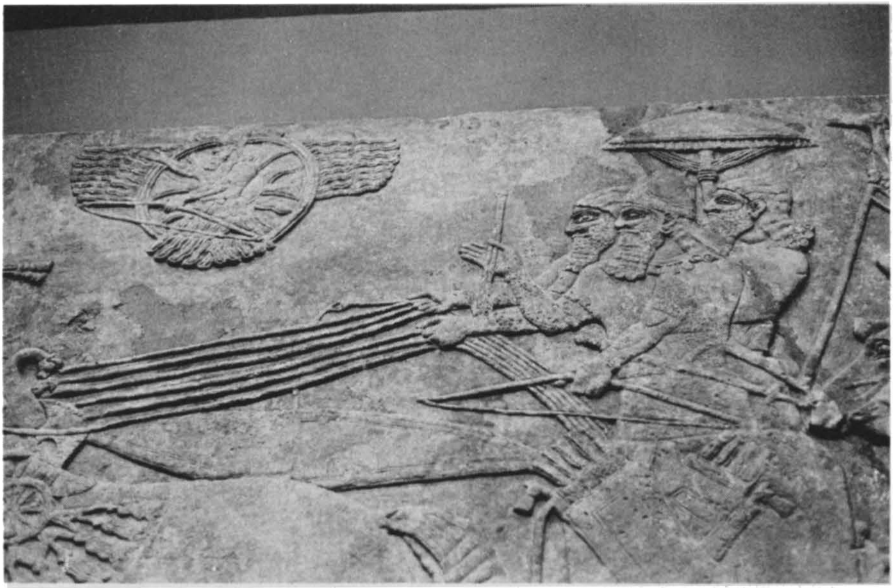
45a. Nimrud, NW Palace, Drawings of Throne Room Reliefs.



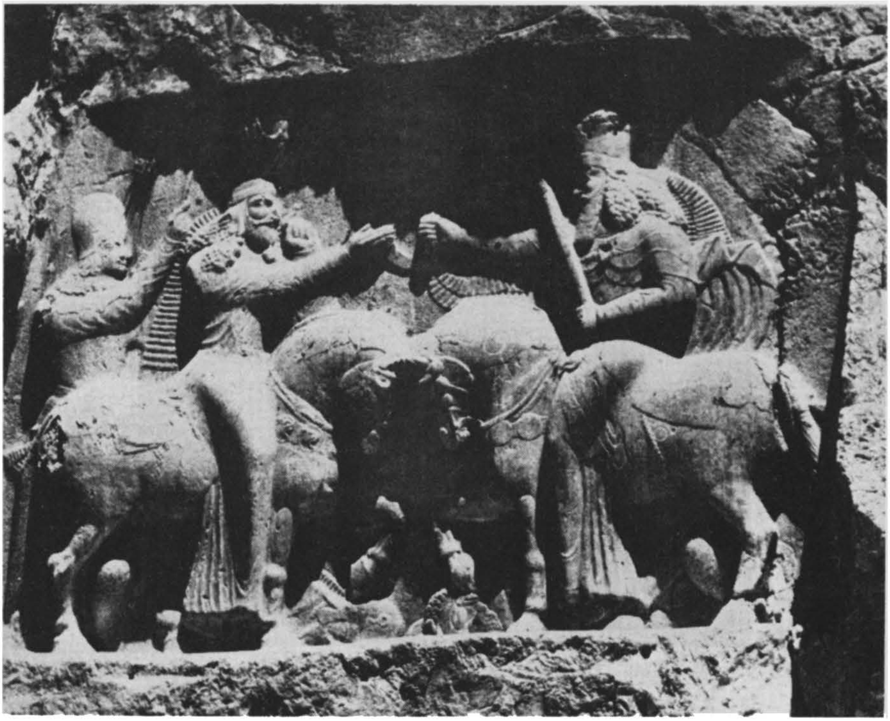
45b. Nimrud, NW Palace, Assurnasirpal's Investiture.



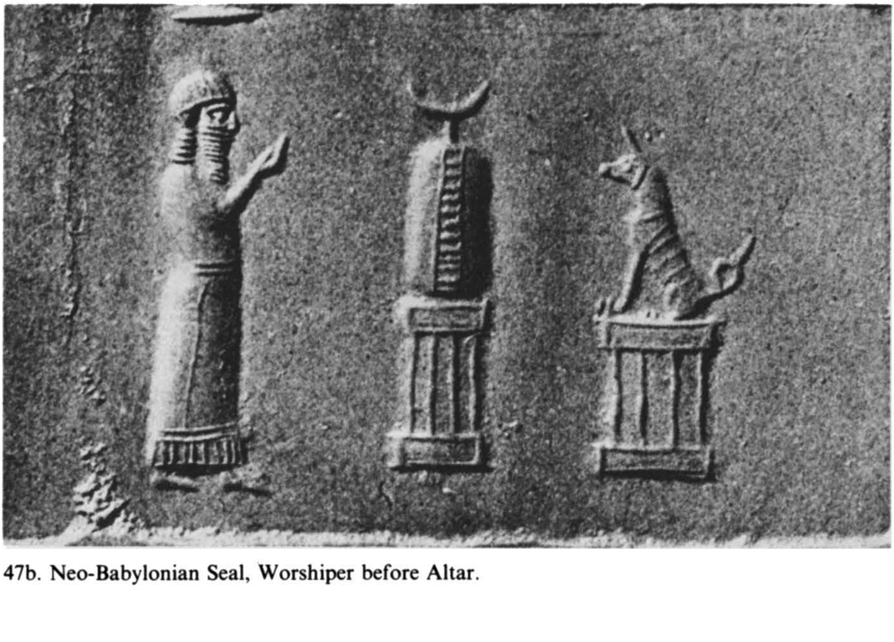
46a. Nimrud, NW Palace, Assurnasirpal under Assur with Ring (B.M. 124549).



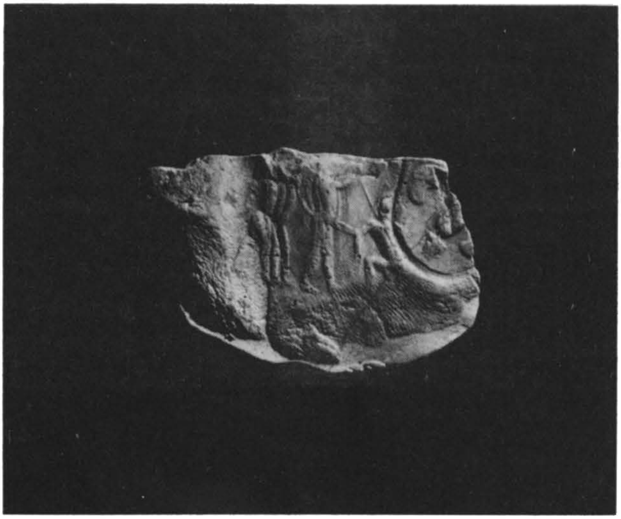
46b. Nimrud, NW Palace, Assurnasirpal under Assur with Bow (B.M. 124551).



47a. Naqsh-i Rustam, Investiture of Ardashir.

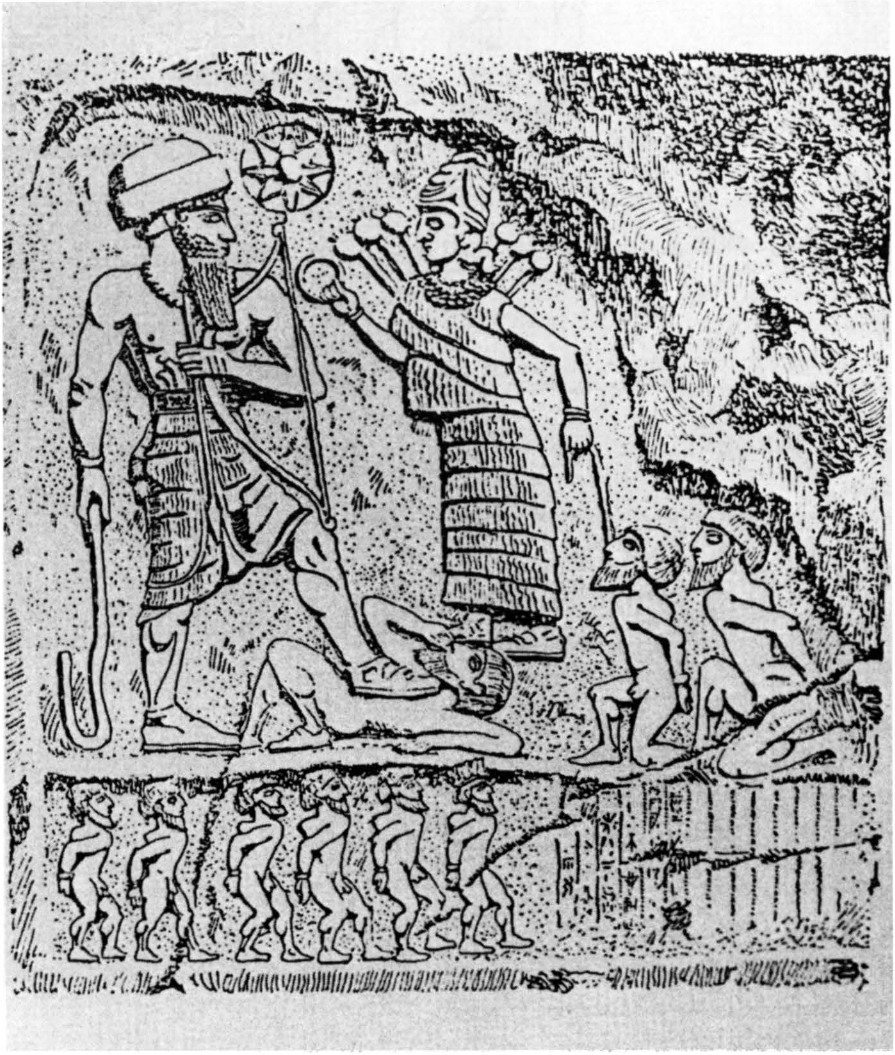


47b. Neo-Babylonian Seal, Worshiper before Altar.

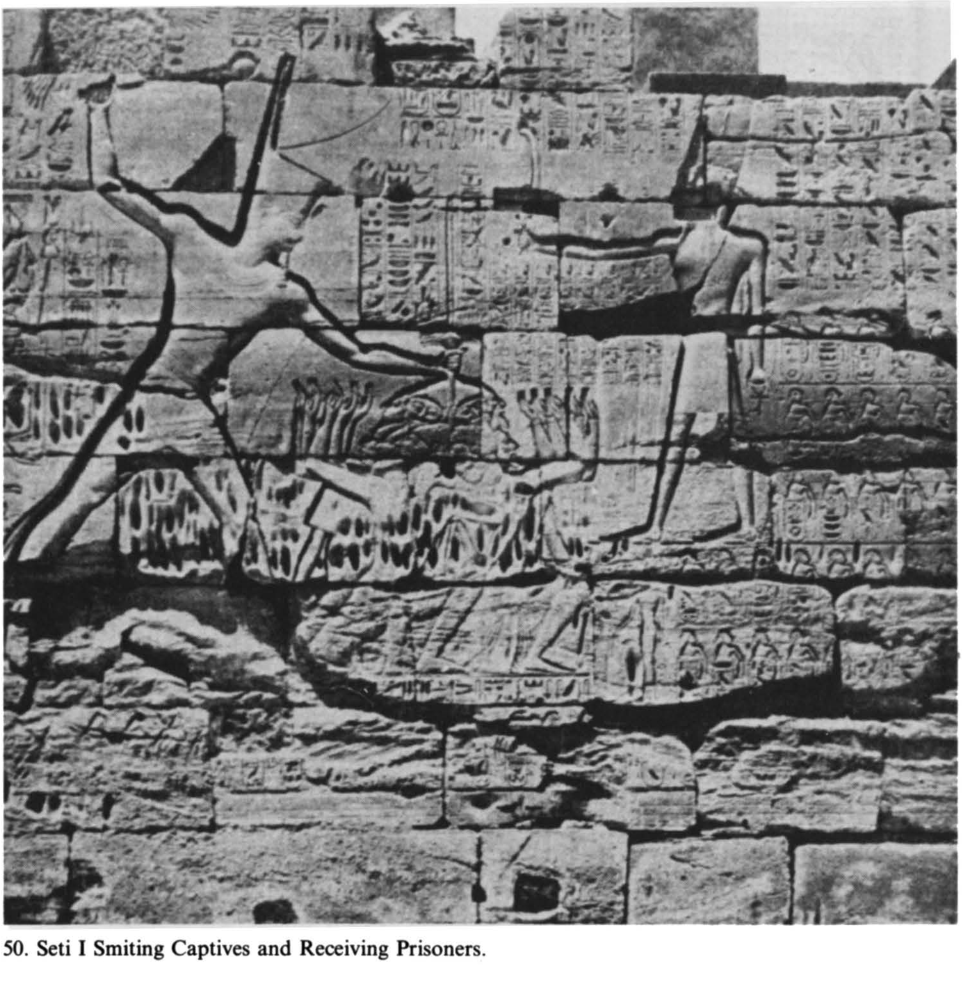


48a. Persepolis Treasury Seal # 28.

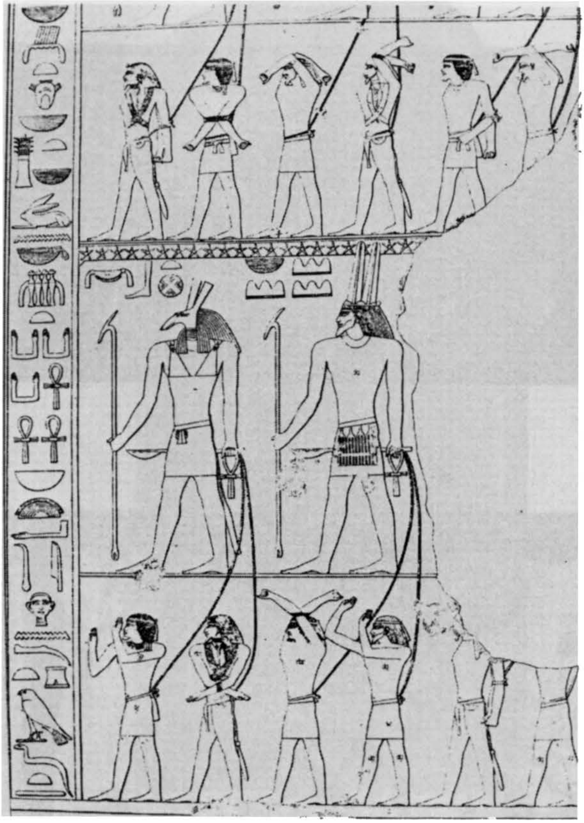
48b. Persepolis Treasury Seal # 28.



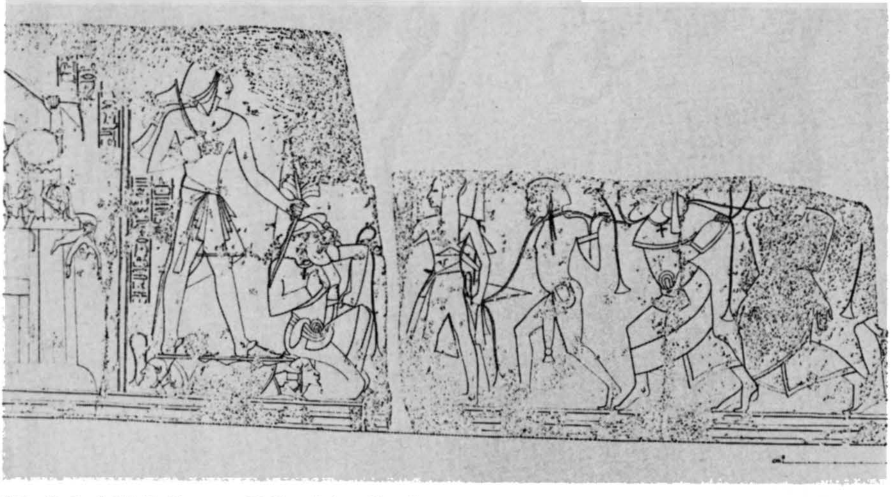
49. Sar-i Pul, Drawing of the Relief of Annubanini.



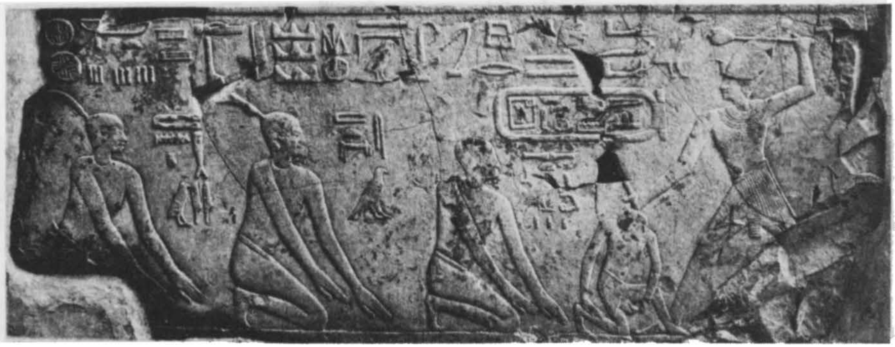
50. Seti I Smiting Captives and Receiving Prisoners.



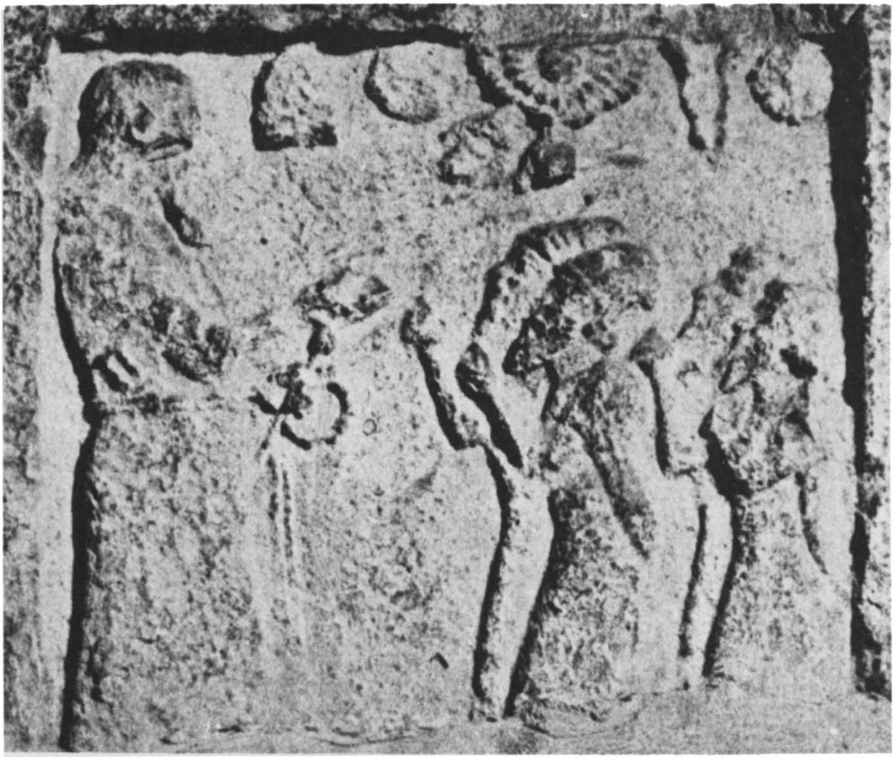
51a. Sahure
Receiving
Prisoners.



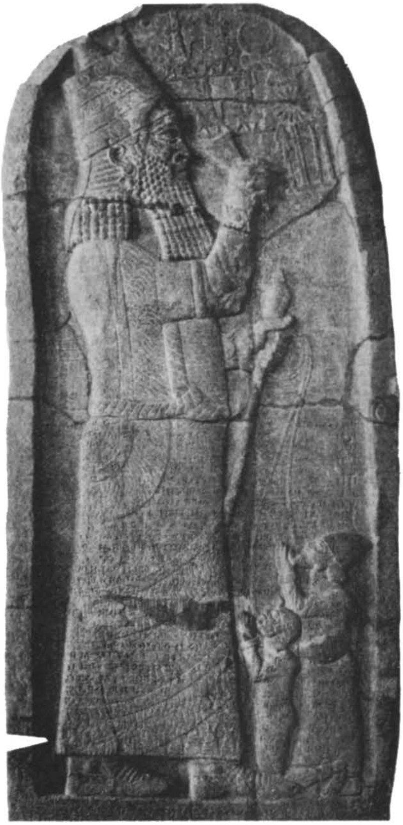
51b. Beit el Wali, Ramses II Receiving Captives.



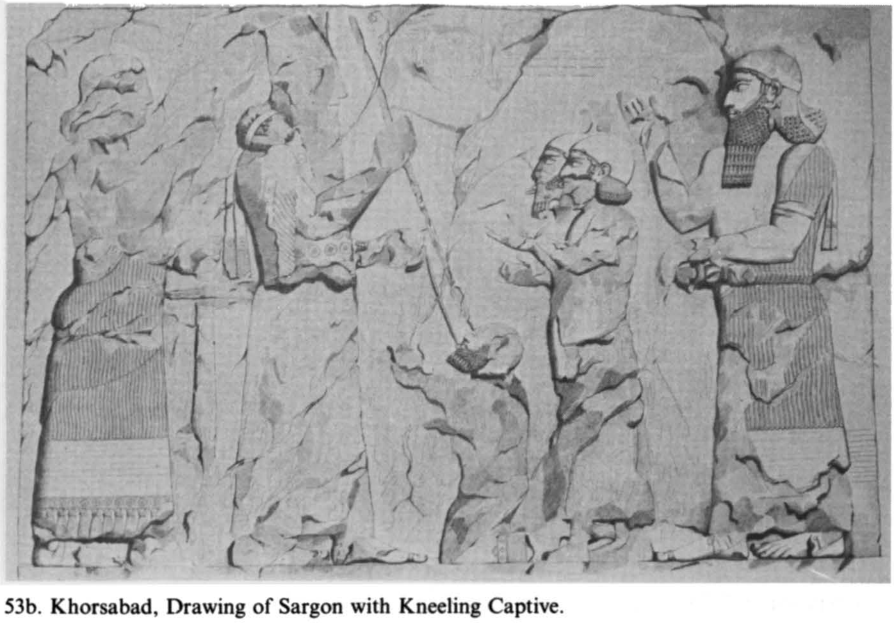
52a. Mentuhotep I with Prisoners.



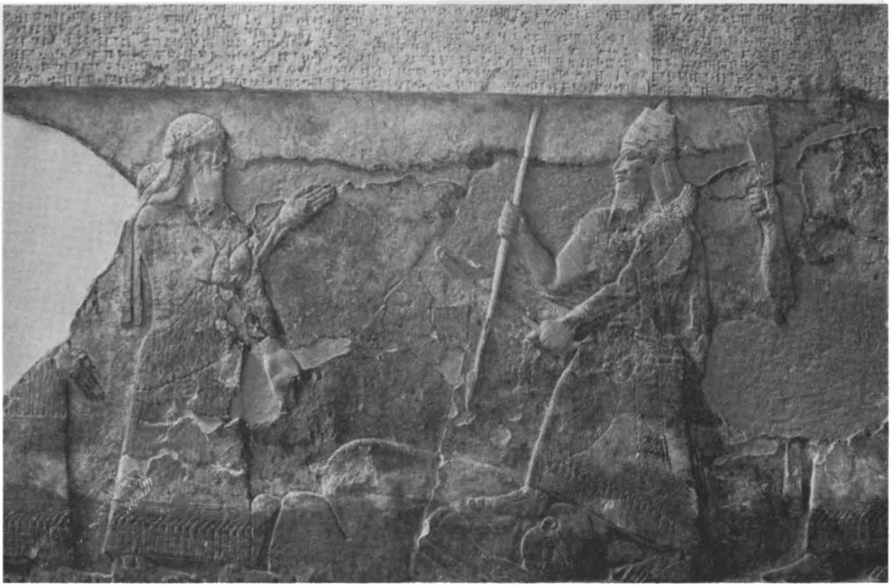
52b. The Broken Obelisk of Assur-bel-kala.



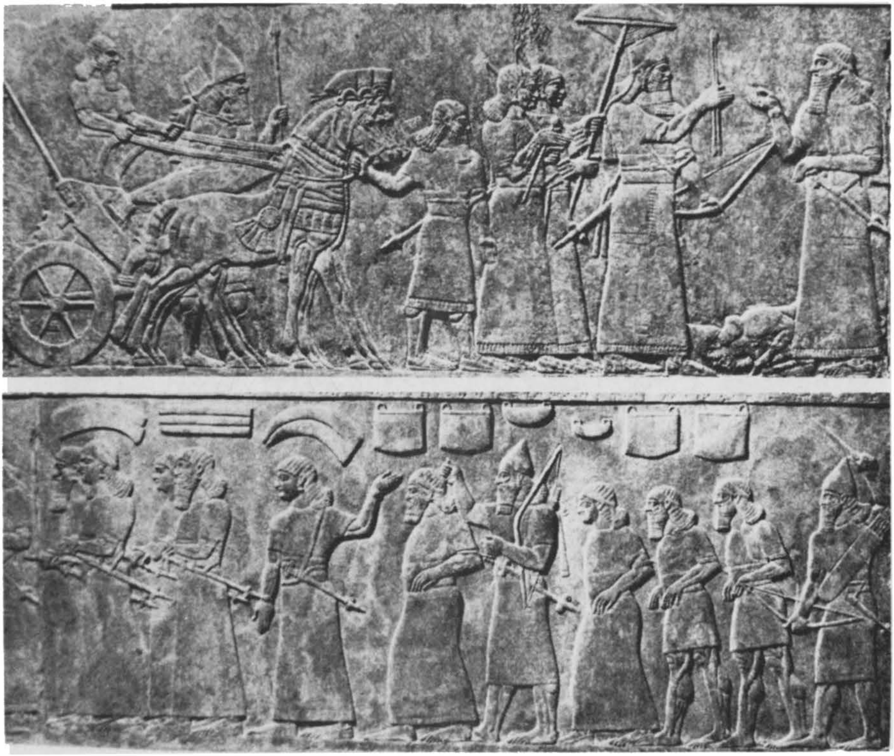
53a. The Zinzirli Stele of Esarhaddon.



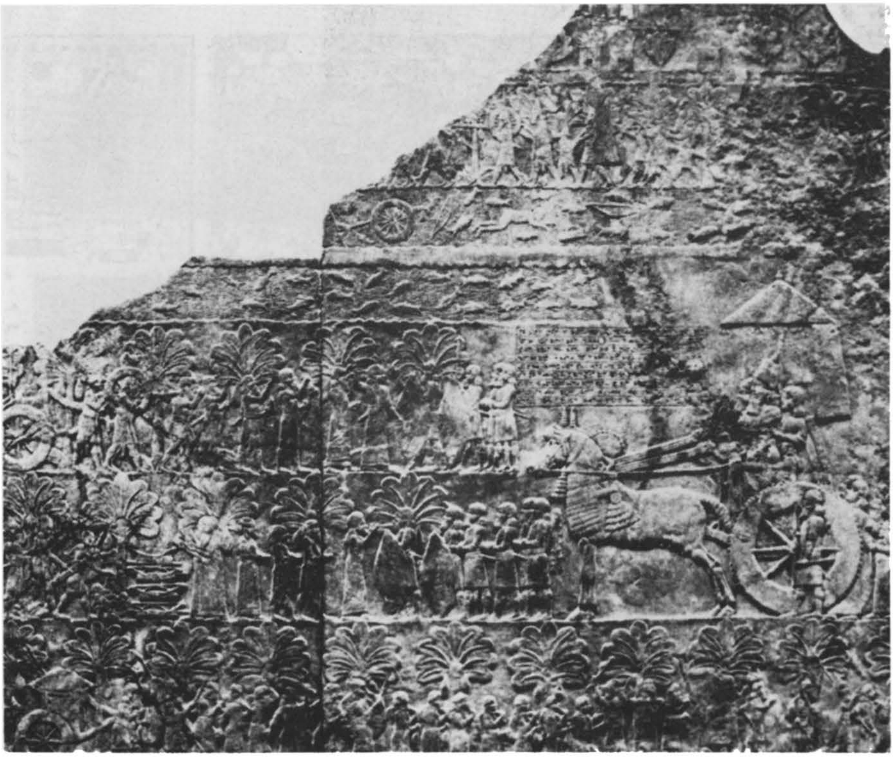
53b. Khorsabad, Drawing of Sargon with Kneeling Captive.



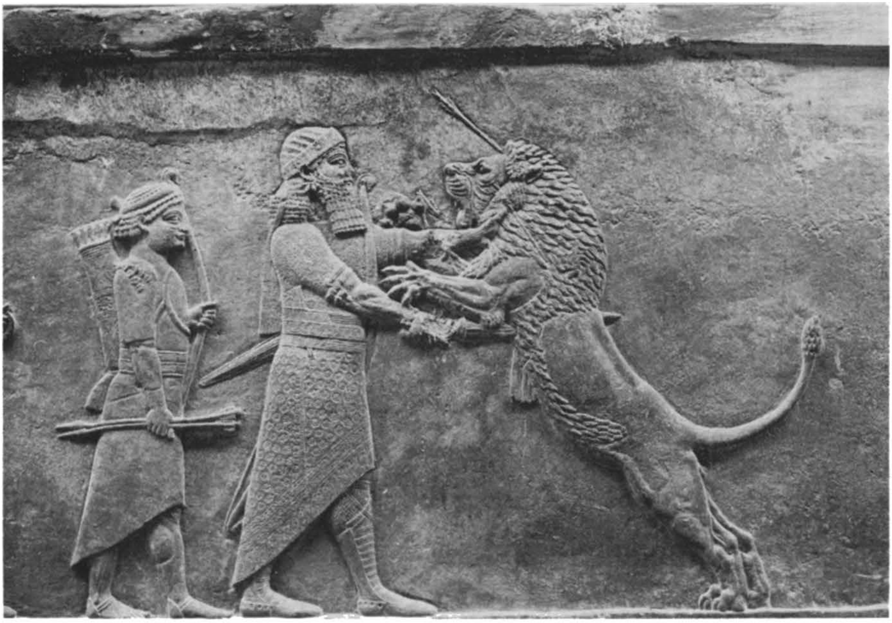
54a. Nimrud, SW Palace, Tiglathpileser with Captive (B.M. 118933).



54b. Nimrud, NW Palace, Assurnasirpal Receiving Captives.

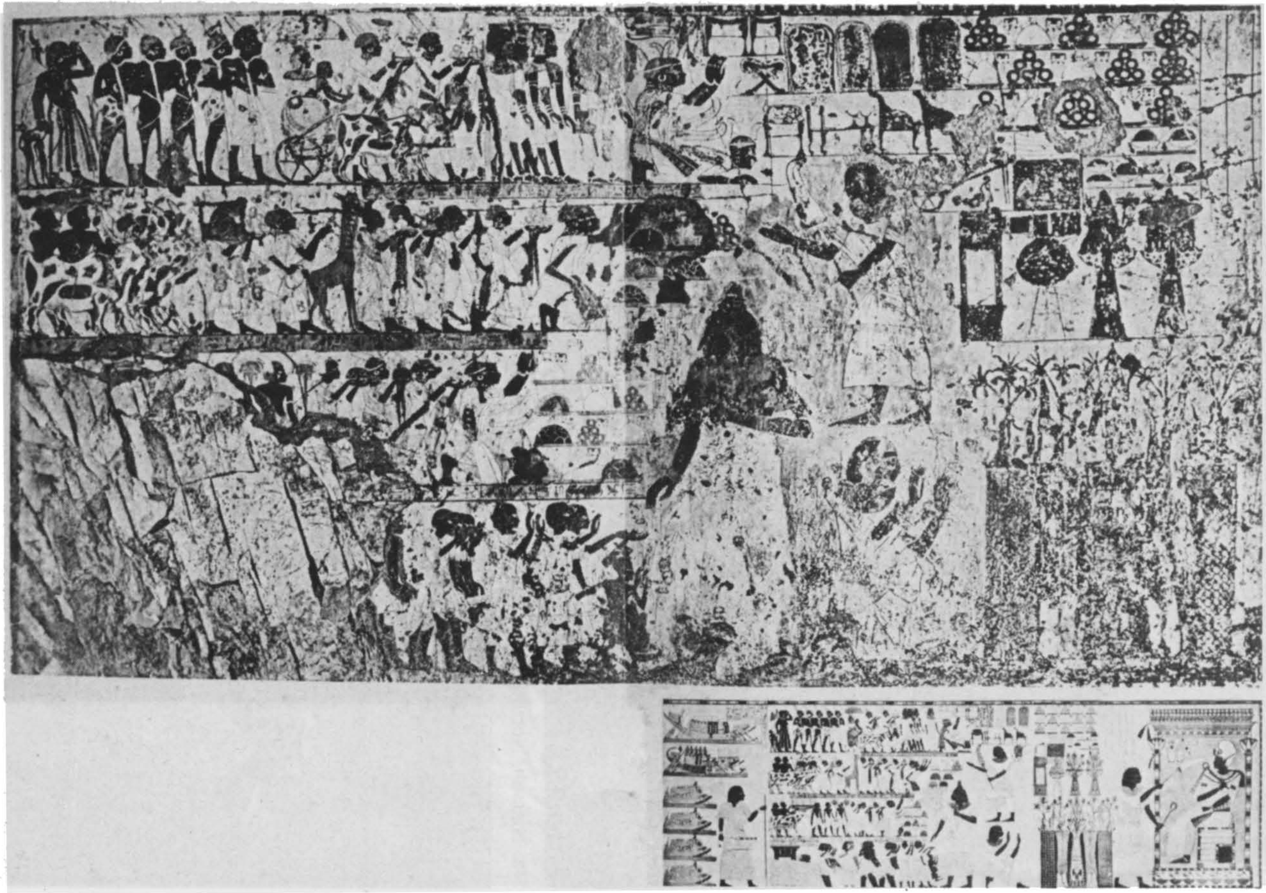


55a. Nineveh, North Palace, Assurbanipal's Triumph over Shamash-shum-ukin.

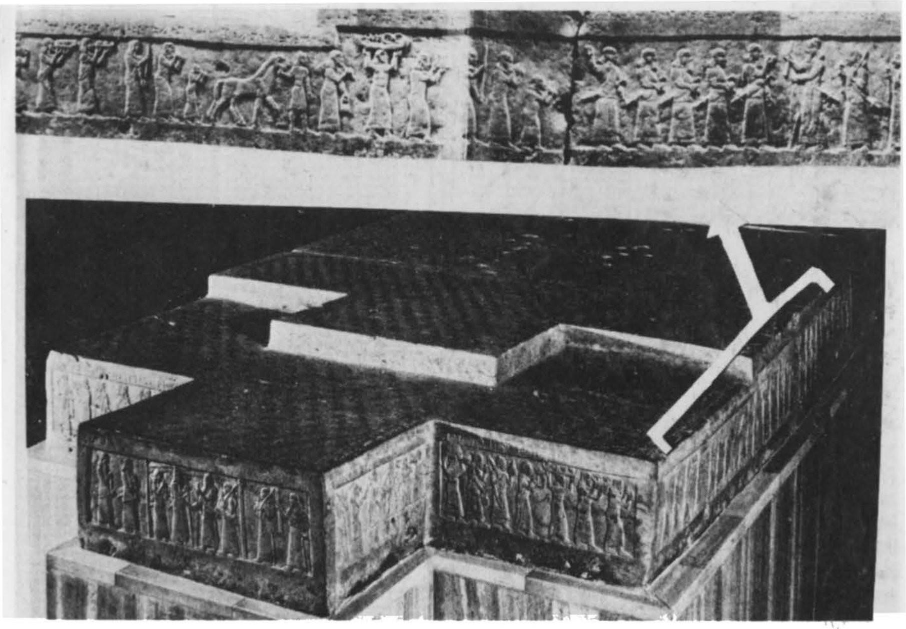


55b. Nineveh, North Palace, Crown Prince Slaying Lion (B.M. 124875).

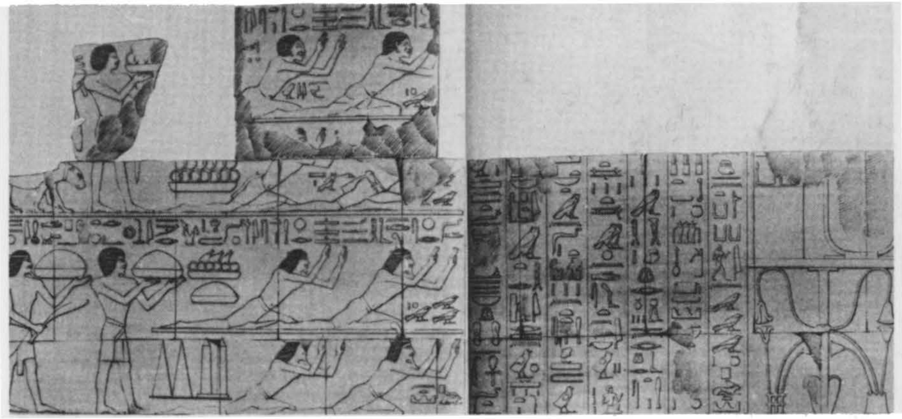
PLATE LVI



56. Tomb of Huje, Tribute Scene.

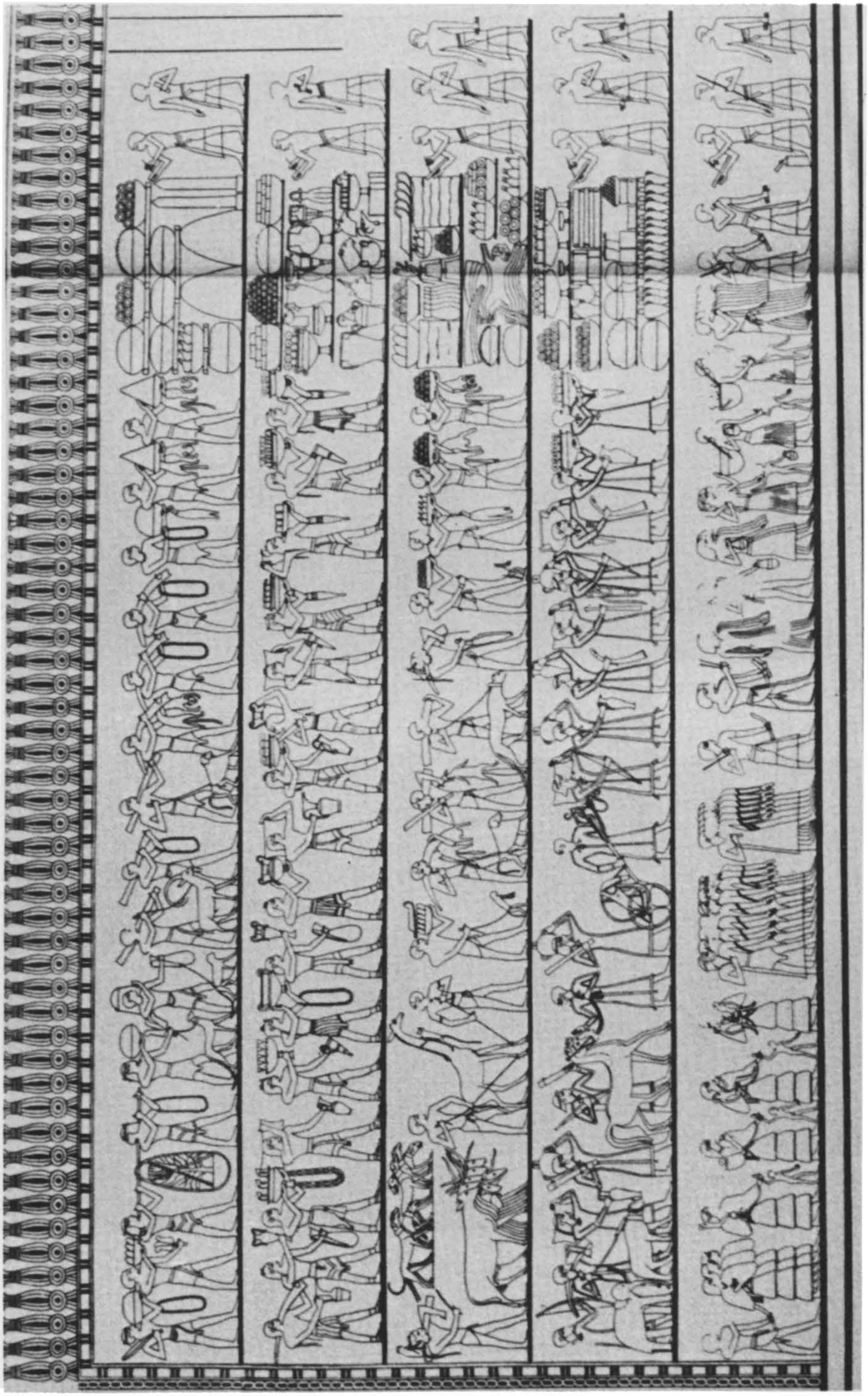


57a. Fort Shalmaneser, Throne Dais of Shalmaneser.

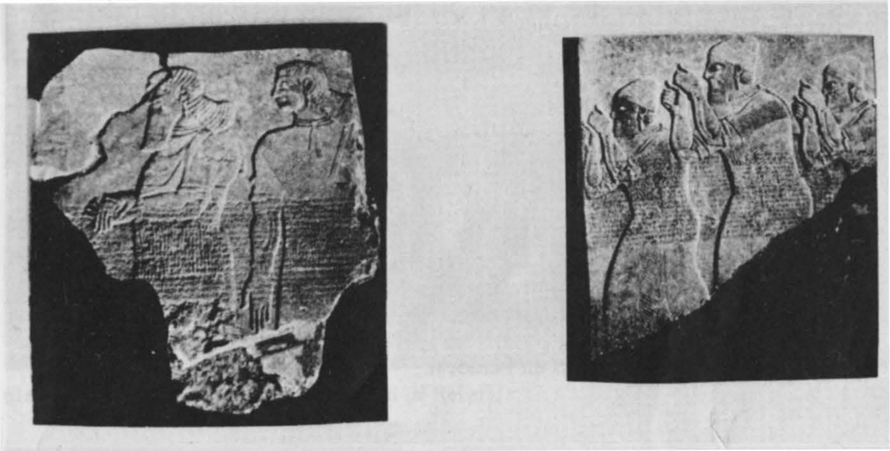


57b. Deir el Bahari, Tribute Bearers from Punt.

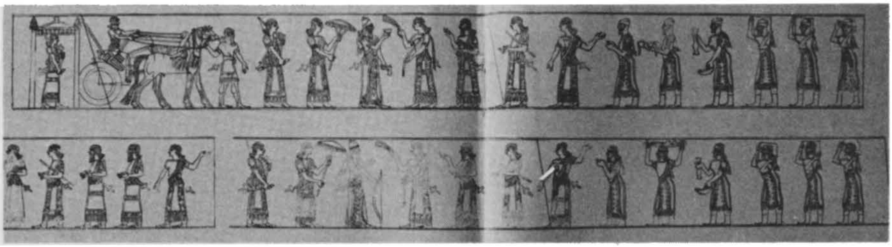
PLATE LVIII



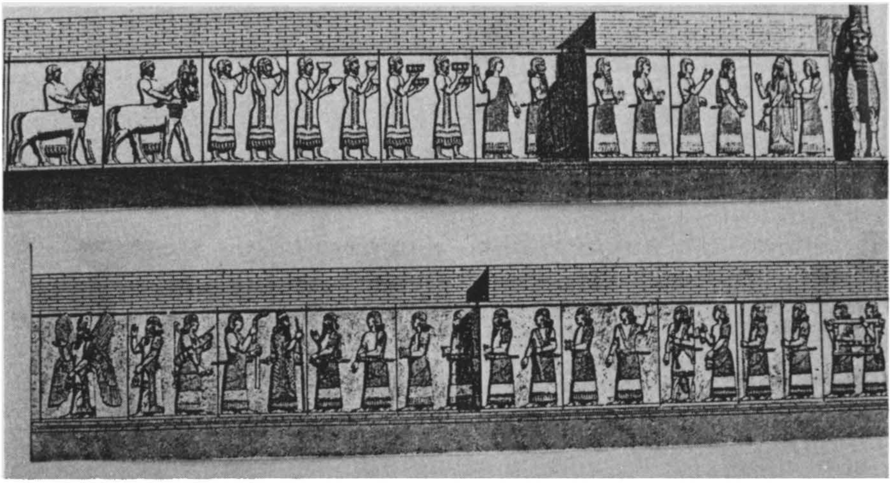
58. Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re, Tribute Scene.



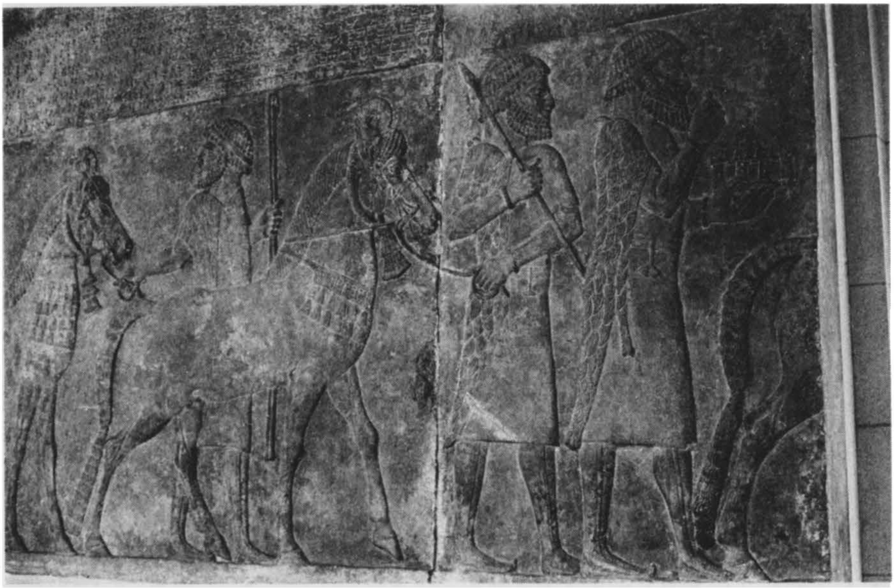
59a. Nimrud, NW Palace, Tribute Scene Details.



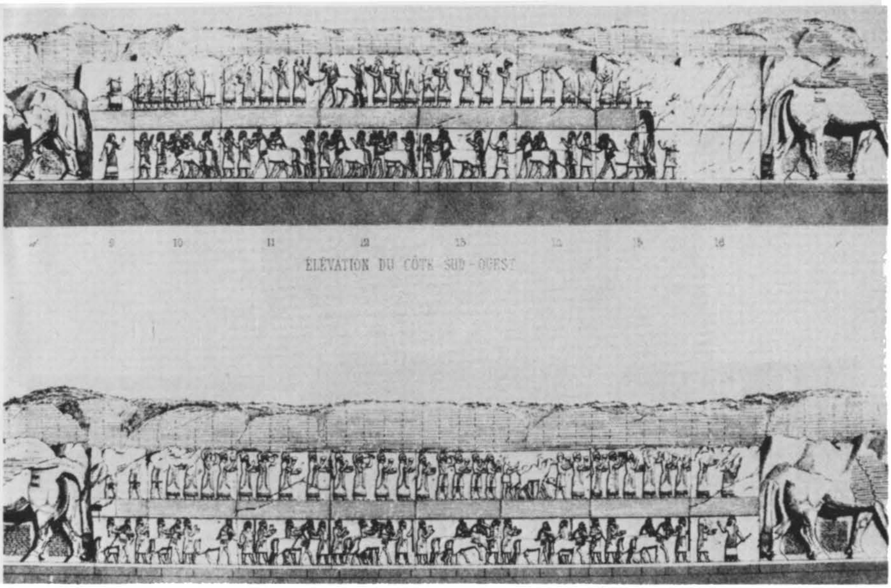
59b. Nimrud, Ivory Plaque with Tribute Scene.



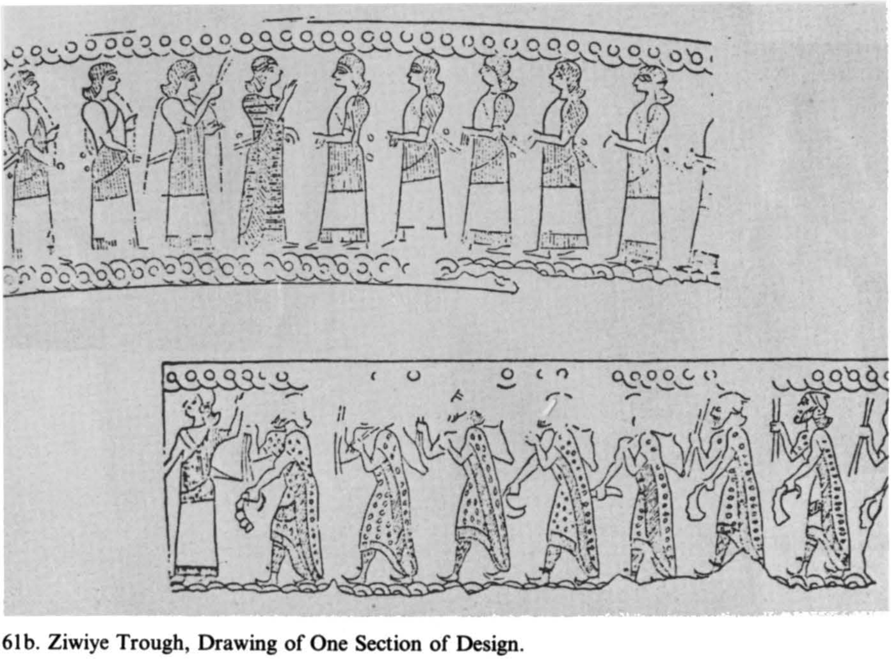
60a. Khorsabad, Drawing of Reliefs on Facade n.



60b. Khorsabad, Room X, Tribute Group.

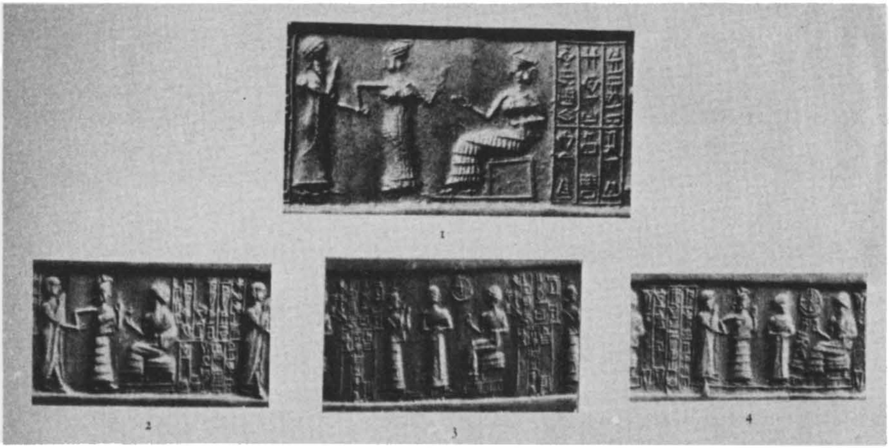

9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
ÉLÉVATION DU CÔTÉ SUD-OUEST

61a. Khorsabad, Room X, Reconstruction of Reliefs.

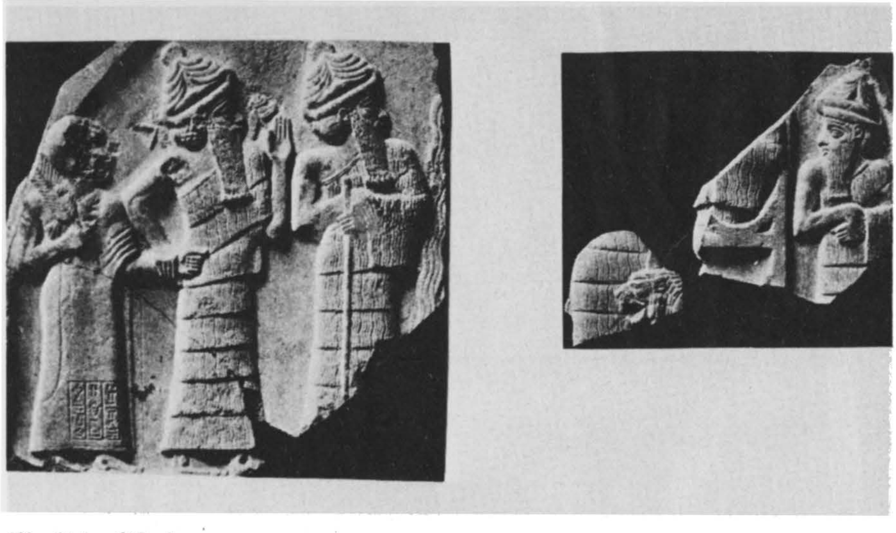


61b. Ziwiye Trough, Drawing of One Section of Design.

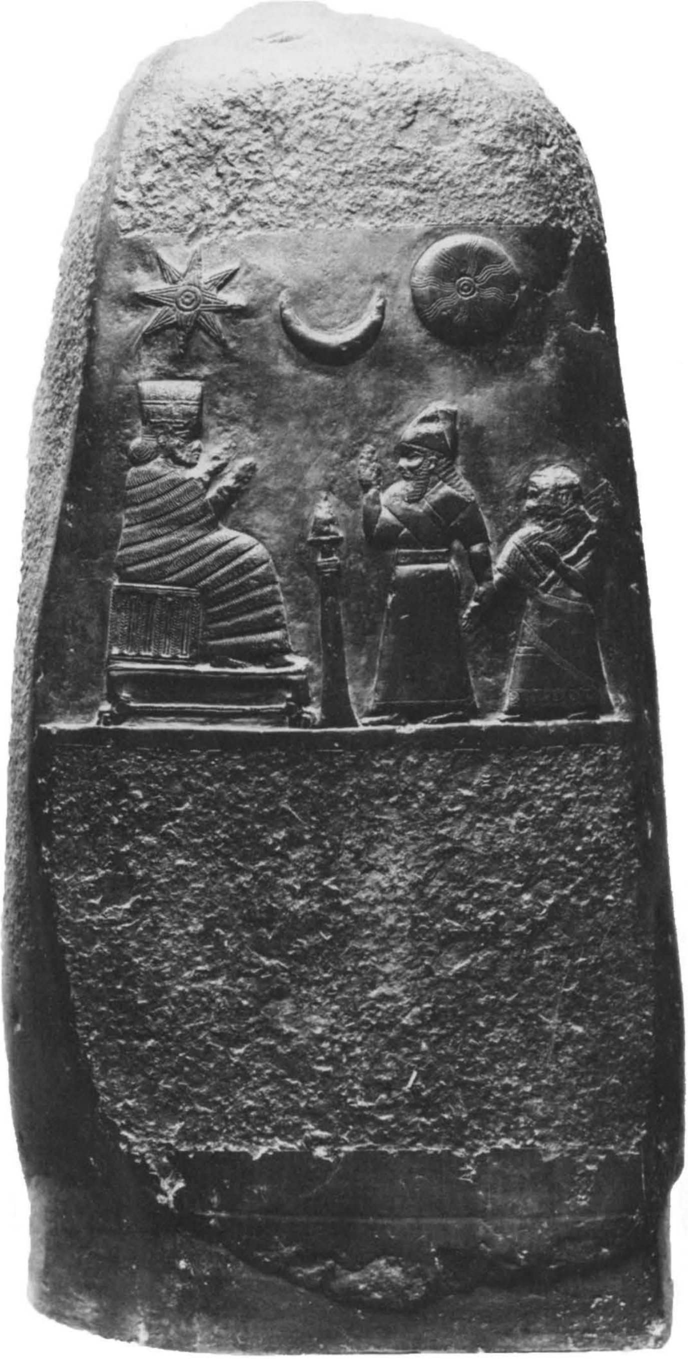
PLATE LXII



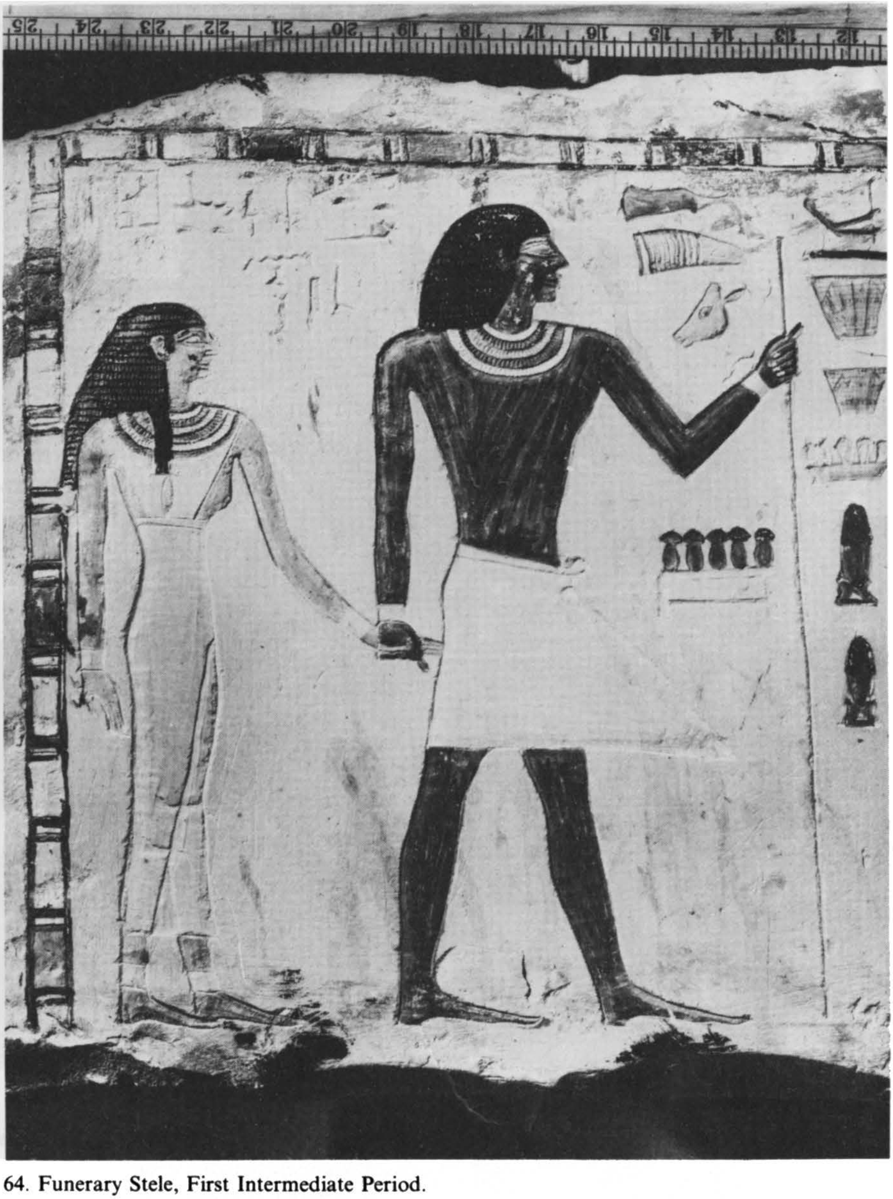
62a. Presentation Seals (Neo-Sumerian and Old Babylonian).



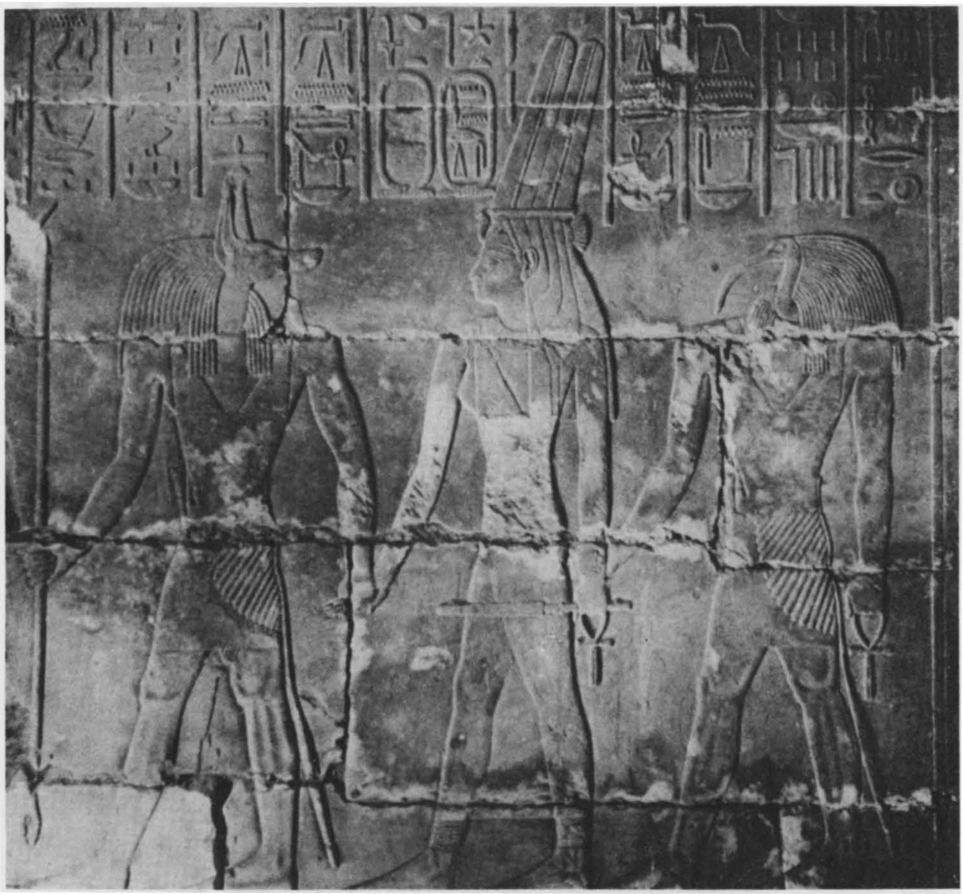
62b. Stele of Gudea.



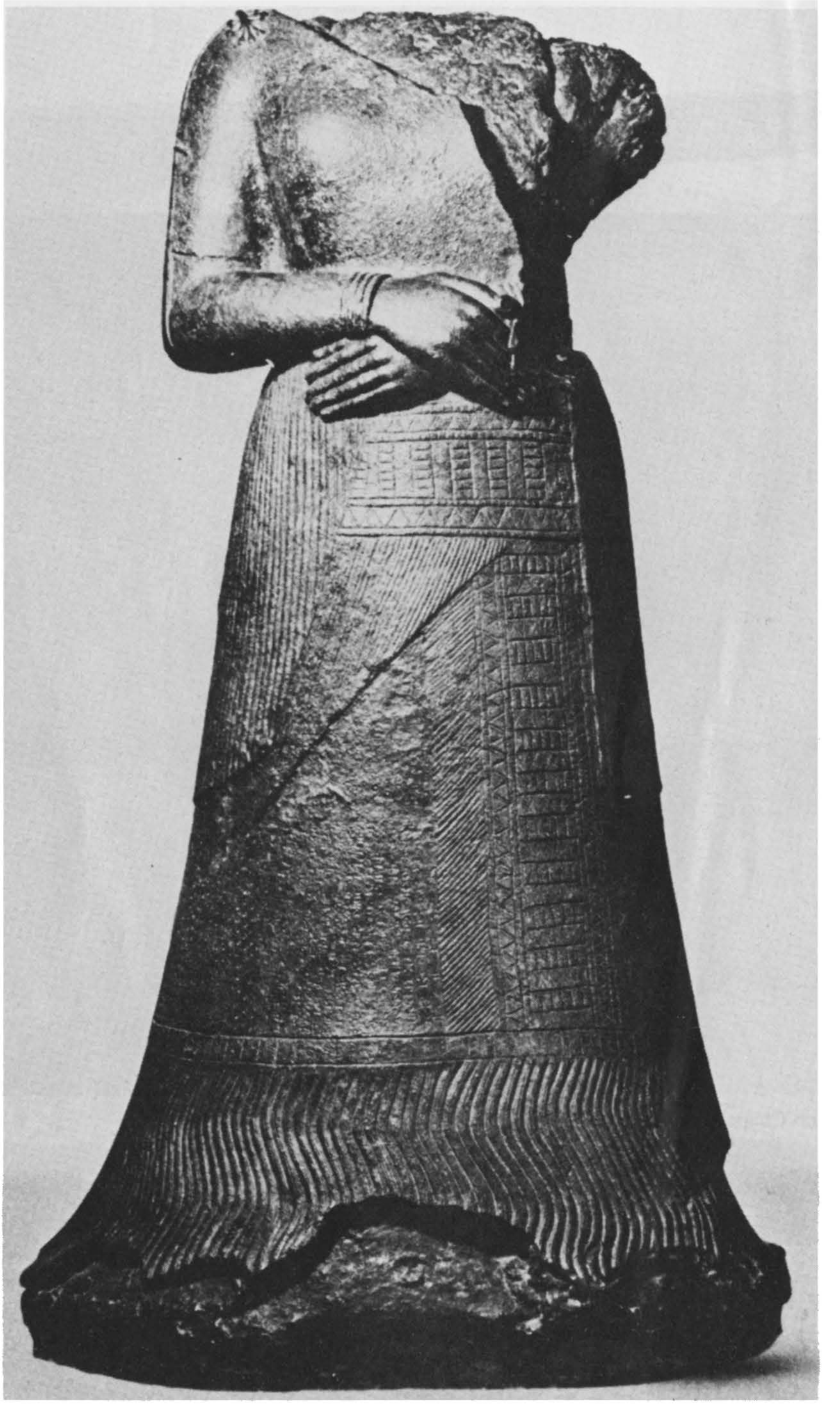
63. Kudurru of Melishihu II.



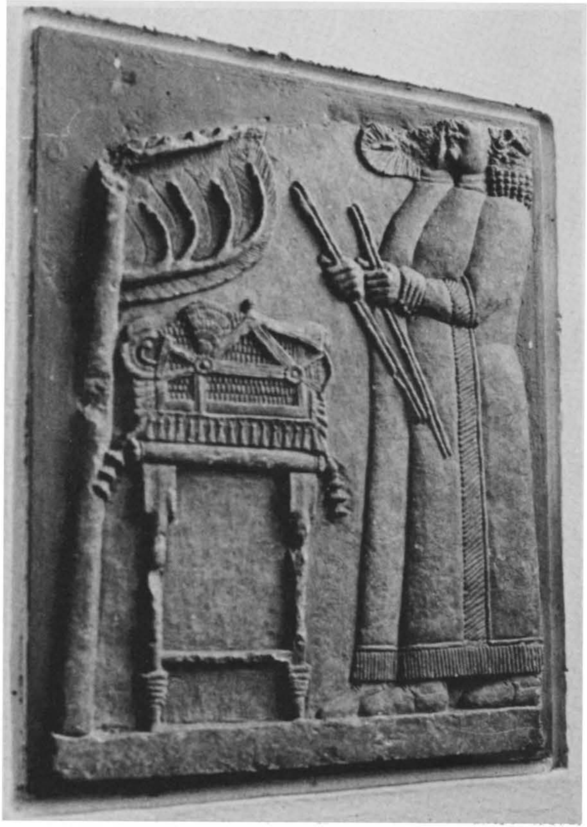
64. Funerary Stele, First Intermediate Period.



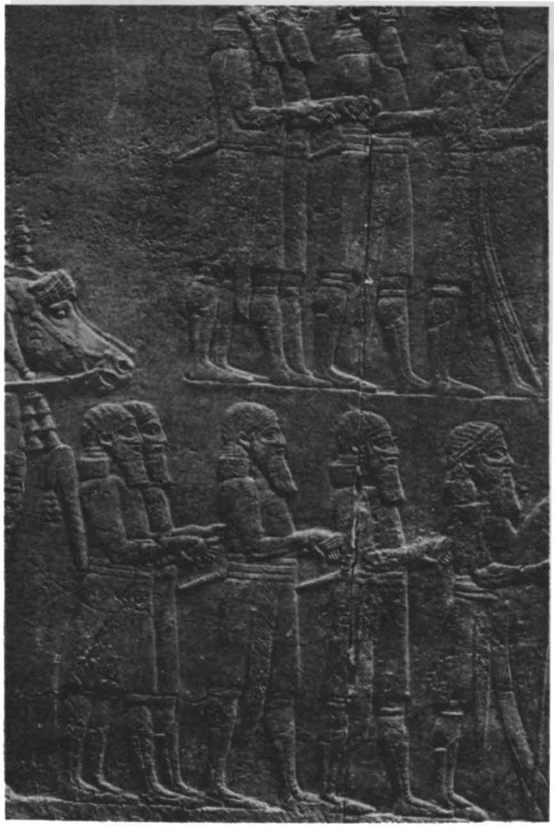
65. Tomb Chapel of Amenirdis, Amenirdis Led by Thoth.



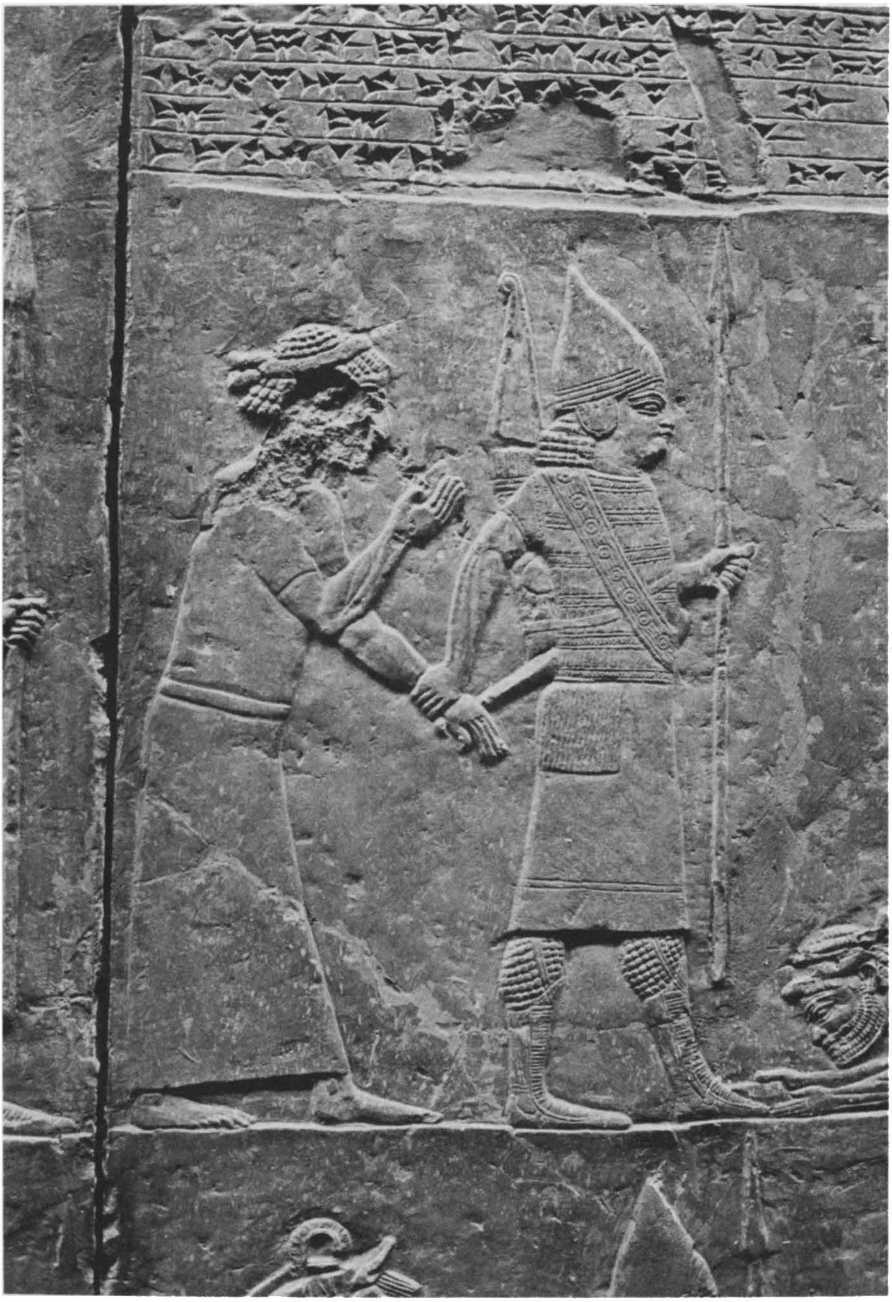
66. Statue of Napir-Asu.



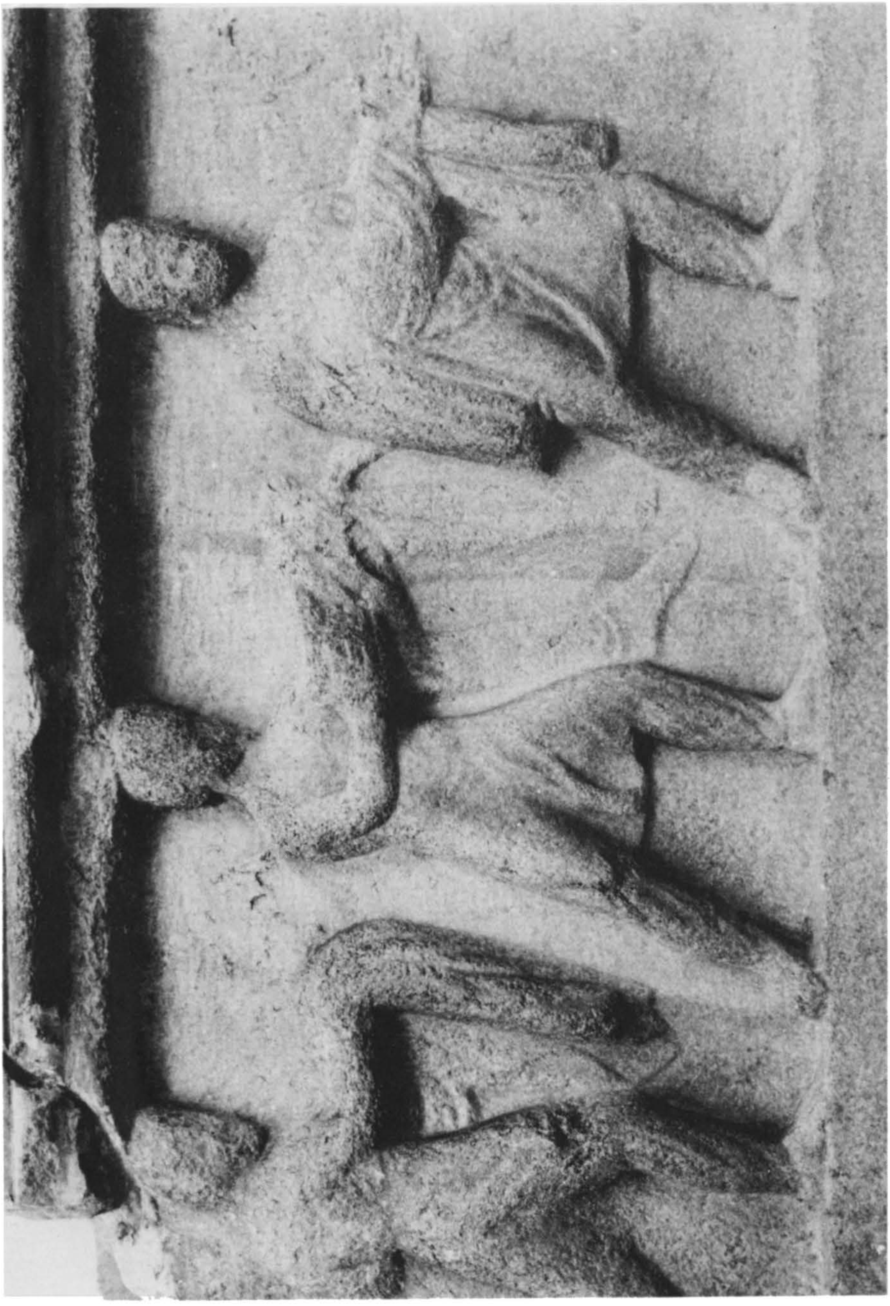
67a. Nineveh, North Palace, Attendants at Assurbanipal's Banquet (B.M. 124922).



67b. Nineveh, North Palace, Officers of Assurbanipal (Room F) (B.M. 124931).

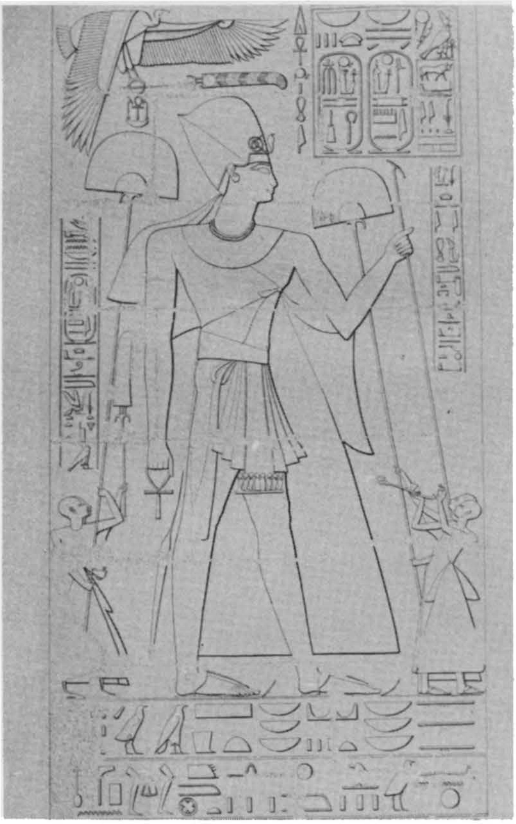


68. Nineveh, North Palace, The Fugitive Ummanigash Led Back to Madaktu (B.M. 124801-2).

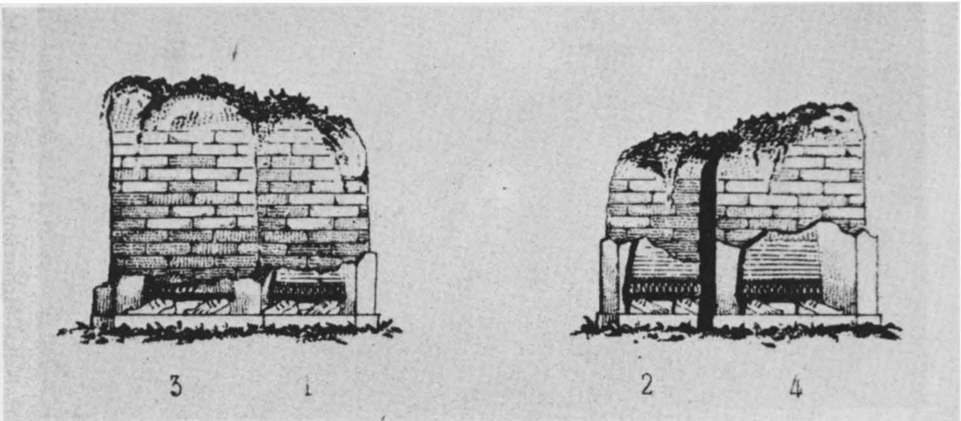


69. Nereid Monument, Tribute Frieze (B.M. 896).

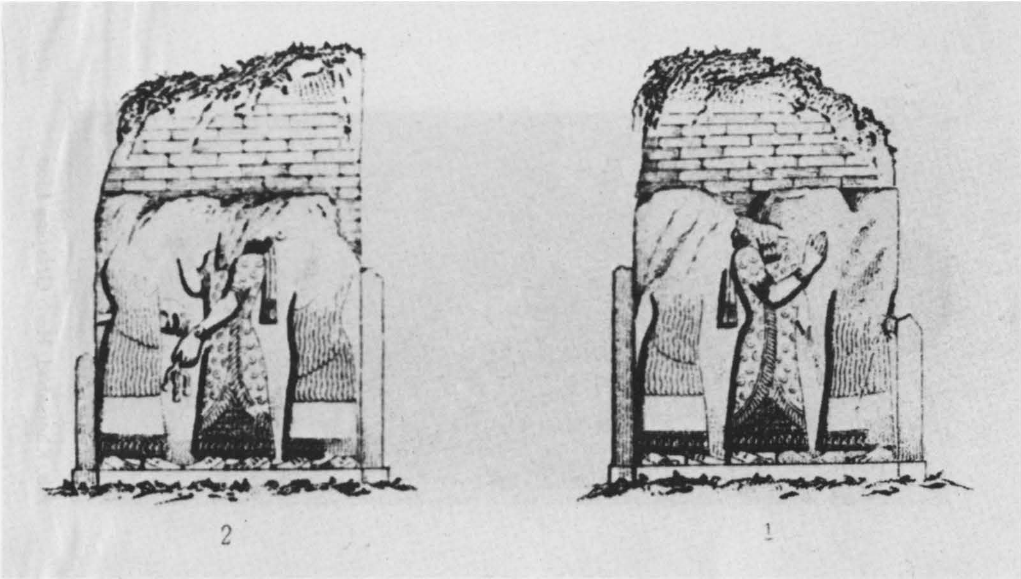
PLATE LXX



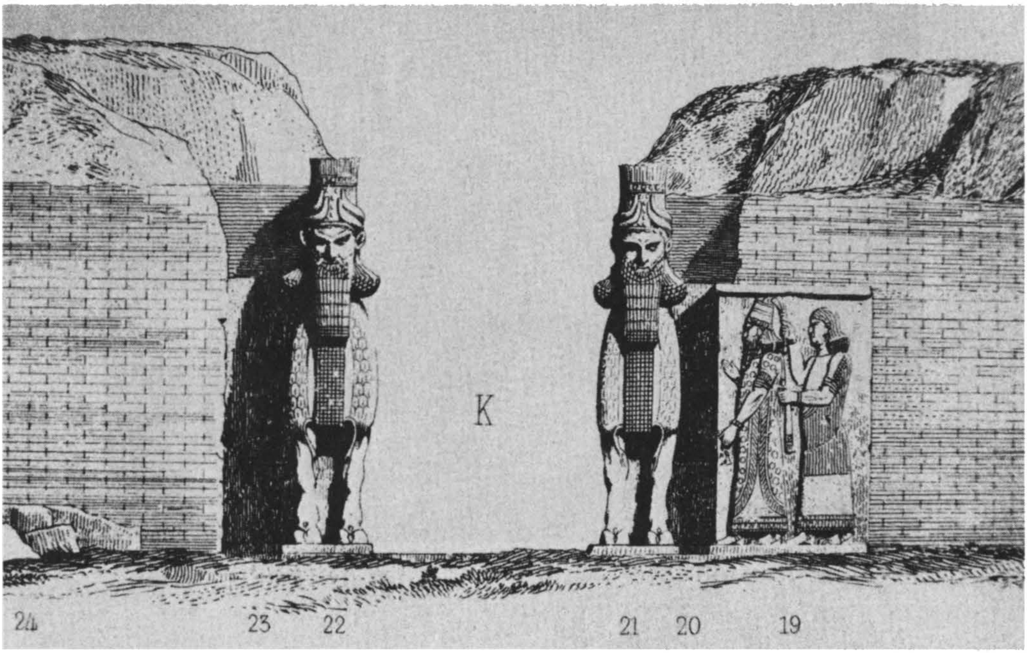
70a. Medinet Habu,
Temple of Ramses,
South Colonnade.



70b. Khorsabad, Door D in Room IV.

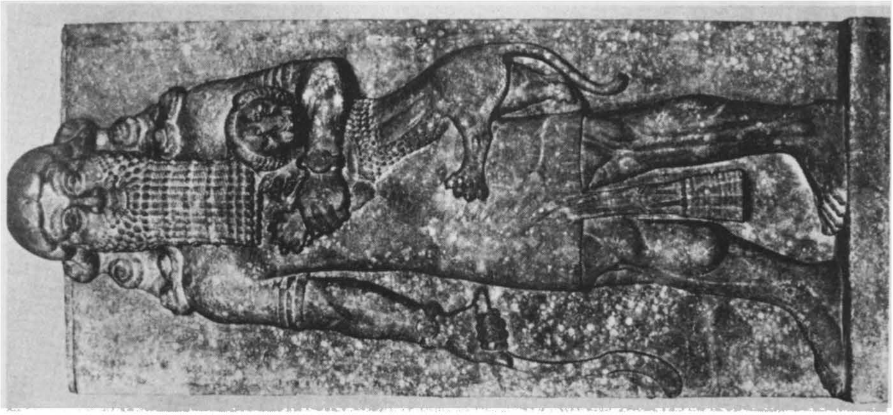


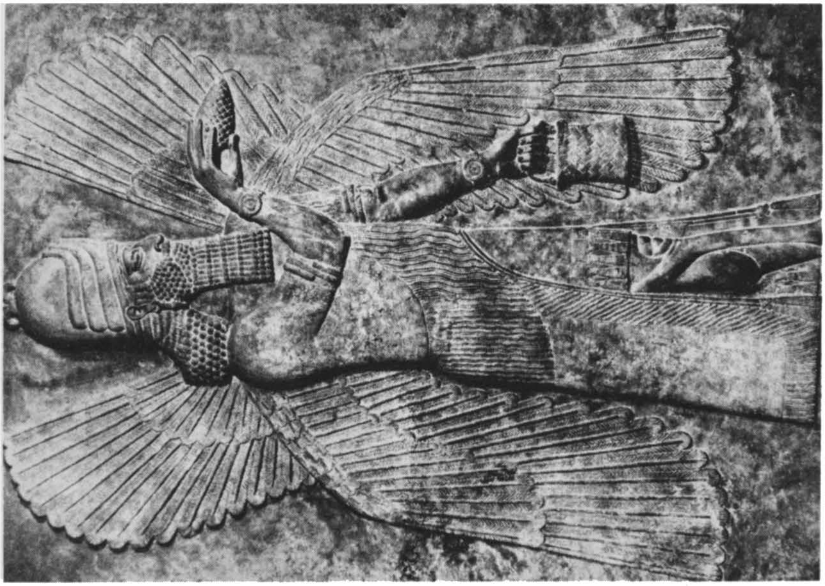
71a. Khorsabad, Door T in Room IV.


K
24
23
22
21
20
19

71b. Khorsabad, Flanking Door K in Facade m.

PLATE LXXII


72b. Khorsabad, Hero Grasping Lion.


72a. Khorsabad, Winged Figure.